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TO THE MEMORY OF

JACQUES MARITAIN

CONTENTS

JACQUES MARITAIN : 1882-1973

A.C. Pegis

JACQUES Maritain died in Toulouse on Saturday, 28 April 1973, mid-
way in his ninety-first year, and his death has stilled one of the
truly great voices of twentieth-century Catholic thought.

From 1882, when he was born in Paris, until his death, Maritain lived
a remarkably engaged life. He was educated at the Sorbonne (Agrégé,
1905), and he was a pupil, critic and friend of the renowned
philosopher Henri Bergson. With his wife Raïssa he entered the
Catholic Church in 1906 under the spiritual guidance of Léon Bloy. He
began his teaching career at the Institut Catholique in Paris in 1914. In
1933 the Institute of Mediaeval Studies (Toronto) invited him to lecture
in its newly established program. This was Maritain's first coming to
North America. He spent the war years on this continent, lecturing and
teaching at many American and Canadian institutions. But Maritain
was by vocation more than a classroom teacher, or even an academic
lecturer; he was, before anything else, a writer, indefatigably devoted to
expounding the teaching of St. Thomas Aquinas in its many dimensions.
He even made a career of being a Thomist, by which he meant
something different from what the textbooks more often than not un-
derstand a Thomist to be.

When I was young, I remember that my fellow students and I would
wait with great excitement for Maritain's next book. I remember cut-
ting the pages of *Art et Scolastique* in 1927, reading as I went along and
marveling at the new intellectual world that Maritain was creating for
all to see. How many books he has written since that day, and how
many students the world over he has captivated with the penetration
and strength, the freshness and style, of his intelligence! And he was
most surely an astonishing twentieth-century man. Modern and even
aggressively independent both as a man and as a thinker, Maritain stood
before an amazed and listening world, explaining the teaching of a thir-
teenth-century theologian as though that theologian was his con-
temporary. And he was, and therein lies the mystery of Maritain. *The
New York Times* did no more than recognize a remarkable but obvious
fact in saying editorially (6 May 1973) that tens of thousands of persons
around the world followed Pope Paul VI in considering Maritain their
teacher. He was their teacher and he taught them ideas that were as
fresh in his mind as they were well over six hundred years old in their

source. How living the past can be when there is a man in the present to see it — and engage in it — in a living way!

And now Maritain is dead, and we must look at the man and his work as steadily as we can and see what he was and what he has left us. Here in Toronto we shall remember gratefully that he was a friend of the Institute and of St. Michael's College throughout his life. But important as this is for us, there is much more to remember. It will take the work of many students before the extraordinary career of Maritain, spanning as it did the first three quarters of the present century, is grasped with fidelity. Of the several dozen books that he wrote many have achieved a greatness that time will not diminish (¹). But, at this moment, I would like to remember the man himself and his personality as a thinker and as a follower of St. Thomas Aquinas. That old self-styled peasant of the Garonne who, at eighty-four years of age, planted his feet firmly on the ground and, among other things, taught his fellow Thomists a parting and needed lesson — how could anyone ignore or forget that magnificent figure?

For Maritain was more than a mere follower of St. Thomas Aquinas. To be a Thomist did not consist for him in living in an isolated Thomistic parade running its own private course in history. In *Le paysan de la Garonne* Maritain told the Thomists that a scissors-and-paste Thomism was not a living philosophy but a dead theology. St. Thomas had been a theologian and his philosophy lived, not for its own purposes, but as the instrument of a theologian's vocation. Now, to be the philosophical disciple of a theologian is, certainly, not an easy vocation; but Maritain is there as an outstanding example of how to do it. The formula for the undertaking is simple enough: do not repeat an excerpted Thomistic theology as though it could pass as a philosophy. What, then? Maritain rather recreated what he had learned from St. Thomas in the light of his own intelligence, and his Thomism was, not a restitching of sentences from his master, but a genuine reliving of Thomistic principles and ideas, a reliving that is an open intellectual engagement in the world such as it is today. When Maritain spoke of St. Thomas as the apostle of modern times, he was not repeating what a theologian had said in the past. Like the human life in which they are born, ideas cannot be repeated, they can only be relived — which is to say, they can only be the work of another life lived in its own right. This was the Thomism of Maritain, another life lived in its own right. And

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¹ For a bibliography of Jacques Maritain, see D. and I. Gallagher, *The Achievment of Jacques and Raïssa Maritain: A Bibliography 1906-1961* (New York, 1962), pp. 256. This bibliography is currently being brought up to date.

this was the greatness of Maritain, the independence of his intelligence in serving the teaching of St. Thomas. He said: *vae mihi si non thomistizavero,* but he said it by spelling it out in the free expression of his own intellectual life. And this is our debt to him.

Perhaps because we have forgotten the beginning of the twentieth century we do not easily remember what we owe to Maritain. But as I think back toward that distant time I believe I see how it was that Maritain played a central and even unique role in what has been called the Thomistic renaissance. We all tend to suppose that the revival of Thomistic studies was almost a natural outcome of Pope Leo's *Aeterni Patris* in 1879. But such was not the case. The Thomism of the early twentieth century was the philosophy of theologians who talked to one another in very much of a closed circle. Two men especially, both educated at the Sorbonne, and both pupils of Bergson, opened Thomism to the world. These men were Etienne Gilson and Jacques Maritain. Both have been disciples of Pope Leo's dream of the universal appeal of Thomism as a philosophy — but in different ways. We who are living and teaching today would not have such an open Thomism to live on if these men had not, each in his own way, created it.

Let us here simply notice as part of the record that, while building an eminent academic career, Gilson took the lead in accomplishing an extraordinary thing. Against his academic predecessors, who had been saying for over a hundred years that the middle ages were intellectually dead and that Descartes came after the ancients as though nothing had intervened, Gilson set out to establish the study of medieval philosophy in general, and of St. Thomas in particular, as a recognized field of university research work. Today the history of modern philosophy in its very intellectual character comes, not after Plato, Aristotle and Plotinus, but after Anselm, Bonaventure, Aquinas, Scotus and their successors. This is a present-day academic fact that, earlier in the century, was an academic extravagance and, still earlier, an academic scandal.

If, by force of his research and teaching, Gilson made medieval philosophy part of the university curriculum around the world, and gave to Thomism a philosophical thrust that is inseparably connected with his name, Jacques Maritain was undertaking, almost single-handedly, the revival of Thomism as a public philosophy in the twentieth century. It was Maritain, more than any other man, who presented the philosophical teaching of St. Thomas to the whole world as a public reality, and who made the intellectualism of the same St. Thomas a universal message directed to all men. If, on deeply religious grounds, Maritain thought of every man as his neighbor, he also thought of Thomism as the common philosophy of mankind, linking all men in the mystery of human existence.

We can be grateful that such a man as Maritain lived for so many years in our midst. He will remain in history as the very model of a Christian philosopher, luminously intelligent and passionately devoted to the cause of truth and of his fellow man. Some of us will be particularly grateful to him for doing so much to bring the teaching of St. Thomas into the public marketplace, where every human philosophy belongs, and we shall pray that, as we walk after him, we shall not be unfaithful to the gifts he has left us.

VERCELLI HOMILY XX

Paul E. Szarmach

WHEN Max Förster was unable to complete his edition of the Vercelli homilies for the *Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa*,[1] students of Old English were deprived of several interesting and important pieces in the collection. Among these is Homily XX, more than half of which is a rendering of Alcuin's *Liber de virtutibus et vitiis* cap. xxvii-xxxiv. Although this homily is accessible in Förster's facsimile,[2] the absence of editorial attention has denied XX the prominence which is its due. The late tenth century date for the Vercelli Book being accepted, this homily is the earliest extant vernacular version of Alcuin's manual, albeit only a partial one, and because of the matter translated, it is the most extensive treatment of the capital sins in Old English.[3]

[1] Max Förster, ed., *Die Vercelli Homilien* (Hamburg, 1932). This volume contains Homilies I-VIII and the first ten lines of Homily IX, omitted by the 1964 Darmstadt reprint. See N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, 1957), pp. 460-464, for a brief description of the manuscript and its contents as well as selected bibliographical notices which cite homilies printed elsewhere.

Rudolph Willard reports the death of Förster's publisher, Henri Grand, in his review of Förster's 1932 volume. See *Speculum* 9 (1934), p. 231. Presumably this interrupted Förster's work. In his unpublished dissertation, *A Glossary for the Vercelli Prose Homilies* (U. of Texas, 1947), p. xviii, Robert Stilwell notes that the remaining two sections had been set up in type.

Three recent doctoral dissertations have complemented Forster's incomplete edition. They are: Sr. M. Corfilia Pinski, *Six Unpublished Homilies in the Vercelli Manuscript* (U. of Ottawa, 1966), an edition of XIV, XVI-XXI with introduction and notes; my own *Selected Vercelli Homilies* (Harvard University, 1968), an edition of XII-XIV, XVI-XXI with introduction, literal translation, and notes; and Lynn L. McCabe, *An Edition and Translation of a Tenth-Century Anglo-Saxon Homily, Vercelli X* (U. of Minnesota, 1968), an edition of X with introduction, notes, and translation. Presently I am bringing to completion an edition of IX-XXIII while Sr. Corfilia is translating with commentary all the Vercelli Homilies. Richard Venezki and Jon Erickson have also announced a concordance to the Vercelli Homilies. See also Paul Peterson, *The Unpublished Homilies of the Old English Vercelli Book* (New York University, 1951).

[2] Max Förster, *Il Codice Vercellese* (Rome, 1913).

[3] See L. Wallach, *Alcuin and Charlemagne* (Ithaca, 1959), pp. 250-251 for later writings indebted to Alcuin's *Liber*. The next most extensive treatment of the eight capital sins in Old English is to be found in Ælfric's homily for Mid-lent Sunday. See *The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, ed. B. J. Thorpe (London, 1844), II, p. 218ff.

The date of the Vercelli Book is deduced from palæographical evidence first assembled by

Homily XX (= V) is not a complete text, however, because the manuscript has lost a leaf after f. 111. Fortunately there are two variant versions of this homily which can furnish doubtlessly equivalent readings for the missing portion. They are: C.C.C.C. 162, art. 36, pp. 412-422, *In tertia feria in letania maiore* (T) and C.C.C.C. 303, art. 44, pp. 219-223, *Alius sermo Feria .III. in Rogationibus* (P).[4] Ker puts T in the beginning of the eleventh century and P in the first half of the twelfth century.[5] From T and P it is clear that V's missing leaf continued the rendering of Alcuin to include cap. xxxv of the *Liber*.

V, T, and P do not vary greatly from each other but there is sufficient variance to suggest that T and P do not derive from V. V differs most significantly in the ordering of ll. 111-115:

> V: Þonne syndon soðlice twa cynnryno unrotnesse,
> an halwendlice 7 oðer cwylmberendlice. Ðonne
> witodlice seo unrotnesæ [is] halwendlice þonne
> þæs synfullan mannes mod byð geunrotsud for his
> synnu*m*. Ðonne is oðer, men ða leofestan, ðysse
> worulde unrotnesæ ...
>
> T: Þonne syndon soðlice twa cýnrenu unrotnysse. An
> ýs halwendlic, þon*ne* þæs synfullan mannes mod
> bið geunrotsod for his synnum. Þonne is se
> oðer cwyldbærendlic [men ða leofestan][6] þisse worulde
> unrotnys ...
>
> P: Þon*ne* syndon twa cynrenu*m* (sic) soðlice unrotnysse.
> An is halwændlic, þon*ne* þæs synfullas mannes mod
> bið geunrotsod for his synnum. Þon*ne* is se oðer

Wolfgang Keller in his *Angelsächsische Pælographie* (Berlin, 1906), pp. 39-40 and later re-stated by him in "Angelsächsische Schrift", *Reallexicon der Germanischen Altertumskunde*, ed. J. Hoops (Strassburg, 1911), I, p. 402. Keller first dated the manuscript 960-980 and then narrowed the period to 970-980. Förster, *Festschrift für Lorenz Morsbach* (Halle, 1913), pp. 27-28 rightly questioned such precision and argued for a date in the second half of the tenth century. This date is of course the date for the assembling of the collection and not for any given piece. Paul Peterson, "Dialect Grouping in the Unpublished Vercelli Homilies", *SP* L, pp. 559-565 has shown that Homilies XIX, XX, and XXI appear to belong to the Late West Saxon dialect and have the least intrusion of Anglian forms (p. 563). It is likely that the time of composition of XX and the time of its inclusion in the Vercelli Books are not too far apart.

[4] For a full description of the manuscripts see Ker, pp. 51-56 and 99-105 respectively. T and P are Förster's sigla in his edition for the *BSAP*.

T and P are respectively F and C in J. C. Pope's (ed.) *Homilies of Aelfric: A Supplementary Collection*, 2 vols., EETS 259-260 (Oxford, 1967-68). Professor Pope's comments on the scribe of P are noteworthy: "In spite of the up-to-date, twelfth-century character of his script, his spelling is markedly though inconsistently archaic. He is obviously inclined to preserve the spelling of his exemplars. When he departs from it, he sometimes gives us the levelled endings we expect, sometimes sheer chaos. Either his attention wandered from time to time or he scarcely understood what he was writing (I, pp. 20-21)". Pope's comments on T (I, pp. 22-24) supplement Ker's information.

[5] Ker, pp. 51 and 99. Förster, *Die Vercelli Homilien*, p. 1, dates these manuscripts *um 1020* and *um 1120* respectively.

[6] Erased but legible.

clyldbærendlic (sic), men þa leofest*an*, þisse
worulde unrodnysse ...

V is closer to Alcuin in the ordering of elements.[7]
Other variant readings include:

1.   1: V: Menn ða leofestan
      T: Mine gebroðra ða leofestan
      P: Mine gebroðra þa leofestan
1.   5: V: spræca
      T: spræca 7 hleahtras
      P: spreca 7 hleahtræs
1. 70: V: Þurh þa
      T: þurh þa gyfernysse
      P: Ðurh þa gyfernysse
1. 94: V: þurh soðe lufe
      T: þurh broðera soðan lufe
      P: þurh broðera soðan lufu
1. 99: V: wyrcanne
      T: wrecanne
      P: wrecenne

While T and P often agree against V, the later P most certainly does
not derive from T in its present state because P does not incorporate
this major alteration:

... 7 seo yfele unrotnys þurh gastlice blisse 7
þæt idele wuldor bið oferswiðed þurh Godes ege
þæt se man gewilnige fra*m* Gode his mede habban,
forþi he forliost his mede of Godes healfe, gyf
he cepð idelre herunge of mannu*m*. (T, ll. 12-15).[8]

The writing from *ege* to *gyf he* is over an erasure; the writing from *cepð* to
mannum is written above the retained original text which follows, *þonne*
etc. (T, l. 16). The erasure was not complete. The letters *s* + + + +*gð-*
+ + + +*gung*, for *strengð 7 gemetegung*, indicate that the original text of
T must have approximated that of P. P reads:

... 7 seo yfele unrotnysse þurh gode clænnisse
7 þurh manega oðre mægnu; þæt syndon snoter-
nysse 7 rihtwisnesse 7 stræncþ 7 gemetegung.
   (variant, T, l. 12)

Note that P makes no mention of *idel wuldor*.

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[7] See note ll. 111-121.

[8] When line numbers follow T, the reference is to the portions from that manuscript inserted
into the text of V to supply its defect.

P likewise reads *men þa leofestan* (see variant to ll. 111-115 above) and *eal swa we ær sædon* (T, l. 29) which are erased in T. P of course does not follow T's apparently scribal repetition of *7 seo arfæstness* (T, l. 18). Yet P does incorporate two corrections of T inserted above the line in darker ink. These are *adam 7 eva* (l. 71) written above *mennisces cynnes* and *ðurh Godes fultum* written above *Gode gefultumigendum* (variant, T, l. 7). In P *adam 7 eva* is smoothly integrated into the text and *þurh Godes fultum* is written instead of the dative absolute.

The many alterations and corrections of T make it difficult to determine the exact relationship of T and P. Ker, speaking generally of T, says that corrections are in the main hand and that alterations and additions are by later hands of the eleventh century.[9] Here it would seem that one can distinguish at least one corrector, responsible for some insertions above the line, especially those in darker ink, possibly one corrector who altered the text by way of erasure, and the scribe himself. To account then for two alterations mentioned in the preceding paragraph which bring T closer to P, one may conjecture that at some point an antecedent of P influenced T. Since T either following a V reading (through X) or corrected to follow a P reading, hardly ever has an independent reading, it is a mid-text in terms of both textual antecedents and chronology. The relationship of the manuscripts can be diagrammed thus:
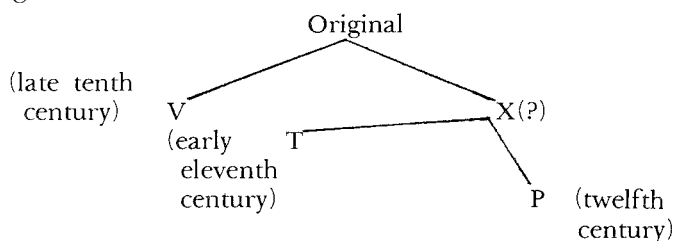
This pattern, which indicates the textual independence of the Vercelli version and at the same time serves as an emblem of the idiosyncratic history of this major Old English manuscript found in a northern Italian city,[10] repeats itself in the relationships of Homilies XVIII and XIX to their respective variants. A. S. Napier has shown that XVIII (*De sancto Martino confessore*) is independent from its counterparts in the *Blickling Homilies* and Junius 86.[11] Even more significant is the case of XIX. XIX is a twin of XX, that is, the two homilies appear together in the Vercelli Book, C.C.C.C. 162, and C.C.C.C. 303 with a version of XIX

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[9] Ker, p. 51. Scribal activity in T (and P) awaits definitive treatment.

[10] See Kenneth Sisam, *Studies in the History of Old English Literature* (Oxford, 1953), pp. 109-118.

[11] A. S. Napier, "Notes on the Blickling Homilies", *MP* I (1903-04), p. 303. See also A. K. Hardy, *Die Sprache der Blickling Homilien* (Leipzig, 1899), p. 116ff.

always preceding.[12] The titles are indicative; in C.C.C.C. 162 they are respectively *Feria .iii. in Letania maiore* and *In tertia feria in letania maiore* while in C.C.C.C. 303 they are *Sermo in letania maiore* and *Alius sermo Feria .IIIa. in Rogationibus.* XIX is to its variants as XX: V and P are independent while T displays the same curious mid-position between the two.[13] Although XIX, and less importantly XVIII, do not contravene the pattern in the textual history of XX but rather contribute outside supporting evidence for the validity of the pattern, the more important implication of these textual matters is that there is textual evidence to support Sisam's essentially literary description of the Vercelli Book as an out-of-the-way collection.[14]

In an indirect way the isolation of the Vercelli versions and their apparent absence of influence on later texts bear on the question of when the Vercelli Book left England. The aforementioned facts do not deny Sisam's conjecture that the manuscript left England in the first half of the eleventh century.[15] They may even allow for its removal to the continent soon after its writing or before the completion of C.C.C.C. 162. The lack of marginalia in the Vercelli Book in general and the absence of commentary on the pages of XX in particular support the theory of early removal. T is altered, corrected, and commented upon while P is glossed and commented upon as late as the early fourteenth century. The homily gives evidence of lively popularity and interest in C.C.C.C. 162 and 303 but not in the Vercelli Book. Admittedly this kind of negative circumstantial evidence is by itself insufficient to settle an issue but it does indirectly contribute to the strengthening of Sisam's conclusions.

Homily XX is a penitential homily which, as the titles to T and P indicate and the opening paragraph comes near saying explicitly, was no doubt delivered during Rogationtide. In addition to relying heavily on Alcuin's *Liber* cap. xxvii-xxxv for much of his material, the homilist has also used other Latin sources. The incipit goes back to Caesarius of Arles while ll. 53-56 on the three kinds of alms are taken from another

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[12] A version of XIX is found alone in Cotton Cleopatra B. XIII (art. 6, ff. 44-55b, *Dominica ante Rogationum dies*) but this text has come under the influence of Ælfric's *In Letania maiore,* ed. Thorpe, I, p. 244ff.

[13] See my dissertation, pp. 193-195.

[14] Sisam, p. 118. Aside from brief comments and some shorthand equations, Förster did not investigate the relationship of the Vercelli homilies and their variants. Such an investigation, impossible here, is necessary to confirm the essentially tentative nature of the remarks in this paragraph. P. Gonser, *Das angelsächsische Prosa-Leben des hl. Guthlac* (Heidelberg, 1909), pp. 48-49 has shown that the Vercelli Guthlac (Homily XXIII) and its counterpart in Cotton Vespasian D. XXI are in different traditions.

[15] Sisam, p. 117.

part of Alcuin's *Liber*. Professor Joan Turville-Petre has demonstrated that ll. 35-56 form a commonplace treatment of fasting and almsgiving, patristic in origin, which appears in several Old English homilies.[16] Vercelli Homily III contains this passage as well but its confused rendering of the Latin marks it a different and older version.[17] Homily III also contains the story of Elias, a brief listing of the eight capital sins, and an enumeration of the three kinds of alms.[18] The closing lines of Homily XX are paralleled in Homily XIX and echoed in Homily XXI. Homily XX, then, is a compilation, or a pastiche if you will, of various homiletic themes.[19] Any innovation or uniqueness lies in the adaptation of Alcuin's treatise for delivery.

There is some indication that the homilist was aware of the requirements of homily as opposed to those of treatise. Generally he attempts to tighten up Alcuin's passage on the sins. Alcuin is aware that he is presenting *octo duces contra humanum genus* but the homilist emphasizes the number as a mnemonic device by introducing each and every sin as a number in a series. He simplifies by omitting Alcuin's distinction of *spirituale-corporale* in the discussion of *superbia* and *gula*. Characteristically he omits sentences, clauses, and phrases but never violates a basic pattern, which is: 1) introduction and description of the sin; 2) enumeration of other sins and faults engendered by the capital sin; 3) mention of virtues and practices which can overcome the capital sin. The pattern is most skeletal for *fornicatio* and *ira*. The remedy or remedies are never separated from the list of sins by comment of elaboration of any kind, though such may be the case in the Latin. After the introduction of the capital sin, however, the homilist does feel free to incorporate certain points found in his source. He cannot resist, for example, the apt comparison of the avaricious man to the *hydropicus*. The mention of the fallen angels in connection with *superbia* perhaps automatically leads him to make a minor addition that the angels fell (specifically) into hell and were turned into devils. It is apparently the homilist's intention to follow the chapter on *gula* closely, retaining in the process the role of *gula* in the fall from paradise into this "vale of tears", but, though announcing the three ways *gula regnare videtur in*

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[16] Joan Turville-Petre, "Translations of a Lost Penitential Homily", *Traditio* XIX (1963), pp. 59-60.

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 70.

[18] One may note here that approximately two-thirds of Vercelli Homily II is repeated in Homily XXI.

[19] Yet another task before Old English studies is the development of a literary criticism of religious prose. C. L. Wrenn maintains there is not much literary interest in the sermons of the Vercelli Book. See his *A Study of Old English Literature* (London, 1967), pp. 244-245 for his comments on the collection.

homine, he erringly mentions only two. All in all, a brief and schematic Old English version, easily followed by a congregation, is the result.

The text below has been subjected to modern punctuation, capitalization, and paragraphing. Emendations are indicated by brackets; ms. readings and textual notes are integrated into the variants from T and P. No attempt has been made to note systematically varying accenting or ms. abbreviation. Corrections and alterations in T and P are generally indicated in the variants. The text from T that completes V is given to supply the break in V.

HOMILY XX (ff. 109b-112a)

Menn ða leofestan, þis syndon halige dagas 7 halwendlice 7 urum sawlum læcedomlice, 7 us gedafenaþ þæt we hie wel begangen mid fæstenum 7 mid ælmesdædum 7 mid haligu*m* gebedum 7 mid reliquia socnum 7 mid urum eadmodlicum gange 7 mid eallre heortan on-
5 bryrdnesse. 7 uton lætan ure idelan spræca, ægðer ge þonne we ut ga[n]gen mid haligdome ge þonne we into cyrican gangen, forðam þe þam deofle bið swa leofre swa we seldor on Godes temple cumen. 7 þonne we þærinne beoð, butan tweon, gif we elles hwæt þærinne doð butan þ*æt* þæt us beboden ys on haligum bocum, he us eall ðæt oðer
10 lærð. Selre bið urum gehwylcu*m* þæt we na on cyrecan ne cumen þonne we cumen, gyf we þærinne idele spræca drifan willað 7 idele geþancas þærinne geþencan, forþam þe se deofol æfter urum forðsiðe ealle þa idelan spræca 7 þa dyslican word þe we þærinne gesprecað 7 þa un-

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1 menn ða leofestan: T, P mine gebroðra ða leofestan (P, þa) T, ðis — P, haldwendlice

2 T, gedafenað: P, geðavenað (sic) — T, P hi P, 1 *of* wel *superscript with comma of insertion* — T, begangan, a²: *from alt.* e

3 mid¹: T, mil (sic) B, ealmesdædum — T, halgum; P, halegum — mid: V, d *superscript with comma of insertion*

4 T, P ealre

4-5 T, P onbryrdnysse

5 P, uto (sic) — spræca: T, spræca 7 hleahtras: P, spreca 7 hleahtræs — P, ægðe (sic) — P *om.* ge — P, þonun

6 gangen: V, gagen: T, gangen *with an* over erasure: P, ganged — *after* mid: T, þa: P, þan — T, cyrcen: P, cirecen — P, forþam — T, ðam: P, þa (sic) — we: V, *superscript with comma of insertion*

7 T, P cuman

8 T, P buton — T, twyon — T, gyf

9 T, P buton — T, P is — P, halgum — T, P þæt

10 P, beoð — T, P gehwilcum — T, P *om.* na — P, ciricen — P, þone

11 P, gif — T, idele *superscript with comma of insertion* — T, drifan *with an* over an erasure — P, geþances

12 P, geþancan — T, forðam — P, forðam — P, forðsiðæ

13 T, dyselican; P, dyselicen

nyttan geþohtas þe we þærinne geþencaþ: ealle hie eft deoflu æfter
15 urum forðsiðe ongean aweorpaþ, butan we ær geswican willan.

We ræddon (f. 110a) on haligum bocum þæt sum wæs mære wer on
eorðan se wæs Godes witiga þam wæs nama Elias. Be ðam ys awriten on
haligum bocum þæt he abæd æt Gode for þæs folces geleafleste, þe he
mid wunude, 7 for hira mánfullum weorcum þæt hit ne nírnde þrim
20 gearum ne þærtoeacan syx monðum. 7 sona swa he eft geseah 7 ongeat
þæt þæt folc to Gode cyrde, he eft hrædlice æt Gode abæd þæt He eft
ren ofter eorðan wæstmas sealde 7 he hrædlice tiða wæs.

Uton us nu ealle þe geornor warnian 7 forlætan urne gedwolan 7
unriht hæmedo 7 ærætas 7 oferdruncennessa 7 hlafordswicunga 7 ofer-
25 mett 7 andan 7 oferfylle 7 galnesse 7 sceandlicnessa 7 leohtbrædnessa 7
idele spræca 7 ealle unclænnessa 7 ealle yfelo,þe læs us ahwæne God for
urum yfelum geearni[n]gum ure eorðan wæstmas fram afyrre 7 us swylce
witu on asende þe we aræfnian ne magon. Ac utan symle of eallum þam
godum þe us God her on worulde læne hym þa teoðunga don ead-
30 modlice, þonne tiðaþ us Dryhten þe rumodlicor þara nigon dæla. 7 utan
georne of ðam nigon dælum Godes þearfum ælmessan dælan, forþan
seo ælmessylen alyst þone synfullan mann fram synnum 7 fram deaþe; 7

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14 Þ, geþohtes — T, geþencað: P, geþæncað — hie: T, hi *after* deoflu: P, hi — P, deofla

15 aweorpaþ: A, wurpað *with erasure of* a (?) *preseding and* a *written over an erasure*: P, wurpað — T, geswicen *with* a *above* e² *underdotted*

16 P, *erasure* (?) *before* we — T, *erasure before* on — P, halgum — sum ... wer: T, sum mære wer wæs *with* m.w.w. *over an erasure*: P, sum mære wer weas

17 wæs¹: P, wes — T, P witega — elias: V, *erased* h *precedes*: T, P helias — T, P þam — T, P is

18 P, halgum — T, ðæs — T, geleafleaste: P, geleaflæste

19 T, wunode: P, wunede — T, P heora — nirnde: T, P rinde

20 T, P six

21 T, to *superscript with comma of insertion* T, gecyrde: P, gecirde — P, rædlice — P, a *of* abæd *superscript with comma of insertion*

22 P, wæstmes sælde — he ... wæs: P, him hrædlice getegþed wæs

23 P, georner

24 T, hæmædo — P, ærætes *with* a *over* e *of* es *and comma and point below* — T, oferdruncennyssa: P, oferdruncennysse — P, hlafordswicuga (sic)

24-25 T, P ofermetto

25 T, P galnysse — T, sceandlicnyssa: P, sceandlicnesse — T, leohtbrædnyssa: P, leohtbrædnesse

26 P, idel — P, spreca — P, eallæ — T, unclænnyssa: P, unclænnesse — T, P ealla — T, P yfelu — T, ahwænne: P, ahwanne

27 geearni[n]gum: V, geearnigum T, P geearnungum — P, urum — P, afyrrie — T, swilce

28 P, wite — asende: V, asendæ *with* a *of* æ — T, P uton *dotted above and below*; T, asende: P, asænde — P, aræfnian *but* þolian *written above*

29 P, lænð — T, P him — P *om.* þa — T, P teoþunga

30 T, P tiðað — dryhten: T, drihten: P, god — T, P rumlicor — T, P þæra — T, P uton

31 T, P þam — P, nigun — P, þærifum *with* i *underdotted* — T, P ælmyssan — T, forþam: P, forþam þe

32 T, ælmyssylen; P, ælmissylen — þone: P, þæne P, man — T, P deaðe — P *om.* 7²

swa swa wæter adwæscit fýr, swa adwæscit seo ælmessylen þa synna of
manna gehwylcu*m* þe hrumodlice dæleð.

35   Fæsten 7 ælmessylen sceolon æghwylcu*m* Cristinum menn ætgædere
fyligean, forðam þæt fæsten ys halig þing. 7 hit is heofonlic weorc. 7 hit
is duru ðæs heofonlican rices. 7 hyt ys hiw þære toweardan worulde. 7
se byð Gode geþeodd se ðe hyt haliglice deð. 7 he byð geelfremed fram
middangerde. 7 he byð gastlic geworden. Þurh þæt beoð leahtras
40 afyllede 7 þæt flæsc byð geeadmett. 7 þurh þæt beoð deofles costunga
oferswiðede. 7 hyt framað swiðe myclum for Gode þam þe hyt willindlice
fæst.
     7 seo ælmessylen ys gefyllednes 7 fulfremednes eallra goda. 7 heo ys
halig þing 7 heo geycð þa *and*weardan 7 heo gewanaþ synna 7 heo
45 gemænigfylt gear 7 heo geæðelað þæt mod 7 heo tobræt gemæro 7 heo
aclænsað eallo þing 7 heo alyst fra*m* (f. 110b) deaþe 7 fram wítum. 7 heo
geþeodeð þone mann þe hy begæð Godes englum 7 hine ascyreð fram
deoflum. 7 heo ys unoferwinnendlic weall ymb þa sawle. 7 heo
framadrifð deoflu 7 englas togelaðað on fultu*m*. 7 heo þurhfærð þone
50 heofon. 7 heo forestepð þone syllendan on heofonarices wuldre. 7 heo
cnyst heofonarices duru 7 heo awecð englas ongean. 7 heo tosomne
gecigeð Dryhten ælmihtigne on fultum þam þe hie luflice 7 rumodlice

33 adwæscit¹: T, adwæst; P, adwæscð — adwæscit²: T, P adwæsct *but in* T a *is superscript with comma
of insertion* — seo: P, si — T, P ælmyssylen

33-34 of manna gehwylcum: T, of manna gehwilcum; P, of æce men

34 after þe: T, P hi — T, rumodlice; P, rummodlice — T, deleð

35 P, ælmyssen — T, P æghwilcum — T, P cristenum — P, men

36 T, P fylian, *but in* P y *from alt.* i — T, forþam; P, forþam þe — T, P is

37 T, P þæs — T, P hit — P, towærdan

38 T, bið; P, beoð — before Gode: P, to — P, geðeodd *with* bugon *written above* — T, P hit — T, P
om. he — T, P bið — T geælfremed; P geelfremed *with* gefyrred *written above*

39 T, P middanearde — T, bið; P, beoð — P, byoð — P, leahtres

40 byð: T, bið; P, beoð — P, costnunga P, hit T, P fremað T, P micclum T, ðe

41 T, P hit — T, P willendlice

42 P, fæste

43 T, ælmyssylen; P, ælmyssylene — T, P is — T, gefyllednys; P, gefyllednysse — T, fulfremednyss;
P, fulfremednys T, ealra; P, ealræ — T, P is

44 T, P geicð — P, andwærdan — T, P gewanað

45 P, gemænigfealt — P, geæðeleð

46 T, P ealle — heo: P, hi — T, P deaðe

47 P, geðeodað *with* bygd *written above* — P, man — T, P hi — after begæð: T, to *superscript with
comma of insertion*; B to — T, hyne — T, ascyrað; P, ascyrad (sic)

48 T, P is — T, unoferwinnendlic *with* win *written beyond the margin perhaps by another hand and* n³
written over an erasure — P, ymbe — heo²: T, him; P, hiom

49 P, framadrifæð — P, deofla — P, engles — T, togelaþað — P þurhfærð

50 P, heofan — T, P *om.* heo — T, forestæpð — on: P, of

51 P, cnyst *with* cnoceþ *written above* — P, dure — P, engles — after ongean: P, heoræ — P, tosom-
nœ

52 P, gecygeþ — T, P drihten — P, ælmihtigne *but* h *superscript with comma of insertion* — T, ðe — T,
P hi — T, rumodlice (sic); P, rummodlice

dæleð. Þreo cynn syndon ælmesdæda: án is lichomlic, þæt man þam
wædliendan to góde sylle swa hwæt swa man mæge: oðer is gastlic, þæt
55 man forgife þam þe oðerum ænig yfel deð eall þæt he him to wite;
pridde is þæt man þa dweliendan on soðfæstnesse weg gelædde.

Utan nu, men þa leofestan, georne ægðer begán ætgædere ge fæstenu
ge ælmysdæda. 7 uton us georne scyldan wið þa ehta heafodleahtras þe
singallice manna sawla wundiað 7 God geæbyliað 7 deoflu gegladiað 7
60 on helle gebringað ælcne þara þe hie oð hira ytemestan dagas begað,

Se forma heafodleahtor ys ofermodignes, seo ys gecweden cwen eallra
yfela. Þurh ða feollon englas of heofonum on helle 7 to deoflum gewur-
don. 7 heo ys gecweden angin ælcere synne. Seo byð oft uppasprungen
of furhogunge Godes beboda. 7 þonne þæt byð uppahafen be godum
65 wurcum þonne se mann wenð 7 teleð hyne sylfne rottran þonne oðerne.
Of þære byð soðlice acenned ælc únhyrsumnes 7 geþristlæcung 7 geflit 7
gedwyld 7 gylp 7 oðere manega yfelu. Ac þas mæg seo soðe eadmodnes
ealle oferswiðan.

Þonne ys se oðer heafodleahter gecweden gifernes, seo ys un-
70 gemetigende gewilnung æðger ge ætes ge wætes. Þurh þa þa forman
magas mennesces cynnes forspildon heofonarices gesælignesse 7 wur-

53 þreo cynn: T, þreo cyn; P, ðreora cynna — T, ælmysdæda — T, P lichamlic

54 T, wædligendan *with a perhaps from alt.* o: P, wædligende — P, syllæ — mæge: P, muga — P, gastlice

55 T, P forgyfe *but in* P r *superscript with comma of insertion and* y *perhaps from alt.* i — T, oþrum; P oðrum

56 T, P dweligendan — T, soðfæstne; P, soðfestnysse — gelædde: V, *with dittographic* ge

57 T, P uton — T, ða *in* T *large* ħ *in margin opp. ms. line* georne ... ælmysdæda

58 P, ælmæsdæda — T, ða — T, eahta; P, eahte heafodleahtras: V, *with dittographic* leah; T, heafodleahtras; P, hæfodleahtres

59 P, geabyligað *with* wræðað *written above* — P, deofla

60 ælcne ... begað: V, *a space for about three letters separates* hira *from* ytemestan; T, ælcne þæra þe hi oð heora ytemystan dagas begað; P, ælcne þæræ þe hi oð heora ytemestan dagas begad *but written above in the main hand* ealle þe hi lufiad (sic) on heoras (sic) lifes ende

61 P, forme — P, hafodleahter *with* senne *written above* — T, P is — T, ofermodignys; P, ofer-modignysse *with* prude *written above* — T, P is — T, P gecweden — T, ealra; P, ealre

62 T, P þa — P, feollan — P, englæs

63 T, P is — P, ealcere — P, synna — T, P bið — T, upsprungen *with* s *over* e (?); P, upasprungan

64 T, forhogunge; P, oforhogunge — P, gode — P, bebodu — T, P þæt mod — T, bið; P, beoð — T, P upahafen

65 T, weorcum; P, wearcum — T, man — wenð: T, *as in* V, *but scribal signs (two corresponding* '.*/* .') *indicate that* wenð *is to precede* se man; P, *before* se mann — T, P telþ — P, hine — T, silfne — T, rotran

66 T, ðære — byð: A, B is — T, unhyrsumnys; P, ungehyrsumnesse — T, geþristlæcing: P ge-þristlæc — geflit: T, after geflit (*end of ms. ine beginning with* acenned) *two "check marks" in the margin*; P, geflyt

67 T, P gylpp — T, P oðre — P, yfela — T, P eadmodnys

69 T, P ðonne — T, P is — T, heafodleahtor; P, hæfodleahter — T, gyfernys; P, gifernys — T, P is

70 T, P ungemetlic *and in* T *an erasure of perhaps ten letters follows* — P, ðurh — *after* þa ¹: T, P gyfer-nysse — P, forma

71 T, P mennisces cynnes: T, adam 7 eva *written above*; P, adam 7 eva *follow* — P, forspildan *with* luran *written above* — T, P gesælignysse

don aworpene on þis earmlice lif. On þam byð ælc mann þurh synne
acenned 7 þurh geswync he leofaþ 7 þurh sar he swylt. Seo byð gesewen
þrym gemetum on þam menn rixiende, þæt ys, þonne þæt se man wile
75 ær (f. 111a) rihtre tide hys willon mete þicgan 7 dryncas drincan 7 mare
lufað on ægðerum þara þonne hyt ænig gemet sie. Of þære bið acenned
ungescead bliss 7 sceandlicnes 7 leohtbrædnes 7 idel spræc 7 lichoman
unclænnes 7 unstaðolfæstnes modes 7 druncen[n]es 7 galnes 7 oðere
manega yfelo unatellendlice. 7 þonne mæg seo beon selest oferswiðed
80 þurh fæsteno 7 þurh forhæfednesse.

Ðonne ys se þridda heafodleahter gecweden forlýr, þæt ys eall
lichamlic unclænnes. Of ðam [byð] acenned modes blindnes 7 eagena un-
staðulfæstnes 7 idelne plegan 7 wrænnes 7 eall [un-] forhæfdnes 7 hatung
Godes beboda 7 gymeleast þæs toweardan lifes 7 oðere manega. Þæt byð
85 ðeahhwæðere oferswiðed þurh soðe lufe 7 þurh gehealdsumnesse 7 þurh
gemynd þæs ecan fyres 7 þurh ege Godes andweardnesse.

Þonne ys se feorða heafodleahtor gecweden gytsung, seo is swiðlic
grædignes ægðer ge welan to hæbbenne ge to gehealdanne. 7 heo ys
witodlice ungefyllendlic cwyld. Eall swa wæterseoc mann þam wyxt to

72 P, ærmlice — P, bið — P, man

73 T, P geswinc — T, P leofað — T, sar *but final* e *erased* — T, swylt *with* y *over an erasure*; P, spylt
— T, P bið

74 T, þrim *with* i *written over an erasure* — P, man T, P is — P *om.* þonne — T *om.* þæt[2]

75 T, P his willan — T, þicgan *with* c *over an erasure* — T, P drincas

76 T; P ægðrum — T, P þæra — T, P hit — T, P si — P, þæræ — T, byð

77 T, unscead — T, blis; P, blisse — T, P sceandlicnys — T, leohtbrædnys; P, leohtbrædnis — T,
7 idel spræc 7 lichaman unclænnys *superscript with scribal signs* (ħ. ð. *comma*) *indicating insertion after*
leohtbrædnys — P, lichaman

78 T. unclænnys; P, unclænnysse — unstaðolfæstnes; V, unst *over an erasure* (?); T, unstaðolfæstnys
B, unstaðelfæstnysse — V, druncenes; T, P druncennys — T, P galnys — T, P oðre

79 T, P yfelu — T, P *om.* 7 — *after* 7: V, *space for two letters* — P, se — T, oferswiþed; P, oferswiðeð
(*sic*)

80 T, P fæstenu — V, *erased* r *precedes* forhæfednesse — T, P forhæfednysse

81 T, P is — se: T, se *followed by erasure* (*of* o?) — T, þridda *with* a *written over* e (?) — T,
heafodleahtor — T, P is — P, eal

82 T, P unclænnys — T, P þam — bið: V *om.* modes: V, mo *unclear* — T, P blindnys
82-83 T, unstaþolfæstnys; P, unstaðolfæstnys

83 T, idel plega *with erasure of* n *after* plega — T, wrænnys; P, wrænnis — V, eallum forhæfdnes;
T, eall unforhæfednys; P, eall unforhæfdnys

84 P, gymeleas — T, toweardan *with an* *superscript and comma of insertion, all in darker ink* — oðere
manega; T, oðre manega *with* leahtras *written above in darker ink*; B, oðre manega leahtres — T, P bið

85 T, P þeahhwæðere — P, oferswiðeð (*sic*) — T, lufe *with* e *over erasure of* a — T, P gehealt-
sumnysse

86 P, fires — *in* T *large* ħ *in margin opp. ms. line* ege ... heafod — T, P andweardnysse

87 T, P ðonne — T, P is — se; T, se *followed by erasure* (*of* o?) — T, gecweden *followed by an erasure*;
P, gecweðen — P, gitsung — T, swiðlic *with* lic *crowded in over an erasure*

88 P, grædignys — T, gehealdenne; P, healdene — T, P is

89-90 mann ... drincð: V, *sic but* þæst; T, man þam wyxt á to þurste þæs þe swiðer swa he swiðor
drincð, *with* e *of* þurste *not by main hand and* swa *over an erasure, with an erasure above* þe swiðer swa; P,
man þam wixt a to þurste þæs þe swiðer swa he swiðer drincð, *with* s *of* þurste *superscript with comma
of insertion, the correction by the main hand*

90 geiht þurst þaes ðe swiðor þe he swiðor drincð, swa byð se gytsienda man,
swa he mare hæfð swa he mare gewilnað. Þære gytsunge cynnreno syn-
don anda 7 stala 7 sceaðunga 7 mannslihtas 7 leasunga 7 unrihtwise
domas 7 soðfæstnesse forhogung 7 oðere manega yfelo. Seo byð soðlice
oferswiðed þurh Godes ege 7 þurh soðe lufe 7 þurh mildheortnesse
95 wuruc.

Þonne ys se fifta heafodleahter gecweden yrre. Þurh þæt ne mæg nan
mann habban fullþungennesse hys geþeahtes. Of ðam sprytt modes
toðundennes 7 saca 7 teonan 7 æbylgð 7 yfelsacung 7 blodes agoten[n]es
7 mannsliht 7 grædignes teonan to wyrcanne. Þæt byð soðlice oferswiðed
100 þurh geðyld 7 þurh þolomodnesse 7 þurh andgytlic gescead ðe God
onasæwð on manna modum.

Þonne ys se syxta heafodleahtor gecweden sleacnes, seo derað þearle
foroft þam þe Gode þeowgean willað, forðam þæt mod geondscrið eallo
þing. Þis is se leahtor þe swiðost munecas ut anytt of hyra mynstrum on
105 worulde. 7 hie utáwyrpð of hira regullican droht[n]unge on leahtra
seaðas. Of þære byð acenned slapolnes 7 sleacnes godes weorces 7 un-
sta- (f. 111b) ðolfæstnes stowe 7 worung of stowe to stowe 7 murcnung 7

90 T, swa byð *with* by *over an erasure* — P, bið — T, gytsigenda; P, getsienda — T, mann

91 *in* T, ꝧ *opposite ms. line* gewilnað ... stala — P, gitsunge — T, P cynryno

91-92 P, sindon

92 T, P sceaþunga — T, P manslihtas

93 P, domes — T, soðfæstnysse: P, soðfestnisse — T, P oðre — T, yfelu; P, yfela — T, P bið

94 P, oferswiðet (sic) — T, þurh broðera soðan lufe; P, þurh broðera soðan lufu — T, P milheort-
nysse

95 T, weorc; P, wearc

96 T, ðonne; P, ðonun — T, P is — se: T, se *followed by an erasure (of* o ?) — ne: V, *superscript with
comma of insertion*

97 T, P man — fullþungennesse: T, fulle geþungennesse; P, as T but l (a, u?) ua *written above*
geþungennysse — hys geþeahtes: T, as V, *except* his; P, his geþeahtes *with* on his geleafa *written above*
— T, P þam T, P spryt

98 T, toþundennyss; P, geþundennysse — P, abylgþ — V, agoteness: P, agotennysse

99 T, mansliht; P, manslyht — T, grædignys; P, grædignisse — T, teonon — wyrcanne: T,
wrecanne: P, wrecenne — T, P bið — T, oferswiðet

100 T, P geþyld — T, þolomodnysse *with final* e *crowded in*: P, þolomodnyse — T, P þe

101 onasæwð: A, asæwð; P, asawð

102 T, P ðonne — T, P is — se: T, se *followed by an erasure (of* o?) — T, syxta *with a from alt.*

103 T, þam ðe — T, þeowian; P, þeowinian — P, forþan—before eallo: V, *dittographic* geond — T,
P ealle

104 þis is se: T, as V, *but sign* '+' *over* þis, is *and* s *of* se *written over an erasure* — P, ðis — T, leahter
— T, anyt — T, P heora — P, mynstraum (sic)

105 P, wurulde — T, P hi — P, awurpð — T, P heora — T, P regollican — V, drohtunge; T, P
drohtnunge — P, leahtre

106 P, seaðes *in* T, *sign* '+' *in margin opp. ms. line of* ... weorces — T, byð — P, acennned (sic) — T,
slapolnys; P, swapolnysse (sic) — T, sleacnys; P, sleacnis — T, P *om.* of — P, wærcas

106-107 T, unstaðolfæstnys; P, unstaðelfæstnyssa — stowe!: T, *an erasure, most likely of* stowe, *follows*
unstaðolfæstnys; P *om.* — P *om.* to stowe

idele spræca 7 oðere manega yfelo. Seo byð þeahhwæðere oferswiðed
þurh þone bigang þære rædinge 7 ðurh þa singalnesse þæs godan weor-
110 ces 7 þurh þa gewilnunge þæra meda þære toweardan eadignesse.

þonne ys se seofeða heafodleahter gecweden unrotnes. Þonne syndon
soðlice twa cynnryno unrotnesse, an halwendic 7 oðer cwylmberendlic.
Ðonne witodlice seo unrotnes [is] halwendlic þonne þæs synnfullan
mannes mod byð geunrotsud for his synnum. Ðonne is oðer, men ða
115 leofestan, ðysse worulde unrotnes; seo gewyrcð deað þære sawle 7 heo ne
mæg nan þing on godum worcum fromian ac heo gedrefeð þæt mod 7
on orwennesse oft ðæs mannes mod gebrincð. Of þære byð acen[n]ed
yfelnes 7 modes angsumnes 7 wacmodnes 7 byternes. On þære ne byþ
nan gelustfullung þys andweardan lifes. Seo byð soðlice oferswiðed of
120 gastlicre blisse 7 of hyhte þæra toweardra goda 7 of haligra gewrita
frofre.

Ðonne ys se eahtoða heafodleahter gecweden idel wuldor. Þæt is
witodlice idel to wuldrigenne þonne se mann gegyrnð þæt he beo hered
on his godum 7 ne sylð Gode nanne wyrðment ne hit ne geteleð to god-

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108 P, spæca — T, oðre; P, oðræ — P, manga — P, yfela — T, P bið — P, þeahhwæþære — ofer-
swiðed: T, oferswiþed, P. oferswiðeð (sic) *before* þeahhwæðere

109 T, P biggeng — T, P þurh — T, singalnysse; P, syngalnysse — P, godes

110 P, gewylnunga — P, þære — P, mede — P, þæræ — P, towærdan — T, P eadignysse

111 T, P ðonne — T, P is — T, seofoða with *foða* over an erasure *and* s *alt. from* f; P, sefaðe — T, P
heafodleahter — T, unrotnys; P unrodnysse

111-115 V *om.* is (113); V, ð *of* gewyrcð (135) *crowded in*; T, Þonne syndon soðlice twa cýnrenu
unrotnysse. An ys halwendlice, þonne þæs synfullan mannes mod bið geunrotsod for his synnum.
Þonne is se oðer cwyldbærendlic þisse worulde unrotnys ...

NOTES: þonne syndon so *is written over an erasure.* r *of* unrotnysse *is written over an erasure, and* n[1]
and o *are rewritten in darker ink.* .ys *is written above the line in darker ink with comma marking the place of in-
sertion. After* cwyldbærendlic, men ða leofestan *is erased.*

P, Þonne syndon twa cynrenum soðlice unrotnysse. An is halwendlic, þonne þæs synfullan mannes
mod bið geunrotsod for his synnum. Þonne is se oðer clyldbærendlic (sic), men þa leofestan, þisse
worulde unrodnysse ...

115 seo: P, si — P, gewyrcað — P, deað *with crossstroke through* d[1] *erased*

116 T, weorcum: P, wearcum — *in* T, h *in margin opp.* ms. *line* -cum ... orwennysse — T, framian:
P, fremian — P, hio — T, gedrefð; P, gedræfð

117 T, orwennysse: P, orwænnysse — T, P þæs — T, gebringð; P, gebringþ — T, ðære — T, bið;
P, beoð — *after* bið: T, soðlice; P, sodlice (sic) — V, acened; T, P acenned

118 T, yfelnys; P, yfelnis — T, angsumnys; P, angsumnysse — T, P wacmodnys — T, biternys; P,
byternys — T, ðære — T, P bið

119 þys andweardan lifes; T, *originally* þises andweardan lifes *but* ise *of* þises *and* and *of* and-
weardan *are erased*; P, þises andwærdan lifes — T, P bið — T, oferswiðed — of ... of: T, P on ... on

120 P, blysse *with* y *from* i (?) — T, P hihte — P, þære — T, P towearda — P, gode

122 T, P is — se: T, se *followed by an erasure* (of o?) — T, eahteoða; P, eahteþa — T,
heafodleahter — P, gecweðon — T, wuldor *but* or *written over an erasure*

123 P, witodlicæ — T, P idel — P, wuldrienne — T, P man — T, gyrnþ; P, gyrnð — T, gehered
with ge *superscript and comma of insertion*; P, gehered

124 T, sylþ — T, P nænne — T, wurðmynt; P wurðment T, *originally* teleð *but* e[2] *erased*; P, telð

124-125 V, godcundre *with* dc *over an erasure*

125 cundre mihte swa hwæt swa he godes deð. Ac eall swylc he hit of him
sylfum hæbbe. Þonne se mann ne mæg nan þing gódes habban butan
Godes gife, swa swa He sylf his leorningcnihtum sæde; "Ne mage ge nan
þing butan Me dón". Ðonne soðlice of ðyses leahtres wyrttrum byð
acenned boiung 7 gylp 7 æbylð 7 ungeðwærnes 7 gifernes 7 licettung
130 godes wurces, þonne se mann wyle þæt beo be him gehered þæt he
furþon don ne cann. Þonne ys þære adle læcedom gemynd þære god-
cundan godnesse. Þurh ða us synt ealle gód forgyfene þe we on þysse
worulde syndon gesewene to hæbben[n]e. 7 seo ece soðe lufe þæs sylfan
Godes, on þæs lofe we sceolon don swa hwæt swa we on . . . .
. . . . one folio is missing . . . .

[T, p. 419⁵ to p. 422⁷:

. . . on þæs lofe we sceolon dón swa hwæt swa we on þisse worulde
wyrcað, 7 ma we sceolon gewilnian þæt we sýn fram Gode geherede on
þam dæge þæs ecan edleanes þonne fram ænigum men on þisse droht-
nunge þises gewitendlican lifes.
5   Ðis syndon, men ða leofestan, þa ehta heafodleahtras mid heora herium
þe dæghwamlice ongean mancyn winnað. 7 hi synd swiðe strange deofles
cempen ongean mennisc cynn. Þa beoð eaðelice Gode gefultumigendum

125 T, P hwæt — P, eal — T, swilce; P swylce
126 P, silfum — T, man — T, P buton
127 T, godes *written over an erasure of* god — P gifen *with* n *underdotted*
128 *in* T ħ *in margin opp. ms. line* sylf ... þing — P, buton — T, þonne — T, P þises — V, wyrttrum
with t¹ *superscript and comma of insertion*; T, wyrtruman *with* n *written over* nn (?); P, wirtruman *with* y
over underdotted i
129 T, P æbylgð — T, P ungeþwærnys — T, P gyfernys — T, licetung
130 T, P weorces — T, P man — T, P wile — beo: T, beon *with* n *superscript and comma of in-*
sertion— T, P geherod — P *om.* he
131 T, furðon — ne cann; P, necan *with commas after* e, c *and comma superscript after* e — P, ðonne —
T, P is — P, þare *but apparent curl on* a *to form* æ
131-132 P, godcunde
132 T, P godnysse — T, P þa — T, P syndon — T. P *om.* we — T, P þysre
133 V, hæbbenne: T, P hæbbenne

1 P, þysse T, *erasure follows* gewilnian; *first letter is* þ, *written over* e
2 P, geherode
3 P, dægæ — P, eces
3-4 P, þyssum drohtningum
4 P, gewitenlican
5 P, seondon — P, þa — P, eahte heafodleahtres — T, herium *with* i *superscript in darker ink and*
comma of insertion
6 P, ðe — P, deaghwamlice — P, mancynn — P, syndon
7 P, cæmpan — P, eðelice — gode fultumigendum: T, *with* vel ðurh godes fultum *written above*; P,
þurh godes fultum

fram Cristes cempum feohtendum þurh halige mægenu oferswiþed. Seo
ofermodignes þurh eadmodnysse 7 seo gyfernyss byð oferswiþed þurh
10 forhæfednysse 7 þæt forlyr þurh clænnysse 7 seo gytsung þurh
rumgyfolnysse 7 þæt yrre þurh geþyld 7 seo sleacnys þurh anrædnysse
gódes weorces 7 seo yfele unrotnys þurh gastlice blisse 7 þæt idele
wuldor bið oferswiðed þurh Godes ege þæt se man gewilnige fram Gode
his mede habban, forþi he forliost his mede of Godes healfe, gyf he cepð
15 idelre herunge of mannum.

Þonne is ærest witodlice ælcum menn georne to secenne 7 to
smeagenne hwæt si þæs modes mægen. Þæs modes mægen is se gegyrla
þæs gecyndes 7 seo arfæstnys þæs lifes 7 þæt gescead þæra þeawa
7 se biggeng þære godcundnysse 7 se wurþmynt þæs mannes 7 seo
20 geearnung þære ecan eadignysse. Þis syndon þa mægenu þæs modes.
Þonne syndon þa fyrmestan mægenu 7 þa healicestan dælas þære ecan
eadignysse: snoternys 7 rihtwisnes 7 strengð 7 gemetegung. Þonne is seo
snoternys gecweden ingehyd swa swa hit mannum geseald is, ægðer ge
godcundra þinga ge menniscra. On þam is to ongitenne hwæt þam men
25 si to warnigenne oððe hwæt to donne. 7 þæt is awriten on þam sealme.
"Gecyr fram yfele 7 dó gód". Þonne is seo rihtwisnys gecweden þæs
modes æðelnys. On þære byð gehealden se biggeng þære godcundnysse 7
þa gerihtu þære mennisclicnysse 7 efnes ealles þæs lifes. Þonne is seo

8 P, cæmpum — T, *erasure precedes* fram — P, *heading* virtutum et viciorum conflictus *is in the margin opp. ms. line* -swiðed ... þurh; v. et v, *is underlined* — P, oferswiðed

8-9 T, seo ofermodignes *superscript with a comma of insertion*; P, seo ofermodignesse

9 P, eadmodnesse — gyfernyss; T, *an erasure, most likely of e follows*; P, gifernesse — P, bið oferswiðed — P, forhæfnesse — forlyr: P, luxuria *is written above in a fourteenth century hand* — P, clænnesse — P, gitsung

11 P, rumgifelnesse — P, irre — P, geðuld — P, slæcnysse — P, þurþ (sic) — P, anreðnysse

12 P, unrotnysse — T, idele *with final* e *crowded in and written in darker ink* — þurh gastlice ... mannum: P, þurh góde clænnisse 7 þurh manega oðre mægnu; þæt syndon snoternysse 7 rihtwisnesse 7 stræncþ 7 gemetegung

16 þonne ... modes (line 20), except smeagenne ... þæs (line 16): T, *passage is underlined* — P, ðonne — P, ærest is *but signs indicate transposition* — P, men — P, 7 to smægenne

17 P, sy — T, gegyrla *with* ge *superscript and comma of insertion*; P, gegyrild (sic)

18 P, liues — P, þæra þæwa — *after* þeawa: T, 7 seo arfæstnys

19 P, biggennd — P, godcunnysse — P, wurdment (sic)

20 P, þæræ — P, ece — P, ædignesse — P, synd

21 P, ðonne — P, dæles

22 *after* eadignysse: T, eall swa we ær sædon *is erased*; P, eal swa we ær sædon — P, rithwysnes — P, stregð (sic) — T, gemetegung *followed by a semi-colon with a large* '+' *over it* — P, ðonne

23 P, gecweðen — P, ingehyld *with* l *underdotted*

24 P, ongytenne

25 P, warniændnæ *with* n³ *superscript* — P, þan

26 P, ðonne — P, gecwæðen

27 P, æðelnis — P, þærae beoð — P, godcundnesse

28 P, gefritu (?) — P, mennisclicnysse *with* c¹ *superscript and comma of insertion* — T, efnes *with tall* s *crowded in*

strengð micel miht þæs modes 7 langsumnys 7 þurhwunung on gód*um*
30 weorcum   7   sígor   ongean   eallra   leahtra   cynrenu.   Þon*ne*   is   seo
gemetegung ealles þæs lifes gemet, þe læs þe ænig man to þearle hwæt
lufige oððe   on   hatunge   hæbbe: ac   seo   besceawode   geornfulnyss
gemetegað ealle þa missenlicnyssa þises lifes. And witodlice nis nán
snoternys betere þonne seo þe God bið on ágiten æfter mennisces modes
35 gemete 7 ondræd bið 7 his towearda dóm gelyfed byð. Hwæt is us riht-
wislicre þon*ne* we God lufion 7 his bebodu gehealdon, þurh þone, þa
we næron, we wæron gesceapene 7 syððan we wæron alysede fram
deoflicum þeowdome?   Se   Drihten   us   forgeaf   ealle   þa   þing   þe   we
habbað. Hwæt is bætere toforan ælcere middangeardlicre strengðe
40 þonne we oferswiþon helle deofla 7 stranglice wiðstandan for Godes
naman eallu*m* heora laru*m* 7 ealle wiðerwerde þing þises andweardan
middaneardes?

   Is us, men ða leofestan, micclu*m* to forewarnigenne 7 to gymenne.
Þeah us wel þyses earman gewitendlican lifes welan forwellicien, ægðer
45 ge on golde ge on seolfre ge on fela oðra deorwurðra þinga, þ*æt* we heora
swá gyrnon 7 swá lufion þ*æt* hi us æfter urum heonansiðe of þisse wo-
rulde to swiðe ne derian ne us on wítum ne gebringon. Uton geþencan
þ*æt* we nan þæra þinga þe us on þisse worulde forwellicað heonon of
þisum life ne lædað, ne goldes ne seolfres ne nanre woruldæhta, buton

29 P, se stræncþ — P, micel — P, modes *with e blotted and underdotted; e superscript with comma of in-*
sertion — P, langsumnis — P, þurhwuning
   30 P, eallra *with r superimposed on* l[2] — T, leahtra *with* a[1] *the result of alt.* o — P, seo
   32 P, bescewode (*open-topped* c) — geornfulnyss; T, *final e is erased*; P, gefulnys
   33 P, missenlicnesse — P, lifæs — and. P, 7
   34 *in P a hole separates* snoter *and* nys—T, betere *with* e[1] *the result of erasing* a *of* æ — agiten: T, *a hole*
affects a; P, agytten *with* t[1] *underdotted*
   35 T, towearda *with final* n *erased*; P, towearde — P, bið — *before* hwæt: T, *a semi-colon follows* byð
with men *superscript but large* '+' *is written over both*; P, men
   35-36 P, rihtwislicre *with* t *superscript and comma of insertion* — P, lufian — P, ðone
   37 P, gesceapone — P, siððon — P, alysde
   38 P, deoflice — T, drihten *superscript in darker ink with comma of insertion*
   39 P, habbad — T, is *superscript in darker ink with comma of insertion* — P, betere — P, mind-
daneardlicre — P, stræncþe
   40 P, oferswiðen — T, deofla *with* v *written above underdotted* a — P, wiðstanden
   41 P, wiðerwearde — P, andwearde
   42 P, middaneardes — *in* T ħ *written opp. ms. line* -eardes ... forewarni-
   43 T, is us *written over an erasure* — P, þa — P, forwarnienne — P, gemenne
   44 P, þises *with* es *superscript and comma of insertion* — P, earmæn — P, lifas — T, forwellicien *with*
forwel *superscript and comma of insertion*
   45 P, seolfra — P, deorewurðra — P, ðinga
   46 P, geornan — P, lufian — P, odra (sic) — P, heononsiðe — P, ðissre
   47 T, derian *with* a *from alt.* o — P, witon — P, gebringan — T, *in margin, below ms. line* gebringon
... þe *there is the sign* '+' — P, uto (sic) — P, geþeancan
   49 P, seolfræs — P, woruldheagte (sic)

50 we hwæt on urum life to góde for Godes lufon gedón 7 þæt þonne for
nánum woruldgylpe. Uton us nu ða warnian, men ða leofestan, wið ealle
þas foresprecenan word geornlice 7 habban us symble on gemynde hu
þa ðe her on worulde ongean Godes willan heora lif lybbað oð heora en-
dedæg: hwilce witu 7 hwilce yrmða 7 hwilce þa ormæte brogan 7 þa
55 egeslican brynas 7 þa unasecgendlican cylas beoð 7 ealle þa earmlican 7
þa unareccendlican yrmða þe him her on worulde beforan arehte
wæron, 7 þæra gelyfan noldon; hu earmlice 7 hu egeslice hi him on
helle ...

(here V Resumes)

135 (f. 112a) hie him on helle togenes beoð geearwode, 7 þær þonne æfre on
ecnesse witu þoliað.

Hwig nelle we, nu we eaðe magon 7 us God þone fyrst her on
worulde forlæten hæfð, Godes willan georne wyrcan 7 to his þam
uplican rice onet[t]an. Þær ys ece med 7 þær ys lif butan deaðe 7 þær ys
140 gefea butan unrotnesse 7 þær is leoht butan þystrum 7 ðær is wlite
butan [awendednesse]. 7 þær is ece blis 7 ece gefea mid þam ecan Fæder
7 mid ðam efen écan Suna 7 mid his þam efen ecan Haligan Gaste á
butan ende.

Binghamton, N.Y.

50 we hwæt: P, whæt
51 before uton: P, men — P, þa — P *om.* men ða leofestan
52 P, forsprecanen — P, gemende
53 P, þe — P, gewyllan — P, libbað
53-54 P, eandedæg
54 T, hwilce witu *with* lce *over an erasure and an erasure of three letters after* witu; P, hwylce witu
— P, yrmþa — hwilce þa ormæte brogan: T, lce *perhaps over an erasure while* þa *is superscript in darker ink with comma of insertion and* ormæte, *and possibly* b, *may be written* over an erasure: P, hwylce etc.
55 P, egeslice — P, brynes — P, unasegcendlican — P, cyles bið — P, earnlican (sic)
56 P, yrmða
57 P, earmlicæ

135 T, P hi — T, P togeanes — T, P gegearwode
136 T, P ecnysse — *after* þoliað: T, *a large* '+' *is written over the semi-colon*
137 T, P hwi — T, P nulle
138 T, toforlæten; P, toforlæton (en?) — godes: V, *erasure between* god *and* es — P, willen
139 V, onetan; T, P onettan — P, ðær — ys ... ys; P is ... is — butan: T, P buton — T, P is
140 T, gefea *but final* n *erased* — T, P buton unrotnysse — butan²: T, P buton — T, þrystrum *with* r¹ *underdotted* — T, P þær
141 V, butan awendendnesse; T, buton awendednysse; P, buton awændednysse — P *om.* is — P, blisse — P, ece fæder
142 T, P þam — P, sunu — T, halige *with* e *underdotted and an* superscript, halige and gaste *probably over an erasure* — *after* gaste: T, P on ealra worulda world
143 T, P buton — *after* ende: T, P amen

NOTES

I wish to thank Donald Scragg (University of Manchester) for reviewing the text of V.

1-2 Capital *M*, about five ms. lines tall, begins ms. line 1 of the text about midway through the line. Capitals *E, N, N, Ð* are three ms. lines tall (ms. ll. 2-4) while capital A, one ms. line tall, is written within *Ð*. All are black square capitals.

Preceding capital *M* are two erased capitals of the same height. The first, somewhat narrower than the second, begins at the margin. The more lightly erased second begins on what would be the final vertical stroke of the first. An erased capital *E*, of the same height and dimension as the present *E*, follows the second erased *M*.

leofestan, -wendlice, and ⁊ *us* begin ms. ll. 6, 7, 8 respectively at the midpoint. From the margin to a few spaces preceding *-wendlice* there is an erasure:

        ?   ???

     w + + lice. ⁊ + + uru

After writing a few words beginning at the margin on ms. l. 7 the scribe realized that he had not left enough space. Evidently there was some plan for ornamentation which was never carried out. There is no indication that any ornamentation was erased.

            Cf. similar openings in Homilies XI and XIV:
            XI: MEN ða leofestan þis syndon halige dagas
                 ⁊ halwendlice ⁊ ussum sawlum læcedomlice
                 ... (f. 71b)
            XIV: MEN ða leofestan þis synt halige dagas
                 ⁊ gastlice ⁊ ussum sawlum læcedomlice
                 ...(f. 76b)

The ultimate source, discovered by Rudolph Willard, "Vercelli Homily XI and its Sources," *Speculum* 24 (1949), pp. 76-87, is Caesarius of Arles' *Sermo* 215, *De Letania* (ed. G. Morin, CCSL 104, p. 855):

            Ecce, fratres dilectissimi, dies sancti ac
            spiritales adveniunt, et animae nostrae
            medicinales ...

In *The Blickling Homilies*, EEMF X (Copenhagen, 1960), p. 37 n. 65, Willard suggests that *Men þa leofestan* was becoming old-fashioned in the late tenth century.

4 *onbryrdnesse*. Cf. f. 75a³, *onbrydnesse*.

heortan onbryrdnesse. After these words in A is a *signe de renvoi* to a marginal note:

            ⁊ hit geberað þæt þa gehadoden gan nyhst þam
            haligdome. þonne þa lawedan æfter hiom. þa
            weras beforan þam wifum.

Ker, p. 54, believes this description of (or directions for) a procession to be mid-eleventh century.

16-22. Cf. *James* 5, 17-18:

            Elias homo erat similis nobis passibilis et
            oratione oravit, ut non plueret super terram;
            et non pluit annos tres et menses sex. Et
            rursum oravit, et caelum dedit pluviam, et
            terra dedit fructum suum.

The rendering in Homily III is:

            Eac swylce Elias hine gebæd, þæt hit ne rinde
            ofer eorðan, ⁊ he mid his gebedum þone heofon
            beleac þreo gear ⁊ six monoð; ⁊ eft he abæd,
            þæt se heofon sealde renas ⁊ sio eorbe hire
            wæstmas.
                                        (ed. Förster, p. 68)

See also I *Kings*, 17-18.

19 *nirnde*. For an explanation of this form I have asked Mr. Donald Scragg (University of Manchester) who is presently engaged in a philological and orthographical study of the Vercelli Book. Mr Scragg believes that the form is most likely a scribal error. The possibility that *ne nirnde = ne*

ni rinde is not likely, he feels, because such double negatives are not used elsewhere, the variant *ni* is not used either, and the ms. spacing is against it. No similar negated and metathesized form as *nirnan* exists anywhere other than here. (The very faint mark over *i* may be an accent but it could also be the beginning of an ascender.) Mr. Scragg concludes: "The opportunity for speculation is endless ..."

[28] *aræfnian.* In P *polian* is written above as a gloss. Ker (p. 99) believes the O.E. glosses in P to be by the main hand while the glosses *luxuria* for *forlyr*, and *senne* and *prude* for *hafodleahter* and *ofermodignysse*, are thirteenth-fourteenth century. The list below contains all the words glossed in P with line numbers keyed to the main text. Glosses *polian* to *prude* are on p. 220 of P while *luxuria* is on p. 222. The remaining are on p. 221.

28) *aræfnian, polian*
38) *geðeodd, bugon*
38) *geelfremed, gefyrred*
46) *geðeodað, bygd* (sic)
51) *cnyst, cnoceþ*
59) *geabyliað, wræðað*
61) *hafodleahter, senne*
61) *ofermodignysse, prude*
71) *forspildan, luran*
97) *geþungennysse, laua* (?)
97) *his geþeahtes, on his geleafa*
T-10) *forlyr, luxuria*

33-34. *Ecclus.* 3, 29:

Ignem ardentem exstinguit aqua, et eleemosyna
resistit peccatis.

35-42. Joan Turville-Petre (p. 59) has traced this commonplace to Isidore's *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis* 2. 43 (*PL* 83, 757ff.):

Jejunium res sancta, opus caeleste, janua regni,
forma futuri. Quod qui sancte agit Domino jungitur,
alienatur mundo, spiritalis efficitur; per hoc enim
prosternuntur vitia, humiliatur caro, diaboli
temptamenta vincuntur.

Cf. Vercelli Homily III:

Aefter þissum gehyhtlice fylgað þa fæstenu.
Be þara lofum Isidorius cwæð, þæt fæsten
sie swiðe god. Hit is heofonlic worc 7 heofona-
rices duru 7 hiwung þære toweardan worulde.
Þæt fæsten seðe hit rihtlice begæð, he bið
to Gode geþydd, 7 he bið þissum middangearde
afrendod 7 bið gastlice gefremmed. Þurh þæt
fæsten bioð þa leahtras astreahte, 7 þæt
flæsc bið geeaðmed, 7 þaes diofles costung
oferswiðed.

(ed. Förster, pp. 62-63)

43-56. Joan Turville-Petre (p. 60) has found the corresponding Latin in the *Collectio Canonum Hibernensium*, ed. H. Wasserschleben, *Die Irische Kanonensammlung* (Leipzig, 1885), 12.2:

(Aug.) Eleemosyna res sancta, auget praesentia,
demit peccata, multiplicat annos, nobilitat
mentem, dilitat terminos, mundat omnia (et re-
liqua, usque ubi ait) liberat a poena, jungit
angelis, separat demonibus, murus inexpubnabilis
circa animam, daemones expellit, invitat angelos.
(Hieron.) Eleemosyna penetrat coelum, praecedit
dantem, pulsat januam regni, excitat angelos in
obviam, Deum convocat in adjutorium.

Her comparisons of Vercelli Homily III, its variants, an Old Icelandic version, and Vercelli Homily XX have led Miss Turville-Petre to the conclusion that the translator of XX had in some passages a corrected or uncorrupted Latin original. He was a neater translator, and his version is neither as old as III, nor as much confused. See p. 67ff of Professor Turville-Petre's article.

Cf. Vercelli Homily III;

> Æt þam ytemestan, broðor mine, heræfter fylgð
> sio manung be þære ælmessan, sio is fylness
> 7 fulfremednes ealra godra weorca. Be þære
> ælmessan lofe Agustinus cwæð: "Sio ælmesse
> is swiðe halig weorc: hio geicð þas andweardan
> god 7 hio sylð synna forgifnesse 7 hio gemanig-
> fealdaþ geara fyrstas 7 hio hylt þæs mannes mod
> 7 heo geondbrædeð þa gemæru 7 hio eal þing
> geclænsaþ. 7 hio alyseð þone manna fram deaþe
> 7 fram witum. 7 hio hie geþydeð to þam englum,
> 7 dioflu framascyfð. 7 hio is unoferwuniendlic
> weall ymb þa sawle 7 þa dioflu framadrifð. 7
> hio laðað englas to fylste, swa swa Hieronimus
> cwæð: "Sio ælmesse geondfærð þone heofon 7
> hio cnysseð heofonarices duru." 7 hio awecð
> þone engel ongeancumende 7 hio God gecigð to
> fultume. Witodlice þreo cyn synt ælmessena:
> an is lichamlic, þæt is, þæt man þam wæd-
> liendan sylle to gode, þæt he mæge; oðer is
> gastlic, þæt is, þæt man forgife, þam-þe wið
> hine gegylted; þridde, þæt man þam gyltendan
> gestyre 7 ða dwoliendan an rihtan gebringe.
>   (ed. Förster, pp. 68-70)

Note that Homily III gives *hio geicð þas andweardan god* and *hio gemanigfealdaþ geara fyrstas* for *auget praesentia* and *multiplicat annos* while V (and T, P) reads *heo geycð þa andweardan* and heo *gemænigfylt gear*.

Ll. 53-56 are a translation of a portion of Alcuin's *Liber de virtutibus et vitiis* cap. xvii, *De Eleemosynis*:

> Tria sunt genera eleemosynarum: una corporalis,
> egenti dare quidquid potueris; altera spiritualis,
> dimittere ei a quo laesus fueris; tertia delin-
> quentem corrigere, et errantes in viam reducere
> veritatis.
>   (PL 101.626)

53-56. In the margin of this passage in P is a series of points or dots which call attention to the enumeration of the three kinds of alms. Opposite the mention of the first kind of alms is one dot, opposite the mention of the second two, and opposite the mention of the third kind three. Before the words *Oðer* and *Þridde* a vertical line separates the preceding sentence. Near the dots is the abbreviated heading *Eleemosina triples, Eleemosina* being underlined. For the deciphering of this heading and those below (see notes to 1. 72ff and P 11. *11-12*) I am indebted to Dr. M.B. Parkes (Keble College, Oxford) who kindly lent his assistance. I must also thank Dr. W. W. Morgan Jr. (Illinois State University) whose photographic skill made by correspondence with Dr. Parkes possible. Dr. Parkes dates these headings, all by the same hand, as early fourteenth century. Ker (p. 99) says the hand is thirteenth-fourteenth century.

61. The homilist faithfully follows Alcuin's ordering of the eight capital sins. For a discussion of Alcuin's treatment of the subject see M. W. Bloomfield, *The Seven Deadly Sins* (Michigan State College Press, 1952), p. 80. Alcuin's list is Cassianic, and he often uses Cassian's own words.

In T each section dealing with a sin is introduced with a Roman numeral, punctuated before and after with a point, and an opening capital. Numerals, points, and capitals are in red ink. P features marginal dots, employed as in the passage on the three kinds of alms. *Idel wuldor*, however,

has *vana gloria* in the margin rather than the expected eight dots. The whole discussion of the eight capital sins is introduced with this abbreviated heading opposite *ofermodignysse*: *septem capitalia peccata*, being underlined. Presumably the commentator was dotting as he read along. Having announced seven sins, according to the formula, he could only write *vana gloria* when he came to it. 61-68. Cf. *Liber* cap. xxvii:

> ...Primum vitium est spirituale, superbia, de qua
> dicitur: *Initium omnis peccati superbia* (*Eccl.* X,
> 15), quae regina est omnium malorum, per quam
> angeli ceciderunt de coelo, quae fit ex contempu
> mandatorum Dei. Fit etiam, quando atollitur mens
> de bonis operibus, et se meliorem aestimat aliis,
> dum in eo ipse pejor aliis est, quo se meliorem
> putat. Fit etiam per contumaciam superbia,
> quando despiciunt homines senioribus obedire suis.
> Ex ipsa vero nascitur omnis inobedientia, et omnis
> praesumptio, et omnis pertinicia, contentiones,
> haereses, arrogantia. Quae omnia mala vera humi-
> litas famuli Dei perfacile vincere [*Ms.* curare]
> poterit.

                              (PL 101, 633)

NOTE: Whenever it has appeared worthwhile, I have given more of the Latin text than the mere equivalent of the Old English in order to show what has not been translated, e.g., the significant omission of the sentence on obedience above. Generally I have not given the bracketed portions of the Migne edition.

69-80. Cf. *Liber* cap. xxviii:

> Primum est corporale peccatum gula, id est,
> intemperans cibi vel potus voluptas, per quam
> primi parentes humani generis paradisi felici-
> tatem perdiderunt, et in hanc aerumnosam hujus
> vitae [miseriam] dejecti sunt; ubi omnis homo
> per peccatum nascitur, per laborem vivit, per
> dolorem moritur. Quae tribus modis regnare vi-
> detur in homine; id est, dum homo horam canon-
> icam et statutam gulae causa anticipare cupit,
> aut exquisitiores cibos sibi praeparare jubet,
> quam necessitas corporis, vel suae qualitas
> personae exigat, vel si plus accipiet in edendo
> vel bibendo propter desiderium intemperantiae
> suae, quam suae proficiat saluti. De qua gula
> nascitur inepta laetitia, scurrilitas, levitas,
> vaniloquium, immunditia corporis, instabilitas
> mentis, ebrietas, libido: quia ex saturitate
> ventris libido corporis congeritur, quae per
> jejunia et abstinentiam, et operis cujuslibet
> assiduitatem optime vincitur.

                              (PL 101, 633)

The homilist has discarded Alcuin's distinction between *peccatum corporale* (*gula*) and *peccatum spirituale* (*superbia*). See l. 61 and note to ll. 61-68. His rendering of the *tres modi gulae* is confusing.

   In T *adam 7 eva* is inserted above *mennisces cynnes* (V, l. 71) by a hand employing darker ink. In P *adam 7 eva* is integrated into the text and follows *cynnes*. V's omission of the phrase makes it closer to the *Liber*.

   V reads *þurh þa* (l. 70), following Alcuin's *per quam*. T and P add *gyfernysse* after *þ*. Scribal omission in V is unlikely, considering that V also renders *per quam* with simple *þurh da* above (l. 62).

81-86. Cf. *Liber* cap. xxix:

> Fornicatio est omnis corporalis immunditia, quae
> solet fieri ex incontinentia libidinis, et mollitia
> animae, quae consentit suae carni peccare. Nam
> anima domina debet esse et imperare carni; et caro
> famula, et obedire dominae suae, id est, rationali
> animae. Quae fornicatio fit per commistionem
> carnis cum femina qualibet, vel etiam alia quacunque
> immunditia ad explendum libidinis amorem. De qua
> [fornication] nascitur caecitas mentis, inconstantia
> oculorum vel totius corporis amor immoderatus; saepe
> periculum vitae, lascivia, joca, petulantia, et
> omnis incontinentia; odium mandatorum Dei, mentis
> enervatio, et injustae cupidatates; negligentia
> vitae futurae, et praesentis delectatio [Ms.
> dilectio]. Quae vincitur per castitatem et con-
> tinentiam consuetam, et recordationem ignis
> aeterni, et timorem praesentiae sempiterni Dei.

<div style="text-align:center">(PL 101, 633-634)</div>

81. *se*. In T the definite article is followed by an erasure, most likely of *o*, here and in four other
places: ll. 87, 96, 102, 122.

87-95. Cf. *Liber* cap. xxx:

> Avaritia est nimia divitiarum acquirendi, ha-
> bendi, vel tenendi cupiditas, quae pestis inex-
> plebilis est. Sicut hydropicus, qui quanto plus
> bibit, tanto plus illi sitis accrescit [*Ms.*, ad-
> dita crescit]: sic avaritia quanto magis habet,
> tanto plus [habere] desiderat. Et dum modus non
> est illi in habendo, modus illi non erit in de-
> siderando. Cujus genera [*Ms.*, germina] sunt in-
> vidia, furta, latrocinia, homicidia, mendacia,
> perjuria, rapinae, violentiae, inquietudo, in-
> justa judicia, contemptus veritatis, futurae
> beatitudinis oblivio, obduration cordis. Quae fit
> [*Ms.*, quae est] contraria misericordiae, eleemo-
> synis in pauperes, et toti pietati in miseros.
> Quae vincitur per timorem Dei, et per fraternam
> charitem, et per opera misericordiae, et per
> eleemosynas in pauperes, et per spem futurae
> beatitudinis, dum falsae hujus saeculi divitiae
> futurae beatitudinis veris divitiis vincuntur.

<div style="text-align:center">(PL 101, 634)</div>

Note the use of the alliterative phrase *to hæbbenne ge to healdenne* to render the Latin triplet
acquirendi, habendi, vel tenendi.

96-101. Cf. *Liber* cap. xxxi:

> Ira una est de octo vitiis principalibus, quae
> si ratione non regitur, in furorem vertitur:
> ita ut homo sui animi impotens erit [*Ms.*, fiat],
> faciens quae non convenit. Haec enim si cordi
> insidit [*Ms.*, insidet], omnem eximit ab eo pro-
> videntiam facti, nec judicium rectae directionis
> [*Ms.*, discretionis] inquirere, nec honestae con-
> templationis virtutem, nec maturitatem consilii

habere poterit, sed omnia per praecipitium quod-
dam facere videtur. De qua, id est ira, pullulat
tumor mentis, rixae et contumeliae, clamor, in-
dignatio, praesumptio, blasphemiae, sanguinis
effusio, homicidia, ulciscendi cupiditas, in-
juriarum memoria. Quae vincitur per patientiam
et longanimitatem, et per rationem intellectualem,
quam Deus, inserit mentibus humanis, et per re-
cordationem Orationis Dominicae, ubi Deo dicitur:
Dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimit-
timus debitoribus nostris. (Mt. 5:6)

(PL 101, 634)

102-110. Cf. *Liber* cap. xxxii:

Acedia est pestis, quae Deo famulantibus multum
nocere probatur, dum otiosus homo torpescit in
desideriis carnalibus, nec in opere gaudet spi-
rituali, nec in desiderio [*Ms.*, in salute] animae
suae laetatur, nec in adjutorio fraterni laboris
hilarescit: sed tantum concupiscit et desiderat,
et otiosa mens per omnia discurrit. Haec est
quae maxime monachos excutit de cella in saecu-
lum, et de regulari conversatione ejicit eos in
abrupta vitiorum. Quae cum miserabilem obsidet
mentem, multis eam inficit miseriis, quae multa
docet mala. De qua nascitur somnolentia, pigritia
operis boni, instabilitas loci, pervagatio de loco
in locum, tepiditas laborandi, taedium cordis,
murmuratio et inaniloquia [*Al.*, magniloquia].
Quae vincitur per studium lectionis, per assidui-
tatem operis boni, per desiderium futurae prae-
miorum beatitudinis, per confessionem tentationis,
quam in mente habet, per stabilitatem loci et
propositi sui, atque exercitum cujuslibet artis
et laboris, vel orationum et vigiliarum instan-
tiam, ut nunquam otiosus inveniatur servus Dei.
Difficilius invenit diabolus tentandi locum in
homine quem in opere invenit bono, quam in eo
quem otiosum reperit et nihil boni agentem.

(PL 101, 635)

111-121. Cf. *Liber* cap. xxxiii:

Tristitiae duo sunt genera: unum salutiferum, alter
pestiferum. Tristitia salutaris est, quando de
peccatis suis animus contristatur peccatoris, et
ita contristatur, ut confessionem et poenitentiam
agere quaerat, et converti se ad Deum desideret.
Alia est tristitia hujus saeculi, quae mortem
operatur animae, quae nihil in bono opere pro-
ficere valet, quae animum perturbat, et saepe
in desperationem mittit, ut futurorum spem abs-
tollat [*Ms.*, auferat] bonorum. Ex ipsa nascitur
malitia, rancor, animi pusillanimitas, amaritudo,
desperatio. Saepe etiam et praesentis vitae nulla

delectatio. Quae vincitur per laetitiam spiri-
tualem, et spem futororum, et consolationem
Scripturarum, et fraternum colloquium.

(PL 101.636)

V (ll. 131-135) follows Alcuin's ordering while T and P share a variant reading.
122-134. Cf. *Liber* cap. xxxiv:

Vana gloria est, dum homo appetit in bonis suis
laudari, et non dat Deo honorem [sed sibi: nec]
divinae imputat gratiae quidquid boni facit,
sed [quasi] ex se habeat vel saecularis digni-
tatem honoris, vel spiritualis decorem sapien-
tiae, dum homo nihil absque Dei gratia vel ad-
jutorio habere possit boni, sicut ipsa Veritas
in Evangelio disciplulis suis ait: *Sine me nihil*
potestis facere (*John* 15:5). Quapropter qui
gloriatur, in Domino glorietur: quia nihil sine
Deo donante boni habere poterit. Ex cujus vitii
radice multi mulitae germinare videntur ramus-
culi: inde jactantia, arrogantia, indignatio,
discordia, inanis gloriae cupido, et hypocrisis,
id est, simulatio boni operis, cum de se homo
vult laudari, quod se agere nescit. Imo pene
omnia quae facit, eo tenore agit, ut ab homini-
bus laudetur, de quibus ipse Dominus ait: *Amen*
dico vobis, receperunt mercedem suam (*Mt.* 6:2).
Cujus morbi medicina est recordatio divinae
bonitatis, per quam omnia bona nobis collata
sunt, quae habere videmur; etiam et perpetua
ipsius Dei charitas, in cujus laude omnia agere
debemus ...

(PL 101, 635-636)

See note to l. 156 for the continuation of this passage.

Another example of the homilist's attempt to tighten up his version of Alcuin's *Liber* is rendering
giferness 7 licettung godes wurces (ll. 150-151) for *inanis gloriae cupido, et hypocrisis, id est, simulatio boni*
operis.

156. One folio is missing.

Below are notes to T.

1-4. Cf. *Liber* cap. xxxiv:

...in cujus laude omnia agere debemus,
quidquid boni in hoc saeculo operemur, et
magis desiderare a Deo laudari in die retribu-
tionis aeternae, quam ab homine quolibet in
hujus transitoriae vitae conversatione.

(PL 101, 636)

5-15. Cf. *Liber* cap. xxxiv:

Hi sunt octo totius impietatis duces cum exerciti-
bus suis, et fortissimi contra humanum genus dia-
bolicae fraudis bellatores. Deo auxiliante facil-
lime vincuntur a bellatoribus Christi per virtutes
sanctas. Prima superbia per humilitatem, gula per
abstinentiam, fornicatio per castitatem, avaritia

per abstinentiam, ira per patientiam, acedia per
instantiam boni operis, tristitia mala per laeti-
tiam spiritualem, vana gloria per charitatem Dei
[vincuntur]. Igitur ex his Christianae religionis
ductoribus, quos opposuimus diabolicae impietatis
bellatoribus, quatuor praesunt duces glorossimi:
prudentia, justitia, fortitudo, temperentia.

(PL 101. 637)

7. *Gode fultumigendum.* T and P actually give a short history of the dative absolute. Originally in T
the absolute was acceptable but later in the eleventh century a corrector suggested its replacement
by a prepositional phrase. In twelfth century P *þurh Godes fultum* is established.

13-15. This passage has undergone a major alteration. The portion *ege ... gyf he* is written over an
erasure, and the writing is somewhat distorted. The portion *cepð ... mannum* is written above *þonne
... aelcum.* The following letters on ms. l. 22 have not been fully erased: *s + + + +gð + + + +gung.*
The words must have been *strengð 7 gemetegung,* thus indicating that the original reading of T must
have been close to P. Yet one must note that P omits mention of *idel wuldor.*

16-42. Cf. *Liber* cap. xxxv:

Primo sciendum est quid sit virtus. Virtus est
animi habitus, naturae decus, vitae ratio, morum
pietas, cultus divinitas honor hominis, aeternae
beatitudinis meritum. Cujus partes sunt, ut diximus,
quatuor principales: prudentia, justitia, fortitudo,
temperantia. Prudentia est rerum divinarum humanar-
umque, prout homini datum est, scientia; in qua in-
telligendum est, quid cavendum sit homini, vel quid
faciendum: et hoc est, quod in Psalmo legitur: *Di-
verte a malo, et fac bonum* (*Ps.* 33:15). Justitia est
animi nobilitas, unicuique rei propriam tribuens
dignitatem. In hac divinitas cultus, et humani-
tatis jura, et justa judicia, et aequitas totius
vitae conservatur. Fortitudo est magna animi pati-
entia et longanimitas, et perseverentia in bonis
operibus, et victoria contra omnium [*Ms.,* omnia]
vitiorum genera. Temperentia est totius vitae
modus, ne quid nimis homo vel amet, vel odio
habeat; sed omnes vitae hujus varietates consider-
ata temperet diligentia. Haec vero in fide et chari-
tate observantibus aeternae gloriae ab ipsa Verita-
te Christo Jesu praemia pollicentur. Nulla melior
est sapientia, quam ea qua Deus secundum modulum
humanae mentis intelligitur et timetur [*Ms.,* et
amatur], et futurum ejus creditur judicium. Nam
quid est justius quam Deum diligere ejusque mandata
custodire, per quem, dum non fuimus, creati sumus,
et a servitute diabolica liberati, qui nobis omnia
bona quae habemus, perdonavit? Et quid hac forti-
tudine melius est quam diabolum vincere, et ejus
omnes superare suggestiones et omnia adversa mundi
pro Dei nomine fortiter tolerare?

(PL 101. 637)

22. The erasure of *eall swa we ær sædon* is a logical change in view of the alteration of ll. 13-15. P
retains the clause.

51. *men ða leofestan.* P omits but has *men* before *uton.*

137ff. Cf. the ending of Homily XIX, f. 109b:

> Þær is ece med 7 þær is lif butan deaðe 7
> geogoð butan ylde 7 leoht butan þystrum 7 gefea
> butan unrotnesse 7 sybb butan ungeþwærnesse 7
> orsorhnes butan deaþes ege to lybbenne. 7 þær is
> ece gesælignesse mid Fæder 7 mid þam Suna 7 mid
> þam Haligan Gaste a butan ende. Amen.

See also Homily XXI, f. 116a[3L]-116b[3].

THE SEVEN LIBERAL ARTS IN ALAN OF LILLE
AND PETER OF COMPOSTELLA

James J. Sheridan

IN the Prose Prologue to his *Anticlaudianus*, Alan of Lille repudiates the theories of the neoterics on the advantages of originality and maintains that he will, when it suits, borrow from the treasure-house of the giants of former times. As might be expected from a writer with this outlook, the *Anticlaudianus* is replete with quotations and adaptations from previous writers. Commentators on this work have identified many of the borrowings; many, no doubt, still pass undetected.

While doing research for a translation and commentary on the *Anticlaudianus*, I read the *De Consolatione Rationis* of Peter of Compostella, edited by P. B. Soto in *Beiträge zur Geschichte d. Philosophie d. M. A.* 8 (1912), 1-153 (text: 52-133). I was immediately struck by the numerous unusual words and phrases that Alan had borrowed from Peter. The most striking among these borrowings is the very rare word *eleufuga*. Du Cange could cite only the instance in the *Anticlaudianus*. By 1955 R. Bossuat (ed. *Anticlaudianus* 203) could add two further examples, one from Roger Bacon and one from Philip of Bury. Both these writers were later than Alan and very probably got the word from him.

Only one manuscript of the *De Consolatione Rationis* is available and it has fared so badly that parts are unintelligible. Soto, who apparently was unaware of Alan's debt to Peter, has suggested some emendations; further corrections can be made from Alan's text.

I am appending the complete text of Peter on the Liberal Arts and the parallel passages in Alan. I have suggested some emendations based on Alan's text and have indicated Soto's suggestions by (S).

GRAMMATICA

Prima quidem, que ver florum venatur honorem,
Et nec virgineum veneris flectura pudorem
Auferat, ac lactis torrente carere putetur,
Infantes cibat iste cibus nec pigra moretur.
5 Tres adit illa gradus, quibus amplior eius honestas
Crescit, et inmensa patet eius prima potestas;
Ordo, genus, species, pars, instrumenta, facultas,
Qualiter ars normas referat sub canone multas.
Queritur hic quid sit numerus, quid litera pura
10 Vel duplex, cur se ratione figura
Defendit vel cur elementi iram nomen
Vendicat, autve sonum vocalis possidet omnem,
Cetera mutescunt: cur metro iura duarum

Vendicat una sibi; cur com muta liquidarum
15 Una facit longam; cur vox induit una
Diversas species vel sensus duplicat una;
Cur gravis acentus premit, erigit alter acutus,
Et circumflexus giratur ad infima ductus.
Verba ligat metris, et carmen pigere rimo

20 Noscitur et pueros informat canone primo.
Cur pertita vigens scribendi destinat artem,
Sive loquendi recte cuius regula partem
Evocat, aponit, componit, dividit, unit,
Coniugat illa gradus, quos declinatio munit.

LOGICA

Virga secunda quidem sequitur penetrabilia mentis
Suscitat ad pugnam, pugnans armatur elenchis.
Queritur hi. quid vis, quid maxima, quid locus artis,

Quid genus aut species, cuius moderamine partis
5 Demonstrativa vel temtativa potestas
Inferet aut fallit, topicum cur duplice gestas
Res ratione probat, partitur, colligit, unit.
Singula cur tunicis veri fallacia munit
Falsa vel abscondit fur artis falsa sophista;
10 Vel genus in species partes ars dividat ista.
In totum cur rem descripcio pingit eandem,

Aut sua descripta cur difinitio tandem

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2. *fractura* (S). 11. *littera*; *literam* (S). 14. *cum muta* (S). 19. *pingere*; *figere?* (S). 21. *partita* (S).
1. *Virgo ... penetralia* (S). 3. hic (S). 5. *domonstrativa* (S).

Nec proprium frangat veneris fractura pudorem.
Sunt tamen in multo lactis torrente natantes ....(2, 390-2)
Infantem cibat iste cibus (2, 395)

Officium, species, genus, instrumenta, facultas
                                                    (2, 418)

Deffendens sese propria racione, figura ... (2, 422)
Cur sibi mendicet elementi littera nomen (2, 428)
Cur tenui deiecta sono poscencia vocem
Cetera mutescant (2, 433-4)
Qualiter in metro vires et iura duarum
Vendicat una sibi (2, 444)
Quomodo diversas species vox induit una (2, 446)

Quam gravis accentus infra demittit, acutus
Erigit, in gyrum fert circumflexus .. (2, 447-8)
Turba poetarum docet illum verba ligare
Metris et dulci carmen depingere rithmo (7, 259-60)

.... sic ergo loquendi
Recte scribendique viam sectatur et artem (7, 255)

Virgo secunda studet, intrat penetralia mentis (3, 2)
Monstrat elenchorum pugnam ... armet elenchum (3.34, 45)
Quid locus in logica dicatur ... quid maxima, que sit
vis argumenti (3, 42-44)

.... artis fur .../Falsus ....sophista (3.38-9)
Quid genus in species divisum separat (3, 67).
Quo modo res pinges descriptio claudit easdem
                                                    (3, 65)

Extra se non vult; quid sit substancia rerum,
De difinito vult id concludere verum.
15 Arte sua logica rationis inire duellum
Certat et incaptis argutum mittere tellum
Fallax adverse temptat concludere parti
Et pseudo = logicos reserare nec inferat arti

Falsa sophista loquax, partem ratione tueri
20 Nititur ipse suam, nec possit ymmagine veri
Falsum concludi, vult denudare sophistas,

Verum septari, falsumque recindere mistas
Explanans metados ubi nulla sit ars specialis,
Quin non indigeat artis moderamine talis.

RHETORICA

Tertia virgo nitens vultum splendore colorat,
Quasi sertum roseum pilus arte pollitus honorat;
Nullus et in facie candor peregrinus inheret,
Exemplans auri speciem coma fluxilis heret.
5 Nec velut arridens delegat lumina sursum.
In latus oblicans nec mergit ad infima rursum.

Vestis eam vestit vario variata colore;
Serta nitent sertique valor precurrit honore.
Queritur hic que causa, quis ordo, queque potestas,
10 Forma vel officium, vel quem demostrat honestas
Finem vel cause genus ad quem pervenit apte,
Quo tendat vel quid delibet utile capte
Afirmet rectum, justum dijudicet artis.
Que partes, vel qualiter ars vel sancio partis
15 Rectoriee concludat opus, vel dissipet, urgat,
Qualiter innumerisque modis oratio surgat,
Qualiter optato conclusio singula fine
Dirigat ac robur sumat sententia digne.
Quis locus, aut tempus, quid sit complexio facti,
20 Que vel quot species que viris causa peracti:
Quid fugat aut sistat dubii sermonis habenam,
Quomodo censuram faciet narratio plenam
Nec nimis obscuram; que vis vel questio juris,
Quis casus, vel consilium, que sancio duris
25 Afficit in penis occasio, causa, facultas,
Liberet aut dampnet, nec culpas linquit inultas.
Cultus rethorici precepta modosque colorum
Explicat orator; nan sub sermone leporum

---

16. *telum* (S). 23. *methodus* (S). 2. *politus*. 5. *nunc* for *nec*. 6. *obliquans*; *nunc* for *nec*. 10. *demon-*
strat (S). 12 *deliberet*. 20. *iuris* for *viris*.

Haec docet .../Adversae parti concludere (7, 265)
Scismaticos .... retundere fratres
Et pseudologicos (7, 268-269)
..... partem suam racione tueri (7, 266)
Cur pseudologicus, artis fur, artis adulter
Falsus et ypocrita furtivus predo, sophista (3, 38-9)
.... et denudare sophistas (7, 269)
.... recidit/Falsa ... (3, 36-37)

... miraque polytus/Arte iacet crinis (3, 151)
Sed partim vultus candor peregrinus inheret (3, 155)
Exemplans auri speciem (3, 151)
Nunc oculus sursum lumen delegat in imum (3, 161)
In latus obliquans, anfractus querit et umbram
                                        (3, 163)

Hic velud in libro legitur, quis finis et actor
Forma vel officium, que causa, quis ordo (3, 170-2)
.... et ad quem
Deveniens finem deliberet utile, iustum (3, 175-6)

Quomodo concludens conclusio singula fine (3, 196)

      .... que complexio facti (3, 223)

Legitimo claudit, sistens sermonis habenas (3, 197)

      .... que questio iuris (3, 200)

Verba nitent sermone brevi concludere multa,
30 Plurima sub paucis cun sententia scientia fulta
Mostrat et in vario presignit verba colore,
Sermonum variata modis stipata decore:
Ut redimat paleas granum sensusque loquelam
Et breve prolixum verbum censura procelam,

35 Temperies turpe pulcrum discrimen honestum,
Et vicium virtus et rerum copia questum.

ARISMETICA

Virgo prima nitet, cuius iam copia mentis
Scribitur in vultu sensus aurora lattentis
Exit in exterius gracilis, sutilis, acuta.
Ambit eam vestis, cuius concordia ducta
5 In numerum crescens, numerandi predicat artem.
Ostendens, que lex numeri, que regula partem
Congregat in totum, vel quis numeratus habetur,
Vel numerus numerans, vel qua ratione vocetur

Mars impar numerus, par scientia; cur sapientum

10 Dogma parem numerum mortem, sed in inpare tentum
Fert numerum vitam, que linea, que figura
Quis quadrus, quis piramis, aut que linea pura;
Que virtus numeri, cum quo deitatis idea.
Rebus signa dedit, non a vero pharisea
15 Astra movens, elementa ligans, ad cuius asillum
Limes fedus amor exemprar forma, sigillum.
Ponitur in mundo partus inmitata parentis,
Inviolata manet, se gignit, origo latentis
In se fit numeri, se de se multiplicando
20 Virgo parit, partusque suus virgo superando,

Vel superatur ab his, vel cur extrema ligentur

Sub vicibus mediis, vel cur necpti perhibentur

Uno sub modio duo quadrati, vel ab ortu
Radices primo simul extrait, omnia portu
25 Concordi religans mundum regit, ordinat illum,
Singula componens, coadunat, adauget asillum.
Indegat et numeri causas et semina rerum,

2. *latentis* (S). 16. *exemplar* (S). 22. *necti*; *nepti* (S). 24 *extrahit*. 27. *indagat* (S). 29. *cuncta* (S).

Succinte docet illa loqui sensusque profundos
Sub sermone brevi concludere, claudere multa
Sub paucis (7, 276-278)

Excuset folii silvam, paleasque vagantes
Ubertas grani redimat sensusque loquelam
(7, 283-284)

...... contendens prima vocari (3, 275)

Ergo decora, decens, gracilis, subtilis, acuta (3, 276)

...... numerandi predicat artem
Que numeri virtus, que lex (3, 300)
Quis numerus numerans ... quis numeratus (3, 316)
Quo iuris merito vel qua racione vocetur
Femina par numerus, impar mas, virgo Minerva
Cur animum, celum racionem, gaudia, vitam
Impare sub numero prudentum dogma figuret;
Cur corpus, terram, sensum, lacrimabile, mortem
Par numerus signet ... (319-24)

Hic erat ad cuius formam deitatis ydea
Impressit rebus formas ... (3, 309-310)
Astra movens, elementa ligans (3, 305)
Principium, finis, exemplar, forma, sigillum (3, 308)
Incorrupta manet, partus imitata parentis (3, 315)
Sese multiplicat, de sese gignit et in se
Incorrupta manet (3, 314-315)
Quomodo virgo parit ... (3, 315)
Quis numerus propriis completur partibus aut quis
Vel partes superat vel ab hiis superatus habundat
unde/ Provenit ut vicibus mediis extrema ligentur
Cur duo quadrati medio nectantur in uno
Vel solidos nectit mediis iunctura duobus (3, 332-334)
...... et ad primum radices extrahit ortum (3, 318)

.... semina rerum
Legibus inquirit (7, 285)

Querit et efectus certis concludere, verum
Legibus actemptat numeris cur cuncta ligentur,
30 .Que ratio numeri, que vis, qua lege tenentur
Omnia sub numeris stabili sub parte ligata,
Et numeris contempta suis, cuncta creata.

MUSICA

Virgo secunda decens vario sub cenmate fatur.
Que species artis, que vox, qua lege ligatur
Musica, quo iure loquat, anni tempora motat,
Sidera distinguit, menses, annalia dotat.
5 Ordinat, excessus tempus discriminat, horas

Colligit, excursus cogit citansque sonoras
Inducens furias proprium nescire furoram
Predicat atque sui dulcem parit ille saporem.

Quis sonus aut est in dyapason cantus ad illum,

10 Aut quis sex qualiter sonus est, vel prebet asillum.

Ut concors illi cantus sonet in dyapente:
Que vocum iunctura tiplex unaque sequente
Dat diatesaron in tribus una sonans tamen una
Non cantus generat, sed vocum consona pugna.
15 Vocum divicias ambit rixasque sonorum,

Ostendens que vox turbet, vel quis modus horum
Aurem demulcet, vel vocum federa partem

GEOMETRIA

Tercia virgo decens precedit ymaginem florum.
Iam prati faciem vires inmitata sororum,
Prosilit in campum, metitur magna profundum;
Indegat alta, subit, scrutatur singula, mundum
5 Circuit, astra meat, mare circinat, infima terre
Ambit, et ostendit, que simplex linea vere
Curva sit aut recta, que circumflexa vocetur,

Quid sit tretragenus cur angulus omnis habetur

Rectus et obtusus et acutus, cur perhibetur
10 Equorum laterum triganus que forma triangula detur
Aut circumducta centrum dat; qua ratione

1. *scemate*. 7. *furorem* (S). 9. *illa* (S). 10. *sesqualiter* (S). 12. *triplex* (S). 13. *in quibus*. 4. *indagat* (S).
8. *tetragonus* (S). 10. *trigonus* (S).

... numerisque ligantur/Cuncta (7, 289-290)

Que racio numeris (7, 294)
Ut numeri nodo stabilis liget omnia nexus (7, 296)

Scemate sub vario monstrans quid musica possit
                                                (3, 413)
              que musica colligit horas
Distinguit menses, locat anni tempora, cogit
Excursus, elementa ligat, iungitque planetas (3, 415-417)

coegit ../Furiasque suum nescire furorem (3, 405)
... dulcemque soni parit illa saporem (3, 399)
Quae vox ad vocem fit duppla vel in diapason
Quis resonat cantus, vel quis sexqualiter ad illum
Sit sonus aut illi concors sonet in diapente;
Que vocum iunctura parit diatessaron, in qua
Cum tribus una sonans vox litigat, immo iocatur
                                                (4, 434-438)

Cantus non gignit vox una sed unio vocum (3, 427)
Musica divicias aperit (7, 297)
Monstrat amicicias vocum rixasque sonorum (7, 301)

...... metitur magna, profundum (3, 487)

.... que linea curva
Recta vel equalis, que circumflexa vocetur (3, 489-490)
Quid sit tetragonus, quid forma triangula (3, 493)
.... cur angulus omnis
Aut obtusus hebet, aut sursum tendit acutus (3, 496-7)
Equorum laterum trigonus describitur (3, 501)
aut quid/ Circumducta sua describit linea centro
                                                (3, 495)

Equalem formam sibi forma triangula prone
Invenit, aut quid sit centrum, que consita plano
Vel contempta superficies; cur eleufuga sano

15 Vis intellectu capitur; quis prebuit artem
Commensurandi claudens immensa, refrenans
Ampla, sequens parva, sub pondere singula frenans;
Vel quid sit puctum quis linea quidve figura.
Quidve superficies, cur urget eleufuga datura
20 Arte sub hac dociles, quid mensura retinetur
Clausum sub triplici, quid strion esse probetur

ASTROLOGIA

Virgo quarta vigil vultusque reponit in altum,
Alta petit, terrena fugit, dat ad ardua saltum.
Queritur hic quid sint astrorum nomina, motus,
Signa, potestates, discursus ab ordine totus,
5 Que loca, que cause, que vis, que spera, quis ortus,
Ad quos astra meant vel sunt ducentia portus.
Quid sit celum, quid auxis, quid spera vocetur
Quis polus axem terminat, aut resecare probetur
In partes speram, cur mundi forma ligetur
10 Quinque paralelis, cur zonis machina mundi

Ambitur variis extremis, fligora fundi
Partibus in mediis, estus lateralibus eius
Temperiem certat, ut sit concludere peius
Aut melius clima — probat hoc habitatio rerum —,
15 Linea cur oblica meat sortita severum
Motuum signiferi duodeno pingere celum

Sidere testetur, vel qua ratione gemellum
Motum consequitur, vel qua sub lege planeta
Devius, aut vagus est dircursus non sine meta
20 Circulus aut quare curvatus utrumque colurum
Possidet, aut que spera iovis que semita durum
Martem saturnunque vehit; quos improbat actus;
Quis limes venerenque iovem non peste subactus
Ducit, ut opositos effectus quilibet horum
25 Inferat in mundo; cur cum moderamine morum
Virtus nascendis infunditur a superiori;
Cur venus hos lacerans urit, dum cedit amori

St. Michaels College, Toronto.

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14. *contenta* 15. *intellectus.* 18. *punctum* (S). 21. *sterion.* 5. *sphaera* (S). 7. *axis.* 11. *frigora* (S); *mundi.*
15. *obliqua* (S). 20 *curtatus.* 31. *veneremque.*

Queve superficies plano contenta (3, 491)
Cur huius tyrones artis eleufuga terret (3, 506)
Que mensurandi doctrinam fundit et usum (3, 485)
Edocet, immensum claudit, spatiosa refrenat
Parvaque consequitur (3, 486-487)

                                                         quid sit
mensura triplici clausum, quid sterion (3, 493-494)

Que docet astrorum leges, loca, tempora, motus,
Signa, potestates, discursus, nomina, causas
                                         (4, 19-20)
Qua ratione meant stelle (4, 36)

quis polus axem/Terminet (4, 23-24)
                                  mundusque ligetur
Quinque parallelis cinctus zonisque quibusdam
                                    (4, 24-26)

Cur obliqua means declini limite ducta
Linea signiferi duodena sydere celum
Pinguat (4, 32-34)

Cur decurtatus concludat utrumque colurum
Circulus (4, 29-30)

                                        quo limite currit
Stella Iovis (4, 45-46)

LANGTON ON BECKET: A NEW LOOK AND A NEW TEXT

Phyllis B. Roberts

O N Tuesday, 7 July 1220, the relics of St. Thomas Becket were solemnly elevated at Canterbury Cathedral. Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury and primate of England, presided at this grand occasion, attended by the young king Henry III and the justiciar Hubert de Burgh. The remains of the martyred saint were raised and placed in a gold reliquary chest adorned with precious stones and mounted on a marble altar in the new Trinity Chapel of the Cathedral.[1]

The year 1220 marked the fifty year (jubilee) celebration of Thomas' martyrdom. Associated with the events of the jubilee is a widely known sermon ostensibly preached by Langton at the translation itself.[2] This sermon, an elaboration on the theme of jubilee, was, in effect, a biblical commentary on various portions of the Old Testament appropriate to the jubilee theme, e.g. the history of Judah Maccabee and the stones erected by order of Joshua. Although this sermon may be the one actually delivered on the occasion of the translation, it is more likely that it was preached a year later in July 1221 when a synod was held at Canterbury to commemorate the translation.[3] The close resemblance between the sermon and the Office of the Translation (composed before 7 July 1221 by Langton or someone in his immediate circle) suggests that the sermon text, in its present form, may well represent a later

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[1] R. Foreville, *Le jubilé de Saint Thomas Becket: du xiiie au xve siècle (1220-1470): Etude et documents* (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N., 1958), p. 9. This work is a major study on the traditon of the Canterbury pilgrimage, the various jubilees down to the fifteenth century, and the indulgences proclaimed for the jubilees.

[2] *Stephani Langton Arch. Cant. Tractatus de translatione Beati Thomae* (Migne, PL 190. 407-24; also published in J. A. Giles, "Vita S. Thomae", *Patres Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, 2 (Oxford, 1845), 269-97. K. Norgate (*DNB*, XI, 568) suggested that this text probably represents an expanded version of the sermon preached on the occasion of the translation. For other references to this sermon see P. B. Roberts, *Stephanus de Lingua-Tonante: Studies in the Sermons of Stephen Langton* (Toronto: Pontifical Inst. of Mediaeval Studies, 1968), pp. 20, 24; on the connections between Langton and Becket, pp. 134-135.

[3] See F. M. Powicke, *The Christian Life in the Middle Ages and other essays* (Oxford, 1935), p. 141, n. 1.

amalgam of two stages of Langton's preaching on Becket in 1220 and 1221.[4]

What has, however, been unavailable until recently is the sermon that Langton preached on Becket in Rome late in December 1220. We know from Walter of Coventry that Langton set out for Rome in the autumn of 1220 on matters of church business; that he took with him some relics of the blessed martyr Thomas; and that at the request of Pope Honorius III, he preached a sermon.[5] It is presumed that this was the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the martyrdom which fell on Tuesday, 29 December 1220.

The Rome sermon of December 1220 differs from the text that was preached on the occasion of the translation (or the anniversary of the translation). So far as is known, only a single copy is extant and that is to be found in an anonymous book of sermons contained in Arras MS 222. Notwithstanding the fact that it is one of a number of anonymous texts, I believe that we can with reasonable certainty identify the sermon as Langton's sermon on Becket delivered in Rome. The major factors authenticating this text may be briefly summarized as follows: it is one of a large number of authenticated Langton sermons in the Arras manuscript; and external and internal evidence relative to the sermon (as will be shown hereafter) indicate the occasion and the circumstances of its delivery.[6]

We know from external evidence provided by the Chronicler that Langton was in Rome during the winter of 1220 and that he was asked to preach on Becket. The internal evidence in the text itself indicates that this was, in fact, the sermon he preached on this occasion. In his initial exposition of the theme *Sub umbra illius, quem desideraveram, sedi,* etc., Langton indicates that these words were most appropriate first, to the martyr who was being commemorated on that day; second, to the time of the Lord's nativity, i.e. the Christmas season; and third, to an audience of religious.

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[4] Foreville, pp. 11, 42-45. See Appendix, pp. 89-95, for comparisons between portions of the sermon and the Office of the Translation.

[5] Walter of Coventry, *Memoriale*, ed. W. Stubbs (Rolls Series), II, p. 246. Langton brought to the Pope a request from the prior and chapter at Canterbury that the indulgences granted earlier on the occasion of the translation be extended. To this the Pope replied on 18 December 1220 that the extraordinary indulgences granted earlier be enlarged and confirmed in perpetuity. Apparently Langton reported this information back to the monks at Canterbury in the summer of 1211, at the synod commemorating the translation. See Foreville, pp. 37-38; 43. For the bull of 18 December 1220 see *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, ed. P. Pressutti (2 vols., Rome, 1888-95), I, p. 477.

[6] Arras, Bibliothèque municipale 222 (334), XIII, Vellum, 190 fols., f. 13ra-15rb. In my *Studies in the Sermons of Stephen Langton, cit. supra,* I have attempted to demonstrate as fully as possible the authenticity of the bulk of these sermons as Langton texts. For a complete description and analysis of this MS, see pp. 152-154; for other references, p. 262.

> Ut primo congruat martiri cuius sollempnita[ti]s hodie agitur. Secundo dominice nativitatis tempori; tercio etiam vestre religioni. Competit martyri ut attribuatur martyri ipsi scil. beato Thome. Competit dominice nativitatis tempori, ut attribuatur anime fideli, sive ecclesie. Competit religioni ut attribuatur vestre congregationi.[7]

Thus the Christmas season provided the circumstance, a clerical congregation an audience, and the anniversary of the martyrdom a theme for this newly discovered text of Langton's preaching on the martyrdom of Becket.[8]

The Rome sermon text which follows draws its theme from the *Song of Songs* 2. 3-4:

> Sub umbra illius, quem desideraveram, sedi, fructus eius dulcis gutturi meo. Introduxit me rex in cellam vinariam, ordinavit in me caritatem.

Langton's method follows the traditions of the *ars praedicandi*: the setting forth of the theme and its development by similes and exempla; the insertion of the protheme or subordinate themes (and their explication); and the citation of sources, (which are here almost exclusively scriptural).[9]

The dominant motif in the sermon is, of course, Becket's martyrdom by which he imitated the Lord's passion. The imagery of the main theme reiterates the motif again and again. The "shadow beneath which he sat with great delight" symbolized his emulation of the Lord in the afflictions of His body. The "fruit sweet to the taste was the Lord's passion when, for the Lord's sake, Becket endured exile, proscription, insults and opprobrium".[10]

Becket's travail and martyrdom are re-emphasized in the secondary theme, *Ecclesiasticus* 50. 1,8:

> Ecce sacerdos magnus quasi flos rosarum in diebus vernis et quasi lilia in transitu aquarum.[11]

Here the lily symbolizes Becket's suffering. The "six leaves of the lily" remind Langton of Becket's six years in exile, and the "red seed at the top of the lily" denotes his martyrdom.[12]

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[7] f. 13ra.

[8] The sermon may well have been preached on the actual anniversary of the martyrdom, Tuesday, 29 December 1220. See the references to the feastday of St. Stephen (26 December), the feastday of St. John the Evangelist (27 December), the feastday of the Holy Innocents (28 December) preceding the reference to the blessed Thomas, f. 14rb, *infra*.

[9] See Roberts, Ch. IV, pp. 75-94.

[10] f. 13rb.

[11] f. 13va.

[12] f. 13vb.

Earlier in the sermon, Langton had remarked on the threefold
suitability of his theme, first to the occasion of the anniversary of the
martyrdom; second to the Christmas season and its applicability to the
faithful soul and the Church; and third to his clerical audience. "His
sermon", he says, "will thus be expounded in this threefold manner".

    Horum verborum seriem tripliciter exponemus.[13]

The "banqueting house" motif in the main theme provides an exam-
ple of this tripartite interpretation. In the first explication (i.e. the com-
memoration of the martyrdom of Becket), "the banqueting house is the
glory of martyrdom, when Becket — returning from exile and then
martyred — released his soul to the glory of eternal beatitude".[14]

In the second explication (i.e. the suitability of the theme to the
Christmas season and to the faithful soul), "the banqueting house is the
church; the wine jars are its martyrs, and the wine, the blood of their
passions. So does the Lord introduce the faithful soul into the holy
church, and proposes that he drink the wine of love in commemoration
of St. Stephen's day (26 December); the wine of purity for the feastday
of St. John the Evangelist (27 December); the wine of innocence for the
feastday of the Holy Innocents (28 December); and spiced wine com-
memorating the martyrdom of the blessed Thomas (29 December) who
was a zealot in the cause of ecclesiastical liberty".[15]

Finally, in the third explication (i.e. the appropriateness of the theme
to this audience of religious), "the banqueting house is the cloister in
which the wine ought to be the wine of compunction, abstinence and
religion".[16]

There are also specific references to Becket's persecution, to England,
and to the English church. "The rose (in *Eccli*. 50. 1,8) is compared to
the martyr, and the thorn on which it grows may be called England,
since there is no end to the sting of persecution that afflicts the church.
Yet the thorn produces men such as St. Alphege or St. Edmund the
Martyr. The rose which most lately adorns this thorn is the glorious
martyr Thomas. This thorn should not be spurned since, God willing, it
may produce other roses".[17] The example of the blessed Thomas is thus
offered in this sermon "as one who defended the Church, his flock, and
fearlessly faced the tyrant in the preservation of ecclesiastical liberty".[18]

[13] f. 13ra.
[14] f. 13rb-13va.
[15] f. 14rb.
[16] f. 14vb.
[17] f. 13va.
[18] f. 14va.

Becket's role as defender of ecclesiastical liberty had long exercised an influence on Stephen Langton. This sermon preached in December 1220, and the sermon on the translation of the relics culminate a career which drew on the Becket image for its inspiration. Langton's association (as student and master) with a group in Paris who were strongly pro-Becket indicated an early tendency toward identifying with the martyred archbishop of Canterbury. Langton's master, Peter the Chanter, had commented favorably on Becket's actions against simony in the archiepiscopal household.[19] Caesar of Heisterbach reported that when the Paris masters were discussing the death of Becket, the Chanter declared that he was a martyr, who was slain while defending the liberty of the Church.[20]

From 1207, when he was consecrated archbishop, until 1213, when he took up the duties of the see of Canterbury, Langton was in exile. Like Thomas Becket many years before, Stephen Langton found a temporary refuge in the Cistercian monastery at Pontigny. By the time the archbishop returned to England in 1213, he may well have been convinced that he was himself a successor to Becket.

Langton's long struggle with King John and his stubborn efforts to achieve the freedom of the English church from royal interference are well in the tradition of Thomas Becket who had earlier declared his independence and that of the church from John's father, Henry II. What Becket paid for by his martyrdom, Langton finally achieved in the first chapter of Magna Carta: *Quod ecclesia Anglicana libera sit ...*

The Becket image and example received its proper summation and eulogy in this sermon preached by Langton on the anniversary of the martyrdom. The archbishop, in the fullness of his years, looking back upon a life of conflict and achievement could strongly identify with the blessed Thomas. Several years ago a play[21] based on the conflicts between King John, Pope Innocent III and Archbishop Stephen Langton gave poetic expression to the profound impact of Thomas Becket on Langton. Unlike the historian who is bound by his sources and can only hint or speculate about the evidence, the dramatist exercising the privilege of the artist, can give free rein to his imagination which, nonetheless, may well strike the heart of the matter. Our look at Langton's sermon indicates that this may well have been achieved in the playwright's portrayal of Langton's view of Becket. In the epilogue of

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[19] *Verbum abbreviatum*, c. 38 (Migne, PL 205. 132).

[20] Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus Miraculorum*, viii, 69.

[21] Patric Dickinson, *A Durable Fire*: A Play Commissioned by the Dean and Chapter and the Friends of Canterbury Cathedral for presentation in the Chapter House during the Festival of the Friends (London, 1962).

the play, Langton appears kneeling before the shrine of St. Thomas, and
quietly begins to speak:

> I said I would tell you, Thomas.
> But now that I come to do it I find
> I would rather tell you how the swallows
> Have built over the west door
> Than of all the violent to-and-fro of mankind.
> It was not all lost.
> What more is there to say?
> There was a shrivelling moment
> I wanted to give in, to let them stew,
> And live alone in a cell.
> You helped that pitiful creature
> Hobble out of my nature. Thank you.
> I think this year the fruit
> Looks like doing well. And England
> Seems swelling towards a sweetness
> Of peace we have not known
> Since they murdered you, my saint,
> Fifty years ago today.

> What we have won!
> There is a tree growing in England now
> No axe can even dint.
> It will always fruit and men
> Will always eat of its fruit-
> Which will not always be sweet.
> I must train gardeners.

> Thomas, let me be proud
> With none but your dear soul and God
> to hear me.
> We have fed its roots.
> What more is there to say?

MS Arras 222
(f. 13ra) De sancto Thoma martyre. vi. *Sub umbra illius .quem desideraveram sedi,
fructus*[1] *eius dulcis gutturi meo. Introduxit me rex*[2] *in cellam vinariam, ordinavit in me
caritatem.* (*Cant. Cant.* 2. 3-4) Horum verborum seriem tripliciter exponemus. Ut
primo congruat martiri cuius sollempnita[ti]s hodie agitur. Secundo dominice
nativitatis tempori;[3] tercio etiam vestre religioni.[4] Competit martyri ut at-

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[1] *Cant. Cant.* 2.3 reads ... et fructus.

[2] *om. Cant. Cant.* 2.4.

[3] The sermon was preached during the Christmas season late in December 1220. The anniversary
of Becket's martyrdom was 29 December.

[4] The audience was probably a clerical congregation in Rome.

tribuatur martyri ipsi scil. beato Thome. Competit dominice (f. 13rb) nativitatis tempori, ut attribuatur anime fideli, sive ecclesie. Competit religioni ut attribuatur vestre congregationi. Primo prout competit martiri exponamus. Dicit ergo martyr. *Sub umbra illius, etc.* Prelati moderni sedent sub umbra rampni. Per rampnum mundus intelligitur. Hii ergo sub umbra rampni sedent qui mundi illecebris delectantur. Beatus vero martyr sub umbra desiderati i.e. imitatione dominice passionis requievit, quando scil. in pontificatus sui apice constitutus repente mutatus est in virum alterum; carnem suam maceravit ieiuniis, vigiliis, asperitate cilicii. Umbra corpus imitatur, sed nichil habet soliditatis corporee. Eodem modo mortificatio[5] carnis qua homo motus illicitos refrenat domini eam passionem imitari videtur; sed modicum quid est respectu ipsius passionis, sicut umbra consideratione corporis. Bene igitur martyr egregius *sub umbra desiderati sedisse* se dicit, quia patientem dominum sui corporis afflictione sequi non abhorruit. Sequitur: *fructus eius dulcis gutturi meo, fructus desiderati* est passio ipsius. Tunc enim dulcis fuit ei passio Ihesu Christi quod rei eventu ostendit, quando pro eo exilium sui suorumque proscriptionem contumelias et opprobria mente hylari sustinuit. Sicut autem sub umbra arboris requiescere minus est quam de fructu comedere, ita minus fuit maceratio carnis voluntaria quam sui suorumque proscriptio. Ideo dicitur prius sub umbra requiescere in mortificatione carnis proprie, et post de fructus dulcedine gustare in sui suorumque proscriptione.

Sequitur: *introduxit me rex in cellam vinariam. Cella vinaria* est gloria martirum. A torculari defertur vinum in cellarium. Vinacium porcis relinquitur conculcandum. Vinum est anima; vinacium est corpus. Tunc ergo (f. 13va) introductus est in cellam vinariam, quando ab exilio rediens a torculari passionis ferebatur anima ad gloriam eterne beatitudinis. Vinacium corpus porcis conculcandum relinquebatur quando vilissimus satelles pede collo martyris super posito cerebrum per pavimentum dispersit.

Sequitur: *ordinavit in me caritatem.* Decenter fuit in eo caritas ordinata, quando pro Deo primo carnem afflixit, deinde exilium subiit; ad ultimum pro grege sibi commisso martyrio coronatus est — semper gradatim ascendendo per caritatem donec per eam consummaretur. Unde bene huic martyri competit quod dicit *Ecclesiasticus* (cf. *Eccli.* 50. 1,8) de commendatione magni sacerdotis. *Ecce sacerdos magnus quasi flos rosarum in diebus vernis et quasi lilia in transitu aquarum. Rosa* designat martyrium. Rosa crescit super spinam; spina est caro; rosa super spinetum est martyrium in corpore afflicto. Vel spinetum potest dici Anglia, quia aculeo persecutionis non cessat ecclesiam infestare. Certe vilissimum esset hoc spinetum nisi rosas aliquas procrearet. Ab hoc spineto namque prodiit Sanctus Elfegus,[6] Sanctus Edmundus[7] et multi alii. Rosa que

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[5] -nis *del.*

[6] S. Elfegus or Alphege (d. 1011), abbot of Bath, later bishop of Winchester apparently was involved in the conversion of the Danelaw. Slain by the Vikings at Canterbury whose attacks on England were under the leadership of the Danish king Swein), Alphege was regarded as a martyr of righteousness. St. Thomas of Canterbury invoked the aid of St. Alphege when he was slain. S. Baring-Gould, *The Lives of the Saints*, 4 (16 vols., Edinburgh, 1914), pp. 229-32.

[7] S. Edmundus or Edmund the Martyr (841-70), king of East Anglia, led the people against the invasions of the heathen Danes. Tradition has it that he refused to compromise the Christian

ultimo decoravit hoc spinetum fuit gloriosus martyr Thomas; et ideo non est spernendum hoc spinetum, quia si Domino placuerit adhuc poterit et alias rosas procreare.

Ver fuit ecclesia primitiva. Beatus ergo martyr quasi flos rosarum fuit in temporibus vernis, quia licet non fuerit rosa in vere i.e. licet non fuerit purpuratus rosa martyrii in primitiva ecclesia, tamen equalem gloriam primis martyribus, vel certe si dicere liceat maiorem promeruit; qui passus est in autumpno in fine temporum, tempore fructuum colligendorum, quando per maturitatem membra ecclesie convaluerunt perveniendo ad gloriam. Vel aliter fuit quasi flos i.e. revera flos. Scitis enim quod in vere prodeunt flores qui latuerunt in hyeme. (f. 13vb) Similiter ante pontificatum gloriosi martyris quasi hyemps erat quia prorsus deperiit libertas ecclesie, et sicut populi sic et sacerdos. In pontificatu vero ipsius cepit libertas ecclesie apparere, que latebat in hyeme. Erat ergo flos rosarum in temporibus vernis.

Sequitur *et quasi lilia*. Lilium in altum crescit, calamus eius hispidus est et. asper; flos filii per sex folia propagatur, in summitate est semen rubicundum. Prelati moderni in altum crescunt, sed eorum altitudo suavis est. Delectantur enim in condimento ciborum, suavitate vestium et ceteris que corpus nutriunt. Huius vero altitudo fuit aspera, quia in altitudine sua asperam vitam ducens carnem coegit servire spiritui, et omnem victus molliciem asperitate mortificationis exclusit.

Item. Flos lilii sex foliis distinguitur, et gloriosi martyris exilium per vi annos dilatatum est. Semen rubicundum in summitate lilii est martirium, quod summitas floris per vi folia distincti pretendit, quia in fine annorum quibus exulabat secutum est martyrium. *Aque* sunt affluentia rerum temporalium. Magnum quidem est esse lilium i.e. mortificationem carnalium desideriorum sed maximum est esse lilium *in transitu aquarum* i.e. inter affluentes divitias corpus macerare et martirii agonem sustinere.

Notetur etiam quod Dominus dicit in euvangelio: *Vespere dicitis serenum erit, rubicundum enim est celum, et mane tempestas, rutilum enim triste celum* (*Matt.* 16.2-3). *Mane* fuit ecclesia primitiva. *Vespere* fuit in passione gloriosi martyris, vel quia in fine temporum passus est. Vel ut legitur in vespere diei, quasi hora undecima. Fuit igitur in passione ipsius *celum*, i.e. ecclesia, *rubicundum*, quia Cantuariensis ecclesia sanguine ipsius rubricata est. Sed hanc serenitatem pro qua passus est et cuius signum fuit rubor celi vespertinus adhuc expectamus, et quam diu (f. 14ra) Domino placuerit expectabimus. Nondum enim illuxit serenitas illa scilicet ecclesie tranquillitas et pax desiderata. Sed adhuc durat tempestas. In mane i.e. primordio ecclesie rutilabat scil. sanguine martyrum celum, triste pro persecutione fidelium, quia ecclesia membris suis patientibus compassa est.

Jam ostendimus qualiter verba ab initio proposita congruant beato martiri. Sequitur ut exponamus prout congruunt anime fideli. Dicit ergo ecclesia. *Sub umbra illius etc.* Quis est iste desiderabilis, ille scil. de quo dicit *Aggeus*: (2.8) *Ecce veniet desideratus cunctis gentibus*. Cui etiam dicitur: *O sapientia, o Emanuel, veni, veni*. Vox enim antiquorum patrum.

Notandum quod umbra provenit ex obiectu corporis tenebrosi lumini. Corpus tenebrosum fuit caro Ihesu Christi, lumen divinitas eius. Umbra inde proveniens est recordatio Dominice incarnationis; requiescit ergo ecclesia in recordatione Dominice incarnationis modernis temporibus, quod in antiquis desiderabat. Quiescere debet anima fidelis sub hac umbra non perfunctorie transire, sed affectuose immorari; et cor apponere recordando qualiter fuit natus, in presepio reclinatus, quam vilibus pannis opertus. Horum rememoratio debet in nobis compunctionem excitare. Hinc dicit *Ysaias* (6.3): *Plena est omnis terra gloria Domini*, sed statim subiungit (6.4):[8] *et domus plena fumo*. Gloria Domini fuit etiam incarnatio, sicut alias dictum est, fumus est compunctio. Non ergo simpliciter dicit plena est omnis terra gloria Domini.[8] Domus cordis nostri i.e. conscientia nostra plena debet esse fumo i.e. compunctione ex recordatione Dominice incarnationis proveniente. De hoc fumo dicit *Ioel* (2.30) prophetans: *Dabo prodigia in celo sursum*[9] *et in terra sanguinem et ignem et vaporem fumi*. Prodigium sanguinis fuit datum in Dominica passione, quia pro sudore exierunt gute sanguinee. Prodigium ignis in missione Spiritus Sancti, quando in igneis linguis descendit super apostolos. Prodigium fumi in predicatione Beati Petri, quando una die iii^a milia hominum (f. 14 rb) convertit; et alia die v milia: Mirabile namque fuit et stupore dignum quod simplex ydiota tot ad fidem convertere potuit, etiam de hiis qui in necem Domini conspiraverunt.[10]

Sequitur: *fructus eius dulcis gutturi meo*. *Fructus* incarnationis Domini est opus eius quod gessit in carne, mortuorum suscitatio, cecorum illuminatio, languidorum curatio, et similia que ad humilitatem nos invitant. Non dicitur, fructus dulcis ori, sed gutturi. Sunt enim quidam qui memoriam habent et mentionem faciunt de Dominica incarnatione et eius operibus sed nullam gustant internam dulcedinem. Fructus est dulcis ori eorum non gutturi; illis autem dulcescit in gutture qui cogitando de operibus Domini reficiuntur interiori dulcedine.

Sequitur: *introduxit me rex in cellam vinariam*. Consuetudo est quod quando aliquis amicum suum in cellarium introducit ad vina probanda, propinat ei diversa vini genera. *Cella vinaria* est ecclesia; dolia martyres; vinum passiones eorum. Similiter Dominus noster introducit animam fidelem in sanctam ecclesiam, proponit ei vinum caritatis in passione Beati Stephani[11] qui legitur affectuose pro inimicis orasse. Vinum mundicie in festivitate Sancti Iohannis Euvangeliste;[12] vinum innocentie in festo Sanctorum Innocentum;[13] vinum gariophilatum in passione Beati Thome qui dici potest zelus libertatis ecclesiastice.

Sicut enim per species dulcoratur vinum et suavius redolet, eodem modo exilium, carnis maceratio, dignitas conditionis, excellentia dignitatis; quasi quedam species aromatice passioni coniuncte martyrium eius dulcorabant. O quam infelices sumus si saltem de aliquo istorum vinorum non gustaverimus.

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[8] *add. in marg.*
[9] *om. Ioel* 2.30.
[10] *Cf. Act.* 2.41; 4.4.
[11] 26 December.
[12] 27 December.
[13] 28 December.

Quam felices vero si hoc vino spirituali potati fuerimus scil. ut ad exempla (f. 14va) sanctorum caritatis ardore ferveamus, mundicie polleamus sinceritate, innocentiam preferamus in actibus, zelatores ecclesiastice libertatis efficiamur.

Sequitur: *ordinavit in me caritatem*. Hoc est quod perfectum est et totum perficit, omne bonum informat, et ad perfectionem adducit. Sine caritate enim ut ait apostolus: (*Hebr.* 11.6) *Impossibile est placare Deo*. Is autem est ordo caritatis ut primo et super omnia Dominum diligamus, secundo nos ipsos, tercio proximos. Ut zelum animarum subditarum habeant qui in specula prelationis sunt constituti, exemplo Beati Thome qui pro tuitione ecclesie, pro commisso grege, pro conservanda libertate non formidavit se furori tyrannico constanter obicere, et gladiis funestorum satellitum caput exponere.

Iam prosecuti sumus primam clausulam sermonis prout attribuitur anime fideli. Restat ostendere qualiter competat viro religioso. Dicit ergo vir religiosus: *Sub umbra illius quem desideraveram sedi*. Quasi dicat, dum conversarer in seculo sub umbra mundi i.e. sub sentibus peccati, sed modo post conversionem requiesco sub umbra desiderati i.e. memoria incarnationis Domini. Huic dicit David (*Psalm.* 108.24): *Caro mea immutata est propter oleum*. Per oleum significatur misericordia Domini, que est eius incarnatio. Quidam transeundo ad claustrum carnalem conversationem immutant, ut sine sollicitudine et forte lautius quam in seculo vivere possint in claustrali cenobio. Certe talis immutatio est perniciosa, quia supplicii eterni meritoria. Bonus enim claustralis ut semper sit misericordie Domini memor, carnis sue statum debet immutare, ut sicut a seculo in claustrum, sic a luxuria in mundiciam, a crapula in abstinentiam, a garrulitate in taciturnitatem, a tumultu transeat ad tranquillitatem, et sic de ceteris. De hac mutatione dicit Ysaias: (19.18) *Erunt v civitates in* (f. 14vb) *terra Egypti loquentes*[14] *lingua commutata vel*[14] *lingua Canaan. Terra Egypti* est ipse homo; *prima civitas* huius terre, sunt oculi qui vanis spectaculis in seculo delectabantur, que *lingua* erat diaboli. In claustro loqui debet lingua Dei i.e. lacrimis effluere, quia in illis delectatur Dominus. *Secunda* mutatio est in ore, quod frivola verba detractoria, turpia proferre solebat. In claustro non debet aperiri nisi quando loquitur cum Domino in orationibus et psalmis, vel quando Dominus loquitur cum eo in lectione.

Tercia mutatio in auribus est ut homini placeat aures habere ad audiendum laudes Domini et commendationem proximi, que prius inanibus scurrilibus, detractoriis verbis assuefieri solebant. *Quarta civitas* est venter, huius lingua commutari debet, ut qui prius ructabat ex superhabundantia crapule; qui miscuerat assis elixa, simul conchilia turdis, stomachoque tumultum inferebat; iam novam consuetudinem assumat ut compellatur clamare pre abstinentia. *Quinta civitas* sunt pedes. Hii etiam cum ceteris lingua Canaan uti debent, ut qui prius ad malum promerant et per campos licentie vagando discurrebant, nunc in claustro cohiberi sustineant.

Sequitur: *fructus eius dulcis gutturi meo*. Ac si diceret, ideo *sedi sub umbra* i.e. sub memoria incarnationis eius, quia *fructus eius* i.e. passio que provenit ex incarnatione eius *dulcis est gutturi meo,* quasi dulce reputo passionem ipsius imitari in afflictione corporis et maceratione carnis.

Sequitur: *introduxit me rex in cellam vinariam. Cella vinaria* est claustrum in quo debet esse vinum compunctionis, abstinentie, religionis. Dolium quicumque

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[14] *om. Isa.* 19.18.

religiosus; vinum in dolio, religio in claustrali egregio ligatura circuli disciplina. Operculum foraminis in dolio est censura (f. 15ra) silentii. Nisi dolium bene religetur circulo, vinum effluit; sic conversatio claustralium nisi rigore discipline compescatur, exspirat religio. Sicut autem cellarium parvi precii reputatur nisi vinum ad quod constructum est contineat, sic claustrum non est dignum commendatione nisi polleat religione.

Sequitur: *ordinavit in me caritatem.* Caritas in religioso bene ordinatur quando reddit prelato, pari, et subdito ad quod tenetur — prelato obedientiam et reverentiam, pari consilium et auxilium, inferiori custodiam et disciplinam. Item in *Libro Regum* legitur (*3 Reg.* 10.19), ubi agitur de constructione templi quod Salomon sedem quandam construi fecit et ex utraque parte ipsius manum tenentem sedile. Manus dextere partis est caritas, manus sinistre est obedientia; ista duo sunt precipua in religioso. Unde in *Ecclesiastico* (3.1): *Filii sapientie ecclesia iustorum, natio illorum obedientia et dilectio.* Item *Iohannes in Apocal.* (4.3): *Vidit sedem et in circuitu sedis iris.* Anima viri religiosi et etiam cuiuscumque iusti est sedes Dei. Iris duos habet in se colores scil. igneum et aqueum. Ignis significat caritatem, aqua obedientiam. Sicut enim aqua ductilis est in quamcumque partem voluerit homo, sic voluntas religiosi obedientis conformari debet precepto prelati et illud sequi. Bene igitur circuit iris i.e. caritas, et obedientia sedem Dei i.e. animam iusti religiosi. Item dicit *Ecclesiasticus:* (39.31) *Initium necessarie rei vite hominum ignis et aqua, ferrum et sal, lac et panis similagineus, mel et botrus uve, oleum et vestimentum.* Ista x maxime sunt necessaria viro religioso. *Ignis et aqua* sunt caritas et obedientia; *ferrum et sal* duricia vite cum discretionis moderamine; *lac* doctrina parvulorum; *panis similagineus* instructio perfectorum. Unde apostolus: (*1 Cor.* 3.2) *Eis qui nondum in fide confirmati erant dicit, lac vobis potum dedi non escam. Mel* est mansuetudo ut quilibet[15] erga alium sit mansuetus et compatiens. Sed quia mansuetudo[15] nisi rigore temperetur solet esse causa dissolutionis. Ad-(f. 15rb) ditur *botrus uve* i.e. rigor discipline ut utrumque condimentum sortiatur ex altero, ne aut rigor sit nimius, aut mansuetudo dissoluta. *Oleum* i.e. misericordia ut si videris pusillanimem vel ignotum, misericorditer compatieris ei. Et *vestimentum* i.e. ornatus virtutum quo debet redimiri religiosus. Hec x conversos in religione consolidant et in sanctitate vite consummant. Sic igitur sub umbra desiderati sedere curate, sic fructu consecutivo incarnationis i.e. passione Domini per imitationem utimini, ut a cella vinaria i.e. claustrali cohabitatione suffragantibus meritis Beati Thome transeatis ad gaudia celestis vite prestante Domino nostro Iesu Christo qui cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto vivit et regnat Deus per infinita secula seculorum. Amen.

Richmond College, City University of New York.

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[15] *add. in marg.*

THE TREATISES *ON MODAL PROPOSITIONS* AND *ON HYPOTHETICAL PROPOSITIONS* BY RICHARD LAVENHAM

Paul Vincent Spade

R ICHARD Lavenham[1] was born at Lavenham, in Suffolk. The date is unknown. He became a Carmelite friar at Ipswich, went to Oxford where he received the doctorate,[2] and was later prior of Bristol Convent. He was confessor to Richard II and a friend to the archbishop of Canterbury, Simon Sudbury. The year of his death was formerly thought to be 1381 or 1383,[3] but Emden[4] refers to a London register according to which Lavenham was prior of London Convent as late as September, 1399.

Lavenham was a prolific writer. At least sixty-three treatises have been attributed to him. These include a collection of heresies drawn from the work of the Wycliffite John Purvey, commentaries on the *Physics* and the *Ethics*, treatises on astronomy, and a variety of other works.[5] Twenty-five[6] of these treatises, on logical and physical topics, are included in the British Museum MS Sloane 3899. With the exception

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[1] Most of the following information on Lavenham's life and works is based on the article by C. L. Klingsford in *Dictionary of National Biography*, v.11, 652f. References and further details are given there. Cf. also A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A. D. 1500*, v.2, 1109f.

[2] Klingsford, *op. cit.*, 653, says that Lavenham "is said to have graduated D. D.; but in the colophon to his tract against John Purvey ... he is called simply 'magister'." In Br. Mus., Sloane MS 3899, however, he is repeatedly referred to as 'doctor'. Cf. the following analysis of the contents of that MS. Perhaps the terms do not indicate any discrepancy.

[3] Cf. the discussion by Klingsford, *loc. cit.*

[4] Emden, *op. cit.*, 1110.

[5] Cf. Klingsford, *loc. cit.*

[6] Klingsford counts only twenty-four. Although he does not list the treatises, it is likely that the discrepancy in our counts arises from items 24 and 25 in my analysis of the contents of the MS. At first glance, these seem to constitute a single treatise. If one looks more carefully, however, it is clear that f. 78v contains a discussion of *logical* terms, and that there is a sharp break in continuity between f.78v and f.79r, which begins in the middle of a discussion of *physical* terms. It would appear that there are here fragments of two separate treatises which have been mistakenly juxtaposed in the putting together of the MS.

of two,[7] all of these treatises seem to be unique to this MS. The MS contains 97ff. Ff. 2v-90v contain the works by Lavenham, written in a single fourteenth-century hand, one column to a side. The scribe has provided us with his name: Chestreforde.[8] There follows in the same hand an additional *Tractatus de tribus principiis* attributed to a certain «Hensy ... (?)". A second, new hand fills the remainder of the MS with an unidentified text.

The following is an analysis of the contents of the MS:

f. 1r: "The Author of the Several Books contained in this Volume was Richard Lavingham, or Lavenham, a Suffolk man, of the order of Carmelites <a >t[9] Ipswich, he died about the year 1381".[10]

This is written in a modern hand. There follows the library's identification number for the MS. The remainder of f. 1r and all of f. 1v are blank.

f. 2r: Diagram of the Porphyrian tree.

1 ff. 2v-3r: <*De propositionibus modalibus* >.

Inc: De propositionibus modalibus parum jam restat tractare; *exp*: Haec omnia patebunt in sequenti figura.

There follows a diagram of the square of opposition for modal propositions.

2 f. 3rv: <*De propositionibus hypotheticis* >.

Inc: Propositio hypothetica est illa quae plures; *exp*: ut 'Si tu es asinus, tu est animal'. Sed ....(*Fragment*)

3 ff. 4r-6v: *Suppositiones*.

Inc: Suppositio est proprietas extremi seu statio; *exp*: si sit terminus communis, supponit confuse et distributive. Expliciunt suppositiones compendiose compilatae per reverendum doctorem Lavinham[11] ordinis fratrum de Carmelo.

There follows a *notandum* in three lines, which seems to be meant to be inserted at the end of the previous text, and perhaps is part of it. *Exp*: tunc supponit personaliter.

4 ff. 6v-12v: *Consequentiae*.

Inc: Consequentia est antecedens et consequens; *exp*: est hoc 'Tu non est Oxoniis et tu non es Londoniis'. Expliciunt consequentiae compendiose compilatae per venerabilem doctorem Lavinham ordinis Carmelitarum per manum Chestreforde.

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[7] Cf. items 14 and 17 of the analysis of the MS.
[8] *Ibid.*, item 4.
[9] The 'a' seems to have once been there, but is now almost totally invisible in the microfilm.
[10] Cf. above on this date.
[11] The MS has this spelling throughout.

5 ff. 12v-14r: *Tractatus exclusivarum*.

Inc: Dictio exclusiva aliquando sumitur; *exp*: Unde bene sequitur: 'Tantum homo currit; ergo, homo currit'. Explicit tractatus exclusivarum per doctorem Lavinham Carmelitam.

6 ff. 14r-15v: *Exceptivae*.

Inc: Dictiones exceptivae sunt istae; *exp*: et sic non est in exceptiva negativa. Expliciunt exceptivae compilatae per reverendum doctorem Lavinham.

7 ff. 15v-17v: *Tractatus qui differt et aliud nuncupatur*.

Inc: Notandum quod differt et aliud eodem modo; *exp*: et sic possunt probari omnes consimiles. Explicit tractatus qui differt et aliud nuncupatur compilatus per Lavinham.

8 ff. 17v-21r: *Obligationes*.

Inc: Obligatio est oratio mediante qua; *exp*: tunc non est respondendum ad obligatum sicut per illud concipitur. Expliciunt obligationes compendiose compilatae per venerabilem doctorem Lavinham ordinis Carmelitarum. Quod C.[12]

9 ff. 21r-22v: *Tractatus de termino ampliativo et privativo*.

Inc: Terminorum quidam sunt ampliativi quidam vero privativi; *exp*: et superius est expressum. Explicit tractatus de termino ampliativo et privativo compilatus per doctorem Lavinham ordinis fratrum de Carmelo.

10 ff. 22v-25r: *Tractatus de syncategorematibus*.

Inc: De syncategorematibus est sciendum; *exp*: sed est fallacia figurae dictionis sicut in praecedentibus. Explicit tractatus de syncategorematibus compilatus per venerabilem doctorem Lavinham Carmelitam.

11 ff. 25r-29r: *Tractatus de terminis modalibus et propositionibus modalibus*.

Inc: Omnis propositio categorica vel hypothetica est de inesse vel modalis; *exp*: quia, sicut dictum est superius, omnes propositiones modales in sensu composito sunt indefinitae vel singulares. Explicit tractatus de terminis modalibus et propositionibus modalibus per doctorem Lavinham.

12 ff. 29r-30r: *Tractatus de probationibus propositionum et expositionibus earum*.

Inc: Propositio potest probari quadrupliciter; *exp*: ergo, immediate post hoc eris. Explicit tractatus de probationibus propositionum et expositionibus earum per Lavinham.

13 ff. 30r-40r: *Tractatus de incipit et desinit*.

Inc: Omnis propositio affirmativa vel negativa in qua ponitur hoc ver-

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[12] The sense of this curious abbreviation is not clear. It appears also after items 13 and 14. Similarly, the single word 'quod' appears after item 23.

bum 'incipit' vel 'desinit'; *exp*: et instans non est hujusmodi, et sic finitur. Explicit tractatus de incipit et desinit compilatus per reverendum doctorem Lavinham ordinis fratrum de Carmelo. Quod C.

(Approximately two-thirds of the bottom of f. 40v is left blank).

14 ff. 41r-45v: *Tractatus de decem generibus.*

Inc: Tractatus de decem generibus. Tria genera praedicationum praemittantur; *exp*: Et accidentia de suis subjectis praedicantur denominative. Explicit tractatus de decem generibus compilatus per reverendum doctorem Lavinham ordinis fratrum de Carmelo. Quod C.

(Approximately two-thirds of the bottom of f. 45v is left blank).

This is perhaps a second copy of the treatise referred to by Klingsford[13] as *Super praedicamentis*, an incomplete copy of which is extant in Digby MS 77, f. 191b, beginning "Tractaturus de Decem Generibus".

15 ff. 46r-52r: *Tractatus relativorum.*

Inc: ... ergo, ista universalis est vera cum prima parte copulativae; *exp*: Probatur quia nullum contingens ad utrumlibet necessario erit verum, sed contingenter; ergo, etc. Explicit tractatus relativorum compendiose compila*tus*[14] per venerabilem doctorem Lavinham ordinis Carmelitarum. (*Fragment*)

16 ff. 52r-59v: *Tractatus qui vocatur "Scire".*

Inc: Scire tribus modis accipitur; *exp*: et per hoc patet responsio ad ultimum argumentum principalis. Explicit tractatus qui vocatur "Scire" per reverendum doctorem Lavinham.

17 ff. 59v-64r: *De causis naturalibus.*

Inc: Deus <et>[15] natura nihil frustra operantur; *exp*: et haec est ratio quare ex terra ponit hujusmodi vapores calidi et sicci generari, et sic patet. Sequitur quaestiones. Explicit tractatus de causis naturalibus per Lavinham.

Klingsford[16] refers to another copy of this treatise in Cambridge MS Hh. iv. 13, ff. 55-58.

18 ff. 64r-65r: *Parvus tractatus de anima.*

Inc: Anima est actus corporis organici; *exp*: Unde versus: Sensus communis species praesentat ad extra./ Sed res absentes imas cognoscit ad intra./Componit fantas, non sensit in omnibus aestas./ Possunt servari res cunctae per memorari. Explicit parvus tractatus de anima per reverendum doctorem Lavinham.

19 ff. 65r-65v: *De natura instantium.*

Inc: Instans, vel nunc, quod idem est; *exp*: eo quod inter omnia in-

[13] Klingsford, *loc. cit.*

[14] *MS has* compilatae.

[15] *MS leaves a blank space between* Deus *and* natura.

[16] Klingsford, *loc. cit.*

stantia fluit tempus medium. Explicit de natura instantium per Lavinham.

20 ff. 65v-67r: *Tractatus de primo instanti.*

Inc: Ad cognoscendum quando est dare; *exp*: quia non est dare ultima instans rei successivae. Explicit tractatus de primo instanti per Lavinham.

21 ff. 67v-68r: *Tractatus de eventu futurorum.*

Inc: In materia de eventu futurorum quattuor sunt species; *exp*: et negatur quod omne illud quod immutabiliter scitur a deo necessario scitur a deo. Explicit tractatus de eventu futurorum per Lavinham.

f. 68r (bottom): A short "Versus de divisione potentiae activae et passivae". Cf. below, n° 22.

22 ff. 68v-72v: *Tractatus de potentiis activis et passivis abbreviatus.*

Inc: Cum potentia cujuscumque rei citra potentiam primae causae est solum finita; *exp*: et si minorem tardius. Explicit tractatus de potentiis activis et passivis abbreviatus[17] per reverendum doctorem Lavinham.

f. 72v: A second version of the beginning of the *Tractatus de primo instanti* (cf. above, n° 20).

Inc: Ad cognoscendum quando est dare; *exp*: non est dare ultimum instans in quo <non> tanget *b*.

(A diagram follows).

23 ff. 73r-78r: *Tractatus insolubilium.*

Inc: Sicut nexus amoris quandoque insolubilis dicitur; *exp*: Et sic patet responsio ad insolubilia. Explicit tractatus insolubilium compilatus per reverendum doctorem Lavinham ordinis Carmelitarum. Quod.[18]

(A blank folio is inserted between the folios numbered 74 and 75).

24 f. 78v: <*Tractatus terminorum logicalium*>.

Inc: Notitia terminorum logicalium; *exp*: Similiter sicut quod sunt negationes .... (*Fragment*)

25 ff. 79r-90v: *Tractatus terminorum naturalium.*

Inc: ... vocatur motus sicut actus quo domus est fieri; *exp*: Intellegentiae moventes sphaeras dicuntur angeli. Orbis et sphaera idem sunt. Explicit tractatus terminorum naturalium compilatus per reverendum doctorem Lavinham ordinis Carmelitarum. (*Fragment*)

(Approximately one-third of the bottom of f. 90v is left blank).

This completes the section of the MS containing works of Richard Lavenham. There follow two additional items in the MS:

ff. 91r-95r: *Tractatus de tribus principiis.*

Inc: In qualibet enim scientia cognitio; *exp:* Secundum est quod non

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[17] *MS has* abbreviatis.

[18] Cf. above, n.12.

est dare instantia consequenter se habentia instantia immediata. Explicit tractatus de tribus principiis compilatus per Hensy ... (?).

ff. 95r-97v: Unidentified text in a second hand.

The two short tracts edited below [19] are the first items in the MS. The first tract is a treatise on modal propositions. This is the shorter of two such treatises in the MS. The longer treatise, *Tractatus de terminis modalibus et propositionibus modalibus*, is treatise number 11, according to the above numbering.

The treatise edited here begins with the definition of a modal proposition, and then lists the modal words whose presence renders a proposition modal (par. 1). Modal propositions are then divided into those in composite sense and those in divided sense, and the difference between these two senses is given in formal terms (par. 2).

Lavenham argues that modal propositions in the divided sense can never be converted (pars. 3-5), while modal propositions in the composite sense can be converted like any assertoric proposition (par. 6). Further, modal words, like the signs of universality and particularity, are not subjects in propositions, nor are they parts of subjects (par. 7). That is, in modern terminology, they belong to the logical form of the propositions in which they appear.

Affirmative modal propositions of necessity and negative modal propositions of contingency are contradictories. So too are affirmative modal propositions of possibility and affirmative modal propositions of impossibility in the composite sense (par. 8). Modal propositions of contingency in the divided sense, however, are related in the square of opposition like assertoric propositions (par. 9). Modal propositions of "indifferent" contingency (*de contingenti ad utrumlibet*) are converted by changing their quality--i.e., by negating them (par. 10).

The second treatise edited here is a fragment from the beginning of a treatise on hypothetical propositions. These propositions are first defined, and the conjunctions which characterize them are listed. [20] Seven kinds of hypothetical propositions are listed (par. 1).

Conditional propositions are taken up first. They are defined, and the conditions for their necessity and impossibility are given. Every true conditional is necessary, and every false one impossible. A conditional is denied by prefixing the negation to the whole proposition (par. 2).

Copulative propositions are then defined, and their truth-conditions given. A form of DeMorgan's law is used to explain the contradictory of a copulative proposition (par. 3).

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[19] I hope to publish editions of other items in the MS at a future date.
[20] The list is not exhaustive. Cf. the new conjunctions 'nisi', 'seu' introduced in pars. 2, 4.

Disjunctive propositions are considered next. They are defined, and their truth-conditions given. DeMorgan's law is used again to describe the contradictory of a disjunctive proposition (par. 4).

The tract now turns to a discussion of the causal proposition. Lavenham clearly plans to go into this in some detail, but the treatise breaks off in the middle of the discussion. Causal propositions are defined and their truth-conditions given. An example is given here, as in the cases of the previous types of hypotheticals, but in addition an argument is introduced to explain the application of the rules of truth to the example (par. 5). A counter-argument is put forth, and this leads Lavenham into a discussion of the difference between conditional and causal hypotheticals (par. 6). In the middle of this interesting discussion the text breaks off abruptly. Presumably Lavenham would have gone to explain the contradictory of causal hypotheticals, and then discuss the remaining three types of hypotheticals (temporal, local and rational) according to the same pattern.

I have supplied the titles of the two works and have inserted the folio numbers in parentheses. The orthography has been normalized. The division into paragraphs is mine. The MS has been examined in microfilm copy only.

< De propositionibus modalibus >

1 De propositionibus modalibus parum jam restat tractare. Propositio modalis est illa in qua ponitur aliquis modus modalis. Modi modales sunt isti:
'possibile' 'impossibile' 'contingens' 'necessarium' et eorum adverbia, ut 'possibiliter' 'impossibiliter' 'contingenter' 'necessario'.

2 Propositionum modalium aliae sunt in sensu composito et aliae in sensu diviso. Propositio modalis in sensu composito est quando aliquis modus modalis totaliter praecedit vel finaliter subsequitur, ut 'Possibile est hominem currere' 'Hominem esse asinum est impossibile'. Propositio modalis in sensu diviso est quando aliquis modus modalis dividit propositionem vel venit inter accusativum et infinitivum modum, ut 'Hominem possible est currere' 'Hominem impossibile est esse asinum'.

3 Item, sciendum quod propositiones <modales> in sensu diviso nunquam debent converti. Quod sic patet, quia si tales propositiones convertentur, sequitur quod hominem impossibile est esse animal, quod falsum est. Nam, accipiendo illam propositionem in sensu diviso 'Animal impossibile est esse hominem' --haec enim non potest converti, nisi sic: 'Animal impossibile est esse hominem; ergo, hominem impossibile est esse animal'; sed antecedens est verum et consequens falsum; ergo, conversio non est bona.

4 Quod autem consequens sit falsum patet. Et quod antecedens sit verum probatur, quia asinum impossibile est esse hominem; et omnis asinus est animal; ergo, animal impossibile est esse hominem. Consequentia patet in *Disamis*.

5 Item, aliquod animal impossibile est esse hominem; ergo, animal impossibile est esse hominem. Consequentia patet a particulari ad suam indefinitam.

6 Sed propositiones modales in sensu composito convertuntur, sicut aliae propositiones in inesse. Verbi gratia, 'Possibile est hominem esse animal; ergo, possibile est animal esse hominem' 'Impossibile est album esse nigrum; ergo, impossibile est nigrum esse album'.

7 Et *sicut*[21] nec signum universale nec particulare est subjectum nec pars subjecti, sic nec modus modalis. Unde, sicut nec in illa propositione 'Quilibet homo currit' 'Quilibet' non est pars subjecti, sic in illa propositione 'Possibile est hominem currere' ly 'Possibile' non est pars subjecti, sed ly 'hominem' est solummodo subjectum.

8 Item, sciendum quod propositio modalis de necessario affirmativa et propositio negativa de contingenti stant contradictoriae in figura, ut 'Necesse est te currere' et 'Contingit te non currere'. Et propositio de possibili affirmativa et propositio de impossibili affirmativa in sensu composito stant contradictoriae in figura, ut 'Possibile est te currere' et 'Impossibile est te currere'.

9 Sed propositiones de *contingenti*[22] in sensu diviso stant in figura sicut aliae propositiones de inesse (f. 3r), ut 'Omnem hominem contingit currere' et 'Aliquem hominem contingit non currere' stant contradictoriae in figura, quia una est universalis affirmativa et alia est particularis negativa.

10 Et etiam sciendum quod propositio de contingenti ad utrumlibet convertitur per oppositas qualitates, ut 'Contingit te currere; ergo, contingit te non currere', ut dicam in tractatu de modalibus.[23] Haec omnia patebunt in sequenti figura.

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[21] *MS has* sciendum.

[22] Obscured in MS.

[23] Cf. *Tractatus de terminis modalibus et propositionibus modalibus*, item 11 in the above analysis of the MS, f.26r: "Sed propositio de contingenti ad utrumlibet debet converti per oppositas qualitates. Hoc est, si propositio de contingenti ad utrumlibet sit affirmativa et habeat dictum affirmatum, tunc, manente illo dicto affirmato, debet converti in unam propositionem de dicto negato. Unde sequitur: contingit te currere; ergo, contingit te non currere. Item sequitur: contingit quemlibet hominem sedere; ergo, contingit aliquem hominem non sedere. Dictum vocatur totum quod ponitur in propositione modali praeter modum. Hic tamen notandum quod ad hoc quod propositio de contingenti ad utrumlibet in sensu diviso bene convertatur, oportet quod negatio sequatur modum et non praecedat. Unde non sequitur: aliquem hominem contingit currere; ergo, nullum hominem contingit currere. Sed bene sequitur: Aliquem hominem contingit currere; ergo, aliquem hominem contingit non currere".

<De propositionibus hypotheticis>
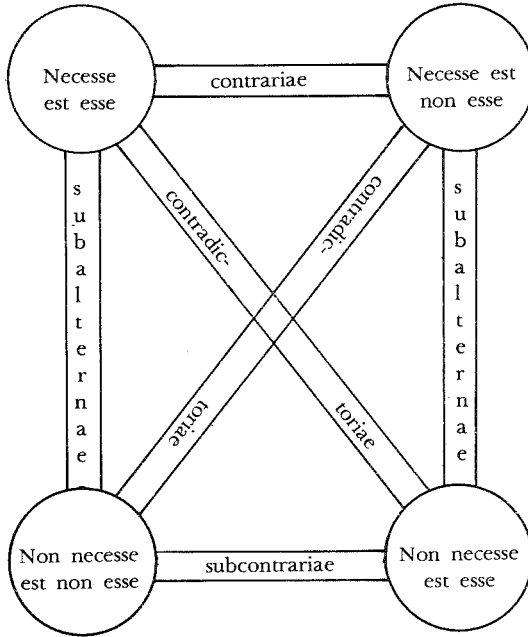
1 Propositio hypothetica est illa quae habet plures propositiones categoricas principales partes sui vel aequivalet conjunctas per aliquam vocem hypotheticae. Voce <s> hypotheticae sunt istae conjunctiones: 'si' 'et' 'vel' 'quia' 'dum' 'antequam' 'postquam' 'priusquam'. Species hypotheticae sunt vii, videlicet: conditionalis, copulativa, disjunctiva, causalis, temporalis, et localis et rationalis.

2 Conditionalis est illa quae habet plures propositiones principales partes sui vel aequivale[n]t conjunctas cum hac nota 'si' vel cum hac conjunctione 'nisi', ut 'Si homo currit, animal currit' 'Si tu curris, tu moveris' 'Thomas non potest videre, nisi habeat oculum' et 'Si Thomas non habeat oculum, Thomas non potest videre'. Et est conditionalis necessaria quando antecedens non potest esse verum sine consequente, ut 'Si tu curris, tu moveris'. Et illa propositio quae immediate sequitur 'si' est antecedens, et alia est consequens. Et est conditionalis impossibilis quando antecedens potest esse verum sine consequente, ut 'Si tu es homo, tu vigilas'. Et omnis conditionalis vera est necessaria, et omnis conditionalis falsa est impossibilis. Contradictorium conditionalis debet dari praeposita negatione toti, ut contradictorium illius conditionalis 'Si tu es homo, tu es asinus' est hoc 'Non si tu es homo, tu es asinus'.

3   Copulativa est illa quando duae categoricae sunt conjunctae cum hac conjunctione 'et', ut 'Sortes currit et Sortes movetur'. Et est copulativa vera quando omnes (f. 3v) partes ejus sunt verae, ut 'Tu es homo et tu es animal'. Et est copulativa falsa quando altera ejus pars principalis[24] est falsa, ut 'Tu es homo et tu es asinus'. Contradictorium copulativae debet dari per unam disjunctivam factam ex contradictoriis partium, ut contradictorium illius copulativae 'Tu es homo' est hoc 'Tu non es homo'.[25]

4   Disjunctiva est quando duae categoricae sunt conjunctae cum hac conjunctione 'vel' 'seu' aequivalenter, ut 'Sortes currit[26] vel Plato currit'. Et est disjunctiva vera quando una pars principalis est vera, ut haec disjunctiva 'Tu es homo vel tu es asinus' est vera quia una pars principalis est vera. Et est falsa quando utraque pars principalis est falsa. Contradictorium disjunctivae debet dari per unam conjunctivam factam ex contradictoriis partium, ut contradictorium illius disjunctivae 'Quilibet homo est asinus vel Thomas non est asinus' est hoc 'Aliquis homo non est asinus et Thomas est asinus'.

5   Causalis est quando duae categoricae sunt conjunctae cum hac conjunctione 'quia', ut 'Sortes movetur,[27] quia currit'. Et est causalis vera quando antecedens est causa consequentis, ut 'Quia tu es homo, tu es animal'. Et est causalis falsa quando antecedens non est causa consequentis, ut 'Quia tu es asinus, tu es animal'. Nam, si concedatur haec causalis, tunc probatur quod tu es asinus. Et arguitur sic: Tu es animal; sed causa quare tu es animal est quia[28] tu es asinus; ergo, tu es asinus. Patet consequentia cum majori. Et minor probatur sic: Nam, quia tu es asinus, tu es animal; ergo, causa quare tu es animal est quia tu es asinus. Paret consequentia ab uno convertibili ad suum convertibile. Nam si causalis est vera, tum est antecedens causa consequentis. Ideo dico quod praedicta causalis non est vera nec alia consimilis.

6   Sed si arguatur in contrarium sic: "Si tu es asinus, tu es animal; ergo, quia tu es asinus, tu es animal. Paret consequentia, quia arguitur a convertibili ad convertibile, quia omnes consequentiae in quibus idem est antecedens et idem consequens sunt convertibiles; sed ita est hic; ergo, illae consequentiae, videlicet, conditionalis et causalis, sunt convertibiles", hic dico negando istam consequentiam. Nec arguitur hic a convertibili ad relatum. Nam magna differentia est hic inter conditionalem et causalem. Nam una differentia est haec, quia omnis bona

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[24] Interlinear.
[25] Thus in MS. The sense calls for an example which is a copulative.
[26] Interlinear.
[27] Interlinear.
[28] Interlinear.

conditionalis est bona consequentia, sed non omnis bona causalis est
bona consequentia, sicut ista causalis est bona 'Thomas studet, quia
vult esse clericus', et tamen non est bona consequentia, quia non
sequitur 'Thomas vult esse clericus; ergo, Thomas studet'. Item, multae
sunt conditionales necessariae quarum antecedentia sunt impossibilia,
ut 'Si tu es asinus, tu es animal'. Sed (f. 4r). (*Fragment*)

Indiana University

A HYMN TO THE VIRGIN: BY LYDGATE?

A. S. G. Edwards and A. W. Jenkins

B RITISH Museum MS Harley 2251 contains a number of fifteenth cen-
tury verse texts. It is a paper manuscript of 293 leaves, of crucial
importance in the preservation and attribution of portions of the
Lydgate canon. Harley includes texts of a number of his minor poems,
as well as selections from his *Fall of Princes* and his translation with
Benedict Burgh of the *Secreta Secretorum*. It also includes Chaucer's
Prioress's Tale and the anonymous *Court of Sapience*.[1] The manuscript is
linked by content to a distinct group of codices, quite probably from an
exemplar by the noted scribe and bookseller John Shirley,[2] and is writ-
ten by a scribe, a relatively large body of whose work survives.[3] The
hitherto unpublished lyric printed below comes from this manuscript.[4]

A variant version of it occurs in Bodleian Library MS Ashmole 59 (ff.
21v-22v). This manuscript also on paper was originally two separate
manuscripts. The second (ff. 135r-182r is a copy of Lydgate's *Life of
Our Lady,* and of no present concern. The first 130 leaves however are
written in Shirley's own hand. He has transcribed another anthology of
Lydgate's shorter poems, including a number that also appear in
Harley.[5] In the present case the relationship between Harley (H) and

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[1] For detailed descriptions and discussion of this manuscript see E. P. Hammond, Two British
Museum Manuscripts (Harley 2251 and Adds. 34360) ...", *Anglia,* 28 (1905), 1-28; A Brusendorff, *The
Chaucer Tradition* (Oxford, 1925), pp. 181-2, 222-5; D. Pearsall, *John Lydgate* (London, 1970), pp. 74-6.
These accounts may be supplemented at certain points by A. S. G. Edwards, "Selections from
Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*: A Checklist," *The Library,* 5th series, 26 (1971), 339-40 and "John Lydgate,
Medieval Antifeminism and Harley 2251", *Annuale Medievale* [forthcoming].

[2] For full discussion of the affiliations both of palaeography and content see Hammond, *loc. cit.,*
23-8.

[3] The fullest discussion of the work of this scribe is contained in A. I. Doyle, "An Unrecognized
Piece of *Piers the Ploughman's Creed," Speculum,* 34 (1959), 429-36, who includes a number of facsimiles
of his work.

[4] It is no. 2816 in C. Brown and R. H. Robbins, *The Index of Middle English Verse* (New York, 1943).

[5] For details see E. P. Hammond, "Ashmole 59 and Other Shirley Manuscripts," *Anglia,* 30 (1907),
334-5. This article also includes (322-334) the best detailed description of this manuscript. See also
Brusendorff, *loc. cit.,* 209-12.

Ashmole (A) is unclear. H consists of eight, A of nine stanzas. The first stanza of H does not occur in A, and the second and sixth stanzas of A do not occur in H. There is, in addition, a subsidiary problem with regard to A, which contains numerous minor variations from H. This latter problem is more readily susceptible of explanation in the light of E. P. Hammond's convincing demonstration that Shirley was transcribing from memory at the onset of senility.[6]

But the integrity of both versions is called into question. The problem can be expressed in summary form, as below, where arabic numbers denote stanza numbers in each sequence:

Harley: H 1, H 2, —, H 3, H 4, H 5, —, H 6, H 7, H 8
Ashmole: —, A 1, A 2, A 3, A 4, A 5, A 6, A 7, A 8, A 9

It seems clear that both A and H go back to a lost original which they individually imperfectly reproduce. And to a large extent the degree of common agreement between the two texts establishes the probable sequence of this original as printed below.

But additional evidence for the sequence is provided by a consideration of the literary traditions of the lyric. It is clearly associated with a group of fifteenth century lyrics dealing with the Assumption and Coronation of the Virgin Mary. And it is noteworthy that one of the most elaborate treatments of these themes, the lyric beginning "Surge mea sponsa, so swete in sight" immediately follows this poem in Harley.[7] Rosemary Woolf has suggested (although unaware of the poem printed below) that: '[The] treatment derives from the antiphons of the Office of the Assumption, which are chiefly taken from the Song of Songs and in which the Virgin is summoned by Christ as His beloved".[8] The evidence that the poem derives *directly* from the *Office of the Assumption* remains inconclusive. Yet there are nevertheless indications that it has been influenced by the antiphons of the *Office*. The words of the

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[6] Hammond, "Ashmole 59 ...", 337. The plausibility of this assumption can be quickly demonstrated by a comparison of the stanza below (the first in Ashmole) with the corresponding 11. 9-16 in Harley:

> [f. 21ʳ]
>> Of *dilectus meus* shewde dileccoun
>> Desired me vnder his vmbracoun
>> I þe fader of þe doughters affeccoun
>> Virgyne of Syoun non variacyoun
>> We haue to hir sent salutacioun
>> Of þe spirite and þat beo *celestibus*
>> O generouse gentyle of nacoun
>> *Sonet vox tua in auribus*

[7] Printed by C. Brown, *Religious Lyrics of the Fifteenth Century* (Oxford, 1939), no. 37.

[8] *The English Lyric in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1968), p. 298.

lover and his bride in the *Song* are interpreted allegorically as God's summons to the Virgin to sit in glory beside Him, as they are in the *Office*. In addition, the Latin phrases in the poem that are not directly translated from the text of the *Song of Songs* are usually based on ideas from the *Song* that have been influenced by the imperative and liturgical rhythms of the antiphons in the *Office*: "surge sponsa" (37), "veni columba" (47), "veni electa" (53). The last lines of the poem which praise the enthroned Virgin correspond to the laudatory exaltations of the *Office*. And, finally, those verses from the *Song* (II, 11-14 and IV, 8 and 11) on which the lyric is most closely based are those which appear *together* in the *Office*:

> Tota pulchra es amica mea: et macula non est in te: favus distillans labia tua: mel et lac sub lingua tua: odor unguentorum tuorum super omnia aromata: jam enim hyems transiit: imber abiit et recessit: flores apparuerunt: vinee florentes odorem dederunt: et vox turturis audita est in terra nostra: surge propera amica mea: veni de libano: veni coronaberis.[9]

The *Song of Songs* remains the primary influence behind the lyric. And despite the fact that there is no readily discernible order in the way the words of the *Song* have been used in the poem, the vulgate text does seem to confirm the reconstructed sequence of our conflated text. Thus A2 would follow H2 (lines 9-16 and 17-24) since they make sequent use of II, v. 10 of the *Song*. Similarly, H5 and A6 (lines 41-8 and 49-56) draw material from consecutive verses of the vulgate text (II, vv. 13-14).

It may be concluded, then, that the phrasing of the *Song of Songs* has been influenced by the allegorical interpretation and by the rhythms of the antiphons in the *Office of the Assumption*. In its re-dramatization of this material, the poem stands as a unique variant of its genre.[10] For like the *Song of Songs*, the poem is a dualogue between a lover and his bride, although now Solomon is equated with God "The whiche the sterrid cercle hath set in substaunce" (2), and it is the Virgin who is urged to rise up and take her throne of glory by His side.

The entire poem is built up from the speeches of God and the Virgin and from connecting passages of narrative. In achieving this effect, the original vulgate has been imaginatively re-organised; several of the pronouns have been changed in person and number. For instance, the

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[9] As printed by Brown, *op. cit.*, 305-6.

[10] The "Veni de libano, sponsa. Veni coronaberis" sequence does, in fact, form part of the York Weavers' play (The "Appearance of Our Lady to Thomas"). There it is sung by twelve angels. But, as Carolyn Wall points out, "a work which provides all the words of the York songs in nearly identical form is the *Legenda Aurea* of Jacobus de Voragine" where Christ summons his Mother to glory: cf. "York Pageant LXVI and its Music", *Speculum*, 66 (1971), 696.

throne that Solomon made for himself out of the cedar of Lebanon ("ferculum fecit sibi rex Salomon de lignis Libani" III, v. 9) becomes a throne specifically for the Virgin ("fferculum michi fecit") It is she who speaks the first five lines of the poem; the remaining three lines form a narrative bridge to the second stanza in which the Virgin speaks the first two lines and God speaks the remainder. The running refrain, "sonet vox tua in auribus", is capable of several meanings: it can be read as part of the words of God or of Mary, but it is also sometimes the prayer of the narrator-suppliant who asks that the voice of Mary will sound in his ears. This dramatic structure gives an immediacy to the words of God and Mary, a directness that creates a counterbalance to the rotundities of the aureate vocabulary. Phrases from the vulgate have been changed in order to accentuate the Virgin's especial position: "propter filiam Syon" for the original "propter filias Jerusaluem". Only in the seventh stanza (the unique sixth stanza of A) is there an inconsistency in the dramatic effect, where "nowe to vs ostende" should surely read "to me" as God begs the Virgin to show her face to Him (cf. "ostende mihi faciem tuam" II, v. 14) and to ascend to the heavenly throne (11. 50-53). This would then accord with God's words in the first person singular in stanza three (11. 17-20).

The long neglect of this unusual poem is undoubtedly due to its summary, and inaccurate, dismissal by H. N. MacCracken as he attempted to establish the canon of Lydgate's works:

> The third poem, *Dilectus meus*, or *Rex Salamon*, is ascribed to Lydgate in the same Shirley Ashmole 59. It appears also in Harley 2251 with more [sic] stanzas. The poem has the penultimate rhyme of -oun, and its irregularity of metre makes me unwilling to admit it as genuine.[11]

The aged Shirley may very well have ascribed the poem to Lydgate by mistake, but it seems odd that MacCracken should have taken Shirley as his witness for the genuineness of some of Lydgate's poems and not of others. As regards the internal evidence of the poem, Carleton Brown[12] has long ago exploded the reliability of the "penultimate rhyme of -oun" test, and, in the Harley version at least, the metre is quite regular.

In fact, many aspects of the poem appear to be distinctively Lydgatean. The ballade stanza a, b, a, b, b, c, b, c, is used by Lydgate.[13] Its style, with its mixture of Latin and English phrases and its Latin

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[11] "The Lydgate Canon" in *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate* (E.E.T.S., e.s. 107 [1911]), xxxii; henceforward cited as *MP*. The ascription occurs in the running title ff. 21v/22r: "A glorious prayer / Til oure ladye by Lidegate."

[12] See C. Brown, "Chaucer's *Wretched Engendring*", *PMLA*, 50 (1935), 997-1011.

[13] In, for instance, *MP*, n° 48.

refrain, is similar to that of a number of Lydgate's religious lyrics.[14] The "halff chongyd Latyne" is used in a way that accords with Lydgate's aureate style. Such words as "specious," "vmbratioun," "alte," "intemerat," "lucidaunt," "florent" or "persownith" are not used to create a simplicity that may stand in contrast to the Latin phrases. Both parts of the style match and are elevated in a truly aureate manner. The structure of the lyric, depending as it does on the *Song of Songs*, is managed in a way that is reminiscent of Lydgate's methods in his poems from the antiphons *Gaude* and *Ave*. Despite the dramatic stance of the speakers in this poem, there is no interplay between them, and the lyric uses the Latin text in a characteristically arbitrary way, so that a single phrase from the vulgate can be split up and used partly in stanza one and partly in the ninth stanza. The episodic character of the verses is, as D. Pearsall says of the structure of Lydgate's Marian lyrics, "like that of a litany or a rosary."[15] But, most importantly, the attitude to the Virgin as the Queen of heaven is unusual for this type of poem, but it is in accord with Lydgate's de-emphasis of the sorrowing Mother.[16]

There can be no absolute proof that this poem, so dependent upon the Latin, is indeed by Lydgate. But there appears to be no reason why it should not belong to the canon.

In printing these stanzas all abbreviations have been silently expanded and all Latin quotations italicized. Crossed *h* is printed as *h*; the flourish after final -*n* has been ignored. As indicated above, A has been referred to only to fill lacunae in H, and given the nature of A no collation of variants has been attempted. The notes seek to indicate as far as possible the parallels between the poem and the *Song of Songs*.

[f. 17ʳ]   *Rex Salamon summus* of sapience
      The whiche the sterrid cercle hath set in substaunce
      Fferculum michi fecit indeficiens
      With an high honoure vntil his avaunce
      De lignis libani was that ordynaunce   5
      Sic filie Syon so specious
      The lord ot that lady made grete laudaunce
      Sonet' vox tua in auribus

1-5, Cf III, 9: *Ferculum fecit sibi rex Salomon / De lignis Libani.*

[14] E. g. *MP*, nº 52, 57, 63.

[15] Pearsall, *op. cit.*, 271.

[16] For discussion of this aspect of Lydgate's Marian lyrics see W. F. Schirmer, *John Lydgate* ... (London, 1961), p. 197 and Pearsall, *op. cit.*, 275. In the present poem stress falls of course on Mary's role as daughter and spouse. In other lyrics of this type greater stress seems to fall on Mary's role as Christ's mother: cf. e.g. R. L. Greene, *The Early English Carols* (Oxford, 1935), no 262 and Brown, *op. cit.*, no. 37.

En dilectus meus dide grete dileccioun
Desired me to be vndir his vmbracioun 10
I fadir to the doughter with deere affeccioun
The virgyne of Syon without variacioun
I have sent to hyr with saluacioun
Be spirites *de celestibus*
O generous damysel of grete generacioun 15
Sonet vox tua in auribus

[*Surge amica mea* pure princesse
Come and appere to me in youre persone
Lill[i]um convallium of al clannesse
Sit *amica mea* amidde my troone 20
þeos wynter wedere beon negh alle agone
þe paraillous planetis of *patribus*
Veni in libano youre ladye alloone
Sonet vox tua iam in auribus]

19. Lilium] MS Lilum

Fflores apparuerunt ful fressh and fayre
In terra nostra leo intemerat mayde
The Royal Rotis of Riche repayre
With lucidaunt lemys are out displayde
O *pulcra* pusel thow mayst be payde
To play *in nostris partibus* 30
Tempus presentationis is now purvayed
Sonet vox tua in auribus

Vox turturis herde is in cuntre
So melodious and so mansuete
The ierarchies of that lordis cite 35
Counselys hym with that lady to mete
Surge sponsa specious swete
Com dwelle with delicis *dulcibus*
Ffauus distillans fro the it fleete
[f. 17ᵛ] *Sonet vox tua in auribus* 40

Ffyges forth brynges ful fressh th[i]re fruytes
Oure florent vynes gyves grete odouris
The Royal Rootys of Riche refutis
They shal ben had to thyn honoures

9, 17. Cf. II, 10: *En dilectus meus loquitur mihi / Surge, propera, amica mea, / Columba mea, formosa mea, et veni.*

19. Cf. II, 1: *Ego flos campi / Et lilium convallium.*

23. Cf. IV, 8: *Veni de Libano, sponsa mea etc.*

25-31, 33. Cf. II, 12: *Flores apparuerunt in terra nostra, / Tempus putationis advenit; Vox turturis audita est in terra nostra.*

39. Cf. IV, 11: *Favus distillans labia tua, sponsa etc.*

41-50. Cf. II, 13-14: *Ficus protulit grossos suos; / Vineae florentes dederunt odorem suum. / Surge, amica*

This songe persownith alte in tourys 45
And knowen is *in celestibus*
Veni columba in thi colouris
Sonet vox tua in auribus

41. thire] MS thre

[Immaculate mayde be þe demure and mylde
þy formouse face nowe to vs ostende 50
þou douclerous daysye never defylde
With aungells aspecte who þat wol attende
Veni electa nowe til vs ascende
To sitte saintfully in *superioribus*
O quenly creature youre grace extende 55
Vt sonet vox tua in auribus]

Com culuer clene to my tabernacle
Columpnas argenteas thow shalt se
Aur[e]um reclinatorium in myn habitacle
Curious contright with charite 60
Assensum purpureum for pure humilite
Is arrayed in my *Regalibus*
Propter filiam Syon of high dygnite
Sonet vox tua in auribus

59. Aureum] MS Aurum

Adiuro vos filie Ierusalem 65
This infans femynal gyf ye may fynde
Amore langueo that lightful *lucem*
Ffor til an high ascencion she has ascende
Com than to me columbel kynde
To be surmounted *de montibus* 70
Thy virginal voice is had in mynd
Sonet vox tua in auribus

Introduxit me Rex with grete reuerence
In cellam vinarium where was his vynes
[A delicate drinke of right gret dispense] 75
Whiche was disposed be high devynes
Thus was I exalted fro stede Ruynes
[f. 18r] *Exultet celum laudibus*
O filia Syon laudabilis nimis
Sonet vox tua in auribus 80
Victoria, B. C.

mea, speciosa mea, et veni: / Columba mea, in foraminibus petrae, / in caverna maceriae, / Ostende mihi faciem tuam, Sonet vox tua in auribus meis.

58-63. Cf. III, 10: Columnas eius fecit argenteas, / Reclinatorium aureum, ascensum purpureum; / Media charitate constravit, / Propter filias Ierusalem.

65-7. Cf. V, 8: Adiuro vos, filiae Ierusalem, / Si inveneritis dilectum meum, / Et nuntietis ei quia amore langueo.

73-4. Cf. II, 4: Introduxit me in cellam vinariam etc.

ST. THOMAS AND THE COHERENCE
OF THE ARISTOTELIAN THEOLOGY

Anton C. Pegis

FORTY years ago Marcel De Corte put some order into the in-
terpretation of Aristotle's theology by reaching three conclusions
on the teaching of the *Physics* and the *Metaphysics*. The *Metaphysics* presents
a God who is pure thought and does not know the world or its striving
toward him. On the other hand, the God of the *Physics* knows the world.
Second, the God of the *Physics* moves by contact, that is, he is an efficient
cause of motion; but the God of the *Metaphysics* moves as a separated
cause, that is, as an object of desire. Third, the causalities involved are
mutually irreducible. In the *Physics*, movement begins in God and
proceeds from God to the world; in the *Metaphysics*, movement begins in
the world, proceeds toward God and is caused, not by God, but the
world's vision of the divine desirability. In other words, in the *Physics*,
God activates the first heavens as an efficient cause; in the *Metaphysics*,
God activates the first heavens as a contemplated object of desire. In
both works, God is the cause of the world's motion, but in the *Physics* he
effects it whereas in the *Metaphysics* he does nothing, serving only as a
goal of desire.[1]

Once reached, this overall outcome could not but pose serious
questions. The theology of Aristotle, as found in *Physics* VII-VIII and in
what St. Thomas knew as *Metaphysics* XI and then as *Metaphysics* XII, does
not seem to be a coherent doctrine. The supreme mover of the *Physics* is
an efficient cause of motion, while the supreme mover of the *Metaphysics*
is an inert and unknowing final cause. Can the distance between these
two views be bridged? De Corte tried to effect such a bridge. He tried,
that is, to bring the *Physics* and the *Metaphysics* nearer to one another by
relating both to the astronomy that was their common starting point. In

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[1] M. De Corte, "La causalité du premier moteur dans la philosophie aristotélicienne", *Revue
d'histoire de la philosophie*, 5 (1931), 105-147; reprinted in *Aristote et Plotin* (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer,
1935), pp. 107-175. My references are to the reprinted text. See pp. 153-156.

the *Physics*, the outer sphere of the fixed stars, whose eternal circulation is the first source of all other motions, is set in motion by the prime mover acting as an efficient cause; but in the *Metaphysics*, the first movable (the same outer sphere) *moves itself* toward the prime mover as an object of desire, which at least implies that the outer sphere is animated. Had Aristotle been able to transcend his astronomical machinery, he would have unified the two causalities in one God, and he would have seen how efficiency and finality came together in God's creative presence in the universe.[2]

De Corte's sympathetic effort to reconcile Aristotle with himself by projecting him into an idealized future is at once admirable and uneasy. Clearly, the idealization does not cover over the historical defects. For it is not easy to see how Aristotle has a coherent theology, and especially a coherent view of the causality of God — the supreme mover — in relation to the world. On the face of it, there seems to be an incoherence in saying with the *Physics* that the prime mover moves the first heavens as an efficient cause and saying with the *Metaphysics* that the prime mover moves the first heavens as an unknowing final cause pursued and desired by a self-moving (and, therefore, animated) heavens. Where, if at all, does the scheme of the *Physics* fit into the framework of the *Metaphysics*? To this question Jean Paulus volunteered a remarkable answer some two years after the appearance of De Corte's article. The answer is all the more remarkable since the author says that he "took it from St. Thomas".[3]

Paulus began his two-part article with an examination of the teaching of Book VIII of the *Physics*. As everyone knows, Aristotle first established the eternity of time and motion and then went on to determine the internal ordering of motion. On the principle that everything that is moved is moved another,[4] which applies to both non-living and

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[2] *Ibid.*, 166-175.

[3] J. Paulus, "La théorie du premier moteur chez Aristote", *Revue de philosophie*, 33 (1933), 259-294, 394-424). For St. Thomas, see p. 263.

The present article is concerned with St. Thomas, not directly with Aristotle, and the main point at issue is Paulus' subordination of the prime mover in the *Physics* to the prime mover in the *Metaphysics*. This view has more recently been supported in J. Owens, "Aquinas and the Proof from the 'Physics'", *Mediaeval Studies*, 28 (1966), 119-150. For earlier contrary reactions, see M. De Corte, *ibid.*, 175, note 1; P. Merlan, "Aristotle's Unmoved Movers", *Traditio*, 4 (1946), 2, note 8. What is immediately interesting in Paulus' interpretation of Aristotle's theology is the contention that such a view is to be found in St. Thomas. Paulus rests his case almost entirely on one text from St. Thomas, namely, *Summa Contra Gentiles* 1, 13, §29. Did St. Thomas think that the prime mover whose existence Aristotle proved in the *Physics* was, not God (the God described in *Metaphysics* 12. 7), but the soul of the first heavens? The answer to this question is the central occupation of the following inquiry.

[4] *Physics* 8. 4 (255 b 31-256 a 2); 7. 1 (241 b 34).

living things, Aristotle argued the impossibility of an infinite regress in movers or causes of motion and thereby reached the existence of a first source of motion in the universe. The series of things moved must stop at a first moved, writes Aristotle, and the question is to know whether the first moved is self-moved or moved by something at rest.[5] Paulus has emphasized Aristotle's answer to this question as methodologically important for the rest of Book VIII.[6]

Aristotle then went on. "If the question before us were to determine whether the cause and source of motion were something moved by itself or something moved by another, everyone would say the former; for that which is a cause through itself is always a prior cause to that which is a cause by derivation from another".[7] This led Aristotle to a fresh question and a fresh beginning: "Hence we must make a fresh beginning and consider this point: if something moves itself, how does it move and in what way".[8] To Paulus this procedure is significant because it means that for Aristotle the first cause of motion is itself moved.[9] Naturally, if this is correct, then the prime mover of *Physics* VIII is part of a self-moved mover, in other words, he is the soul of a besouled first heavens. Paulus proceeds to this outcome with confidence. For in the rest of this crucial discussion (VIII, 5. 257a33 to the end of the chapter, 258b9), Aristotle reached the overall conclusion that the first mover for all things in motion is unmoved. To Paulus it is clear that the Aristotle who began a new investigation at 257a31-33 with the conclusion that the self-moved mover is the first source of motion, further concluded, by the end of the chapter, that the first source of motion is an unmoved mover; which means that the unmoved mover is the unmoved part of the self-moved first source of motion. What is it, argues Paulus, except the soul of the first heavens: the first heavens is besouled, and the prime mover is its soul.[10]

Eternal, one and unmoved, the prime mover moves the outer heavens with a uniform motion. The continuity of motion in the universe is assured by the unchanging action of the prime mover and the unvarying motion of the outer heavens. But since generation and corruption, life and death, are found under the unchanging rounds of the outer heavens, Paulus finds a discreet reference to the astronomy of the *Metaphysics* at *Physics* VIII, 6. 260a 1ff., though he admits that the *Physics* aims primarily to prove "the existence of a prime self-moved being,

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[5] *Phys.* 8. 5 (257 a 25-27).
[6] J. Paulus, *ibid.*, 266-267.
[7] *Phys.* 8. 5 (257 a 27-31).
[8] *Ibid.*, a31-33.
[9] J. Paulus, *ibid.*, 267.
[10] *Ibid.*, 269.

which, as we have just seen, includes in reality two principles, both eternal but with opposite roles, a prime mover and a prime moved". In other words, the *Physics* "aims to be simply a theory of the first besouled heavens".[11] Aristotle's concentration on the first heavens and its eternal motion leads him to argue for the primacy of a circular local motion on the ground of its continuity and infinity (VIII, 7-9) and to conclude Book VIII by returning to the prime mover in the tenth and last chapter. The prime mover is without parts and magnitude since he must be infinite or limitless in power to move in an infinite time and a finite magnitude (there cannot be an infinite magnitude) cannot contain an infinite power. Where, finally, is the prime mover located in the first heavens? Not at the center, but on the surface of the sphere that is the first heavens, for there the movement is greatest — for things move faster according as they are nearer to their movers.[12] Of course — and Paulus is not slow to point it out[13] — if the prime mover here in question is the soul of the first heavens (and not, as Paulus will presently say, Aristotle's supreme God), then it does not seem so disconcerting to think of the prime mover crouched on the sphere that he is moving!

In Book VII of the *Physics*, which he briefly considers, Paulus points to an important distinction at the beginning of chapter 2: "The first mover, taken not as the final cause, but as the efficient principle of motion, is simultaneous with the thing moved".[14] Comments Paulus: "Aristotle, therefore, distinguishes two first principles, of which one moves as an end and the other as an agent. And he notes that the *Physics* deals only with the latter."[15] Once more, we are face to face with Paulus' thesis on the prime mover as the soul of the first heavens. Paulus summarizes his results on the *Physics* as follows: "If we now try to summarize the view that the two books of the *Physics* we have analyzed have brought before us, we shall say briefly that they presuppose as established the astronomical system of spheres and consider these as moved by themselves, or, more exactly, by souls immanent in them. Only the outer sphere, the first heavens, is dealt with explicitly. Its situation is the same as that of the lesser bodies. The first heavens is composed of a sphere which is the first movable, and of an internal principle of motion which is the first mover. We believe we have shown that the *Physics* identifies the prime mover with the soul of the heavens".[16]

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[11] *Ibid.*, 272.
[12] *Phys.* 8. 10 (267 b 6-9).
[13] J. Paulus, *ibid.*, 279.
[14] *Phys.* 7. 2 (243 a 32-33).
[15] J. Paulus, *ibid.*, 283.
[16] *Ibid.*

Paulus has reached one result in his interpretation of the theology of the *Physics* and he has hinted at another. He has reached a prime mover who is the soul of the first heavens, and he has hinted that this prime mover is not Aristotle's supreme God. We are, clearly enough, on the way to answering De Corte's question, namely, how to fit the prime mover of the *Physics* into the framework of the theology of the *Metaphysics*. The main point in Paulus' account so far is that Aristotle first reached a self-moved mover in which he then went on to find an unmoved part. This was the prime mover, the soul of the besouled first heavens. As a corollary to this result, Paulus has also pointed out that, though the heavens is for Aristotle a series of besouled spheres, the *Physics* limited its attention to the outer sphere of the fixed stars.

In turning to the *Metaphysics*, Paulus notes that historians before him did not doubt that the prime mover of the *Physics* and the pure act of the *Metaphysics* were for Aristotle one and the same being.[17] But, asks Paulus (without doubt echoing De Corte), are we not face to face here with two divine principles, answering to two requirements in the Aristotelian system? The prime mover of the *Physics* is an efficient cause of motion, and the pure act of the *Metaphysics* is a pure intelligible acting as the final cause of the motion of the heavens. Aristotle needs both, namely, an animated first heavens attracted by the separate pure act — who is Aristotle's supreme God. The *Physics* and the *Metaphysics*, as Paulus sees them, agree in teaching that the outer heavens is besouled and that its soul is the ultimate efficient cause of cosmic motion.

Paulus' interpretation of Aristotle seems reasonable, and one must be grateful to.him for pointing out how the theology of the *Physics* fits within the theology of the *Metaphysics*. Once the pure act of the *Metaphysics* is recognized to be a final cause of motion in the universe, the notion that there is an efficient cause of motion imposes itself; pure act, as the final cause of motion, invites us to look for an efficient cause of motion. In other words — this is Paulus' inference — "this same theory, far from contradicting the animation of the first heavens, in reality implies it. Pure act, it has been said, moves the first heavens in the manner in which the object of intelligence and will moves these powers, namely, as something intelligible and desirable. Who will admit, in that case, that a motion of this sort is exercized on pure matter — on an inanimate first heavens?"[18] In short, the *Physics* and the *Metaphysics* complement one another. They both teach the animation of the first heavens and develop two different and necessary aspects of one and the same doctrine.

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[17] *Ibid.*, 400.
[18] *Ibid.*, 400-401.

Where De Corte had found the efficient causality of the prime mover in the *Physics* and the final causality of the prime mover in the *Metaphysics* mutually irreducible, Paulus has managed to see them as coherent parts of one and the same doctrine. Paulus' interpretation, let us notice, involves two notions as far as the *Physics* is concerned. The first heavens, which is all that there occupied Aristotle, is besouled and the prime mover is its mover or soul. This means that the prime mover of the *Physics* is not Aristotle's absolutely first cause: he is first only in the physical order.[19] Whatever our surprise at this point, there is no question about what Paulus is saying. The prime mover of the *Physics* is not Aristotle's supreme God, he is only the soul of the first heavens, the first efficient cause of motion in the order of motion. Beyond the mover of the *Physics*, who acts as an efficient cause, there is the supreme cause of motion in the *Metaphysics*, who, moving as a final cause, provokes the desire of the soul of the first heavens. Where, moreover, the mover of the *Physics* was physically unmoved, but still mobile under the influence of the love of the supreme prime mover of the *Metaphysics*, the latter prime mover is absolutely immobile, being pure act.[20]

Perhaps to strenghten his case, Paulus insists that his interpretation of the theology of the *Physics* and the *Metaphysics* is not new. St. Thomas had already proposed it. True, St. Thomas was not entirely without hesitation in his commentaries on Aristotle, seemingly confusing the prime mover of the *Physics* and that of the *Metaphysics*. But in the *Summa Contra Gentiles*, and specifically in I, c. 13, St. Thomas undertook his own proof of the existence of God, proceeded to summarize the argument of Book VIII of the *Physics* and then seemingly evaluated that argument by reference to the *Metaphysics*. It is in this evaluation that Paulus found his Thomistic support.[21] Writes St. Thomas: "But because God is not part of something that moves itself; in his *Metaphysics* Aristotle further searches, out of the mover who is part of something moving itself, another absolutely separate mover, who is God. For since everything that moves itself moves through appetite, the mover who is part of something moving itself must move through the desire of something desirable. This desirable is higher in moving for he who desires is in a way a moved mover, while the desirable is an absolutely unmoved mover. Therefore there must be an absolutely immobile separate first mover, who is God".[22]

Paulus is not slow to take full advantage of this text. "St. Thomas," he comments, "covers the subject with marvelous clearness, and the

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[19] *Ibid.*, 401.
[20] *Ibid.*, 401-405.
[21] *Ibid.*, 405-406.
[22] St. Thomas, *SCG* I, c. 13, § 29.

contradictions that seemed to divide the *Physics* and the *Metaphysics* in an irreducible way are made to disappear by his solution". The virtue of St. Thomas' interpretation is that it keeps intact the causal principles at work in Aristotle's world. Aristotle had no creating God, and he could not unite efficient and final causality in one creative action. But these causalities were necessary aspects of Aristotle's outlook, since the great phenomenon dominating his world — eternal and continuous motion — required both an efficient source of motion and a supreme goal of motion. By maintaining the points of view of the *Physics* and the *Metaphysics* together, indeed by locating efficient causality under the final causality of the supreme act of the *Metaphysics* in his overall account of Aristotle, St. Thomas maintained the fact of motion in Aristotle's world in a fully intelligible way.[23]

St. Thomas' far from easy achievement impressed Paulus because it was clearly a way of making the theology in the *Physics* and the *Metaphysics* coherent and intelligible. There are clear-cut statements in Aristotle on the causality of the prime mover, but they are very few in number and they are surrounded by comments that are, to say the least, ambivalent. In one sentence in the *Physics* Aristotle says that he is there seeking the first efficient cause of motion, not the final cause; and in the *Metaphysics* he says that the pure act who is the supreme cause of motion moves as a final cause.[24] These two points stand as both doctrinal peaks and guiding lights in Paulus' interpretation of Aristotle and in his appreciation of St. Thomas' exegetical accomplishement. Let us repeat them. The pure act of the *Metaphysics* moves the first heavens as a final cause, as an object of love; the prime mover of the *Physics*, who is the soul of the first heavens, moves it as an efficient cause impelled by the love of the transcendent pure act who is Aristotle's supreme God. But, as Paulus points out, chapters 7 and 8 of Book XII of the *Metaphysics* are not as clear on the causality of the pure act as the statement at 1072b3. A few lines later the pure act is described as moving the first heavens in a manner that sounds like the activity of an efficient cause.[25] Similarly, at 1073a3ff., Aristotle says that he has already proved the immateriality of the pure act: he is indivisible and without magnitude. The reference is not directly to Book VIII of the *Physics*, but to an earlier passage in the *Metaphysics* (XII, 7.1071b20ff.) which nevertheless echoes the proof of the *Physics* for the immateriality of the prime mover. That Aristotle should have finally proved in the *Physics* that the prime mover must have an infinite power in order to move the heavens for an eternal time and must thus be immaterial, is understandable. But can this argumentation,

[23] J. Paulus, *ibid.*, 406-407.
[24] Aristotle, *Phys.* 7.2 (243a32-33); *Metaph.* 12.7 (1072b3).
[25] *Metaph.* 12.7 (1072b9-10); J. Paulus, *ibid.*, 408.

Paulus asks, apply to the pure act of the *Metaphysics?* Does it make any
sense to argue that the pure act must be infinite in power and therefore
immaterial in order to be lovable for an eternal time?[26] Finally, in the
controverted chapter 8 of *Metaphysics* XII, Aristotle, asking how many
pure acts there are in the whole heavens of the kind he had described in
chapter 7, takes the occasion to summarize once more the causal ac-
tivity of the pure act and again leaves the reader uncertain on whether
that activity is efficient or final causality.[27]

Paulus' conclusions are both modest and clear. The *Physics*, while
suggesting the doctrine of a hierarchy of animated spheres, self-moving
in the manner of animals, concentrated its attention on the first
heavens. This outer sphere is moved by the unmoved mover that is its
soul. Aristotle explained thereby the supreme source of motion in the
heavens: the soul of the first heavens is the first efficient cause of that
motion. But a question about motion remained. Why did the soul of the
first heavens and the other heavenly souls move their spheres? This
question was studied and answered by the *Metaphysics*. Each heavenly
soul is motivated by a mover acting as an object of love. Naturally, the
pure act that is the final cause of the mover of the first heavens is the
supreme principle of the universe — God. This was the doctrine that
was transmitted to the Greek commentators, the Arabs and the Latin
schoolmen. Paulus is therefore all the more surprised at those modern
historians who, even when they describe the Aristotelian heavenly
system correctly, nevertheless identify the prime mover of the *Physics*
and the pure act of the *Metaphysics*. The true and satisfying solution is to
be found in St. Thomas who, by distinguishing between the prime
mover of the *Physics* and the pure act of the *Metaphysics*, allowed ef-
ficiency and finality their proper causal expression in the Aristotelian
world system.[28]

II

There is something at once persuasive and perplexing in the
unification of the Aristotelian theology effected by Paulus. He has
brought about a coherence between *Physics* VIII and *Metaphysics* XII that
De Corte, with whom Paulus' account really began, had not reached.
Accepting a limited version of the animistic metaphysics that Charles
Werner had attributed to Aristotle at the beginning of the century,[29]

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[26] J. Paulus, *ibid.*, 409-410.

[27] *Metaph.* 12. 8 (1073 a 25-34). — See below note 108.

[28] J. Paulus, *ibid.*, 421-424.

[29] C. Werner, *Aristote et l'idéalisme platonicien* (Geneva: A. Kündig, 1909), especially chapters IX-X,
299-354 for the notion that Aristotle's God is the soul of the heavens. For a developmental or evo-
lutionary conception of the same animism, see R. Mugnier, *La théorie du premier moteur et l'évolution de
la pensée aristotélicienne* (Paris: J. Vrin, 1930).

Paulus has argued that the prime mover of the *Physics*, being the soul that moves the first heavens, is *subordinate* to — and not identical with — the supreme act that is Aristotle's highest God in the *Metaphysics*. Thus subordinating the prime mover of the *Physics* to the pure act of the *Metaphysics*, Paulus has equivalently adopted the perspective of the *Metaphysics* in interpreting the theology of the *Physics*. The result is certainly a doctrinal unification since its organization is commanded by the theology of *Metaphysics* XII, 7-8. Only, it is possible at this point to ask a question. Must we assume that context in order to interpret the *Physics*?

This is the question that is the ultimate perplexity in Paulus' interpretation of *Physics* VIII, and specifically cc. 5-6. At the end of c. 4 Aristotle's search for an ultimate cause of motion had reached this point: "If, then, all things moved are moved either by nature or contrary to nature and by force, and those things that are moved by force and contrary to nature are all moved by something, that is, by another, and similarly the things that are moved through themselves are moved by something, and so too the things not moved through themselves, for examole, the light and the heavy, ... it follows that all things that are moved are moved by something".[30] From this moment on Aristotle is in search of a first cause of motion — a first κινοῦν — in the order of κινούμενα· The premise of the search is the conclusion that we have just seen, namely, "all things that are moved are moved by something: ἅπαντα ἂν τὰ κινούμενα ὑπό τινος κινοῖτο." The point is important. "If, then," pursues Aristotle, "everything that is moved is moved by something, and the first mover is moved but not by another, it must be moved by itself."[31] Aristotle is visualizing moved movers and he is saying that the first among them, as *first*, cannot be moved by another. The argument is methodic, not doctrinal; the aim is not to reach a self-moved mover as the source of motion, but to explore the hypothesis of such a self-moved mover as an unmoved mover. If we have to choose between a self-moved mover and a mover moved by another as the source of motion, we would choose the self-moved mover as prior and the cause of the other. This is the hypothesis that we must explore. How does a thing move itself?[32] Far from treating the notion of a self-moved mover as a besouled body, Aristotle concludes a long analysis by arguing that the true and ultimate source of motion is itself unmoved. In his own words: "It is clear from the foregoing that what moves in the first instance is unmoved. For whether the moved, which is moved by something, terminates at once in an unmoved first mover, or at a mover

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[30] *Phys.* 8. 4 (255 b 31-256 a 3).
[31] *Ibid.*, 8. 5 (256 a 19-21).
[32] *Ibid.*, 8. 5 (257 a 27-33).

that is moved, but one that both moves itself and is unmoved, the out-
come in either case is the same: that which in the first instance acts as a
mover for all moved things is unmoved."[33]

There is nothing in these words to suggest that Aristotle, having first
identified the self-mover with the first heavens, is then saying that its
soul is the unmoved mover of its motion. There is no animation of the
first heavens present in the text, and indeed no reference to the heavens.
The point made is that, however you proceed — directly or indirectly
— in a world in which it is true that what is moved is moved by
something (i. e. something other), the primary cause of motion is itself
unmoved. This is a doctrinal conclusion reached by a procedure that
must be called aporematic, involving as it does the assumption of pos-
sible alternatives, testing and the final selection of the right answer. And
if Aristotle's procedure in *Physics* VIII, 5 is aporematic and not doctrinal
(I mean, that he is not further explicating a doctrine that he has already
reached), then it is not unfair to say that Paulus read the perspective of
Metaphysics XII, 7-8 into the text of *Physics* VIII, 5. And the main issue in
such an exegesis is not the animation of the heavens, though that is an
issue because it is difficult to find the doctrine in the *Physics* — unless we
change an investigative procedure into a doctrinal position: in that
event, we must hold that Aristotle first reached the notion of a self-
moved mover and then went on to the notion of the soul as its unmoved
part. The text of the *Physics* rather suggests that the self-moved mover is
a temporary hypothesis, growing out of the premise that everything
moved is moved by another, from which Aristotle went on to reach the
doctrinal position that he aimed at: the unmoved mover as the primary
cause of motion.

The main issue raised by Paulus is, without any doubt, the subor-
dination of the prime mover in the *Physics* to the pure act of the
Metaphysics. If the pure act moves as a final cause, then Aristotle needs
efficient causes to move the spheres. It is also the case that these ef-
ficient causes of motion, being moved by the love of the pure act and
moving the spheres, are themselves moved movers. But the argument
of the *Physics* requires Aristotle to say of the first prime mover
that he is absolutely unmoved. If motion is to be continuous and eter-
nal, then the first prime mover is not moved even accidentally.[34] How
can the absolutely unmoved prime mover of the *Physics* be made into a
moved mover in the *Metaphysics*? No doubt, if we do not agree with
Paulus' subordinationism, we are left with an unresolved problem.
With De Corte, we then may project the assumed efficient causality of
the *Physics* and the final causality of the *Metaphysics* into the mind of some

[33] *Ibid.*, 8. 5 (258 b 4-9).
[34] *Ibid.*, 8. 6 (259 b 20-28).

Christian theologian (specifically, St. Thomas Aquinas), and there iden-
tify them with one another in the absolute mastery of God over all
being. But this is idealized history in which the evident loyalty of a
historian to both Aristotle and St. Thomas leads him to think of the an-
cient Greek thinker as a young Aquinas and of the Christian theologian
as an Aristotle in his true Meisterzeit. The historical Aristotle does
present us with the dilemmas summarized by De Corte in a most per-
ceptive way. For better or for worse, two things remain firm in the
same historical Aristotle. First, the prime mover of the *Physics* — the
mover of the first heavens — is absolutely unmoved, so that motion
may be eternal and deathless. Such a mover cannot be subordinated to
the final causality of the *Metaphysics*: he cannot be made into a moved
mover. Second, the pure act of *Metaphysics* XII, 7 is the supreme causal
source of the orderly movement of the whole universe, and his causality
consists in being loved: κινεῖ δὴ ὡς ἐρώμενον.[35] Final causality — not
the final causality of a God who loves the universe, but the final
causality that in its self-contained perfection is a model for a universe it
does not know — is the supreme type and origin of causality in the
world of Aristotle.

The dilemmas for the student of Aristotle — and the temptations —
lie at this point. Once we adopt the framework of *Metaphysics* XII, 7 we
know explicitly that the supreme expression of causality in the universe
is, not a self-directed efficiency, but a self-directed finality. The
historian then hesitates before the prime mover of the *Physics*, who has
been reached in the chain of efficient causality. How is he the final
cause of the *Metaphysics*? And yet how is he not? He is the primary cause
of motion; he is absolutely unmoved, and as such he cannot be iden-
tified with any cause in the *Metaphysics* except the pure act that is the
supreme cause of motion. We are saying that the prime mover of the
Physics must be held to be the pure act of the *Metaphysics*, which means
that we must face a formidable question. How, in this view, do we
reconcile the prime mover as efficient cause in the *Physics* with the prime
mover as final cause in the *Metaphysics*?

Let us notice, simply as an approach to this question, that, in
reaching the prime mover in the order of moving or efficient causes, the
Physics says only two things about him: he is prime and he is unmoved,
or rather, he is prime because he is unmoved as a mover. The *Physics*
does not say how he moves, no doubt for methodological reasons.[36] First
and unmoved, the prime mover is yet not known as separate in *Physics*
VIII, 5. His immobility is known from motion and its requirements, and

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[35] *Metaph.* 12. 7 (1072 b 3).
[36] See below note 100.

not from himself. As a result, though we reach the prime mover in the *Physics* by means of moving causes, we do not know more than that we have explained the origin of motion in an unmoved first mover. Reached by efficient — i. e. moving — causality, the prime mover is the origin of efficient causality in motion. Is he *therefore* a first efficient cause of motion? The *Physics* does not say, but there must be some sense in which the answer is: yes, he is; he is by as much as he is at the origin of efficiency in the world of motion. The Aristotelian mystery surely lies in this fact. We can still ask, therefore, how the causality of the prime mover, which in *Physics* VII-VIII and in *Metaphysics* XII, 6 seems to operate as efficiency, can turn into finality in *Metaphysics* XII, 7.

Having read St. Thomas, Paulus came away with the subordinatist thesis that we have seen. And yet, having also read St. Thomas, I have come away with a different view of the matter, beginning with the admittedly formidable text that attracted Paulus' attention.

<div align="center">III</div>

There is no doubt that *SCG* I, 13, § 29 is a most perplexing text and that, taken by itself, it literally says what Paulus has drawn out of it. But it is not the only perplexing text in this problem and what it attributes to Aristotle is not the only perplexity that St. Thomas offers his modern reader. Consider, first of all, the paragraph itself:

> Sed quia Deus non est pars alicuius moventis seipsum, ulterius Aristoteles, in sua *Metaphysica*, investigat ex hoc motore qui est pars moventis seipsum, alium motorem separatum omnino, qui est Deus. Cum enim omne movens seipsum moveatur per appetitum, oportet quod motor qui est pars moventis seipsum, moveat propter appetitum alicuius appetibilis. Quod est eo superius in movendo: nam appetens est quodammodo movens motum; appetibile autem est movens omnino non motum. Oportet igitur esse primum motorem separatum omnino immobilem, qui Deus est.[37]

The text *is* surprising. God is not a part of something moving itself, and we are free to infer that he is therefore not the unmoved mover proved in the *Physics*. From that mover, we are told, Aristotle went on in the *Metaphysics* to seek an absolutely separate mover. This was God. Our puzzle lies here. How does St. Thomas know this remarkable truth? The answer is clear from the sequel in paragraph 29, but this sequel is clearly not a justification of the first sentence in the paragraph. A moved mover is moved by an appetible object that is superior to it, and is itself unmoved. To St. Thomas this means that the first mover is

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[37] *SCG* I, c. 13, § 29.

separate and absolutely unmoved. It is God. Now, if we look at the text
of the *Metaphysics* on which this argumentation is based, we shall there
find that if the supreme cause of motion moves as a final (and therefore
unmoved) cause, everything else moves in being moved. The question is:
what has this to do with the first sentence of paragraph 29? Is St.
Thomas proving in the remainder of the above paragraph what the first
sentence needs? Clearly not. What Aristotle asserts and what St.
Thomas elaborates is that God κινεῖ δὴ ὡς ἐρώμινον, κινουμένῳ δε
τἆλλα κινεῖ.[38] This is not to derive the absolutely separate God from the
moved mover (of the *Physics*, presumably); on the contrary, this is to
locate the origin of a first moved mover under the primacy of a purely
final (and unmoved) Good.

There is more. In *SCG* I, 13, St. Thomas had devoted thirty-two
paragraphs to expounding Aristotle's two proofs of God from motion
(§§2-33). St. Thomas is able to set forth the first of these proofs, leading
to an unmoved mover whom we call God, in one paragraph (§3). This is
followed by thirteen paragraphs establishing the two premises of the
proof, namely, that everything moved is moved by another and that
there is no infinite regress in movers and things moved (§§4-16). But the
second proof is not so easily managed. It begins at paragraph 17. St.
Thomas first proves that there is a first mover that is not moved by
another (§§17-20). But since such a mover is not thereby known as ab-
solutely unmoved, St. Thomas proceeds to follow Aristotle through two
possibilities with, however, one outcome. Either the first mover, who is
not moved by another, is held immediately to be absolutely unmoved
or, if the mover is held to be self-moved, the same consequence will still
follow: there will be an unmoved mover in it (§§21-22). Moreover this
unmoved mover is not moved in any way, not even accidentally (§§23-
25). We have now reached *Physics* VIII, 6. Have we also reached the end
of the second proof from motion? In a sense, we have, so that
paragraphs 24-25 parallel paragraph 3. The question now is: what is St.
Thomas doing in paragraph 29?

The question may be translated into the following terms. Does the
ulterius in the first sentence of paragraph 29 mean that St. Thomas is
making a transition from the context of the *Physics* to that of the
Metaphysics? If we read the paragraph in this way, then St. Thomas can
be saying that, after establishing in the *Physics* the existence of a mover
who is the unmoved part of a self-moved mover, in the *Metaphysics*
Aristotle is in search of a mover who is separate and not a part of a

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[38] *Metaph.* 12. 7 (107 b 3-4). In his edition of the *Metaphysics* (Oxford, 1924), W. D. Ross has writ-
ten κινούμενα for κινουμένῳ, which W. Jaeger however has retained in his text (Oxford, 1957),
252. Since St. Thomas read κινουμένῳ in Moerbeke's translation (". . .moto vero alia moventur") I
have thought it best to retain it.

movens seipsum. This higher and separate mover, who is beyond the un-
moved mover of the *Physics*, is Aristotle's God. Now, if we take
paragraph 29 by itself, we cannot prove that it ought not to be read in
this way. But we can point out that, if it is so read, the paragraph raises
two difficult questions. First, is it coherent, that is, does the last part of
the text support its first sentence? Second, does not the paragraph
nullify the two preceding proofs in the chapter in which it belongs?

Consider the second question first. In paragraphs 3 and 24-25 St.
Thomas reached the existence of an unmoved mover (*aliquod movens im-
mobile*) of whom in paragraph 3 he had added: "Et hoc dicimus Deum".
Plainly, St. Thomas has here followed the *Physics* of Aristotle, he has
proved the existence of the unmoved mover, and he has called this
mover God. There is, then, a proof of God that St. Thomas has taken
from the *Physics* of Aristotle. He has done so twice in *SCG* I, c. 13, §§3-26,
and, let us add, he has also done it in the famous if embattled[39] *prima via*
of the *Summa Theologiae* (I, q. 2, a. 3) as well as in the *Compendium
Theologiae* (I, c. 3). Does paragraph 29 nullify these efforts? That would
be the consequence of believing that the *Physics* does not reach God and
that St. Thomas was the source for such a view. St. Thomas proved the
existence of God from motion — that is, he reached an unmoved mover
from the notion of a moved mover — at least four times. He did so
twice in *SCG* I, c. 13 before arriving at paragraph 29. Is it believable
that he then cancelled the two proofs?

Yet, even so, even if we must disagree with Paulus, how to interpret
paragraph 29 as a whole remains a problem. What does the paragraph
intend to say? Let us suppose that it does not — and, in the cir-
cumstances, cannot — intend to deny the conclusion reached in
paragraphs 3 and 24-25, which constitute two of the four philosophical
ways in *SCG* I, c. 13 proving the existence of God. In other words, if
down to paragraph 29 St. Thomas has presented two proofs of the
existence of God from the Physics, then the question is: what is it that
paragraph 29 is denying? *Sed quia Deus non est pars alicuis moventis seipsum,
ulterius Aristoteles in sua Metaphysica investigat in hoc motore qui est pars moventis
seipsum alium motorem separatum omnino, qui est Deus.* How, in the light of
this sentence, can one disagree with Paulus when St. Thomas seems to
be saying, in so many words, what Paulus wishes to say about Aristotle?
And yet, how is it possible? How can St. Thomas be denying what he
had twice proved earlier in the same chapter?

But there is more to consider. Let us admit that, in writing the
foregoing sentence, St. Thomas could have been meaning to say what

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[39] For recent interpretations of the *prima via* see: E. Gilson, "Prologomènes à la *prima via*", *Ar-
chives d'hist. doctr. et litt. du moyen âge*, 30 (1963), 53-70; J. Owens, "The Starting Point of the *Prima
Via*", *Franciscan Studies*, 5 (1967), 249-284.

Paulus attributes to him. The words can carry such a meaning, even though by admitting it we ruin all the paragraphs of *SCG* I, c. 13 before 29. Even so, a further problem arises. The three sentences following that perplexing first sentence are intended as its proof. What, as St. Thomas sees it, is Aristotle pursuing in going (seemingly) from the *Physics* to the *Metaphysics?* Now, if we give the first sentence in paragraph 29 its most literal meaning, we must say that Aristotle, having reached in the *Physics* a mover who is part of a self-moving whole, is now in the *Metaphysics* seeking *another* mover, an absolutely separate one, who is God. We are, then, in search of a separate prime mover, who is God, beyond the mover of the *Physics*, who is not God. If this is what St. Thomas means to say, then this is what the rest of paragraph 29 should aim to prove. But such is not the case.

There is no doubt that the rest of paragraph 29 *is* a proof. *Cum enim*, writes St. Thomas. Everything that moves itself moves through appetite, whose appetible object is superior to it in the order of motion: the appetible object is an *unmoved* mover, while the mover in a self-moving whole turns out to be a *moved* mover. On this reasoning, there exists a separate and absolutely unmoved mover, and this is God. Even assuming that this is a perfectly clear argument, how is it a transition from the prime mover of the *Physics* to the separate mover of the *Metaphysics?* Down through paragraph 28 of *SCG* I, c. 13 St. Thomas' discussion is set in *Physics* VII-VIII, and it would be plausible to believe that paragraph 29, as a transition *to* the *Metaphysics*, is proceeding *from* the *Physics*. But, judging by St. Thomas' proof, this is not what is happening. The proof, based on *Metaphysics* XII, 7 argues that the supreme mover moves as a final cause, and what he moves (i.e. the mover in the self-moving whole) is in relation to him a moved mover: appetite is a moved mover, the appetible is an unmoved mover. But this view of a moved mover is not drawn from the *Physics*, because, clearly enough, it is based on, and is derived from, the primacy of final causality. The supreme mover, who is the supreme kind of entity, is a supreme moving cause whose causality consists in acting as an end. It is in this context of the perfection of the final cause that all other movers are moved movers. Rather than effecting a transition from the *Physics* to the *Metaphysics*, therefore, paragraph 29, in spite of its perplexing first sentence, is deriving the notion of a moved mover from the primacy of a pure and unmoved final cause as the absolute source of motion. The moved mover that St. Thomas is in fact examining in this paragraph is a metaphysical product of the Aristotelian conception of unmoved finality as the supreme moving cause; moreover, it is only by metaphysical hindsight that one can see it in the *Physics* at all. The separate first mover of paragraph 29, in his absolute immobility, is derived, not by transforming or transcending a lower mover, but by

recognizing that pure immobility belongs to the cause that acts as an absolute and self-contained end. If there is a transition in paragraph 29, therefore, it is from finality to the derivation of the notion of a moved mover — and not contrariwise, in spite of the wording of the first sentence.

This conclusion does not remove the difficulty posed by that first sentence. The sentence says what it says, but what it literally says cannot stand against either the evidence of the preceding paragraphs or the evidence of its own proof. There is a proof of God from motion, as *SCG* I, c. 13 has twice shown, which means that for St. Thomas the prime mover of the *Physics* is Aristotle's God — and his own. It remains, however, that paragraph 29 poses an exegetical problem that ought to be considered. St. Thomas is capable of filtering the interpretation of Aristotle through the screen of his own occupations and purposes, so that his Aristotelian source exists only as the conflation of several sources, contexts and perspectives. Consider, in this connection, the evidence of *De Substantiis Separatis*, c. II, where St. Thomas, aiming to give a general account of the origin and nature of separate substances in the world-scheme of Aristotle, has one more tantalizing exposition of the Aristotelian theology.[40]

The road to that theology is the way of motion. But whereas in the *Summa Contra Gentiles* and the *Summa Theologiae* the terminus of the way is the discovery of the existence of an unmoved mover whom men call God, the situation is a little different in the *De Substantiis Separatis*. True enough, the foundations of the argument remain those that St. Thomas took from the *Physics*: everything that is moved is moved by another; there is no infinite regress in movers and things moved. But consider how St. Thomas now reports Aristotle's more manifest way from the material to the immaterial, and especially the dual terminus:

> Primo quidem constituens et ratione et exemplis omne quod movetur ab alio moveri et si aliquid a se ipso moveri dicatur hoc non est secundum idem sed secundum diversas sui partes ita scilicet quod una pars ejus sit movens et alia mota. Et cum non sit procedere in infinitum in moventibus et motis quia remoto primo movente esset consequens etiam alia non moveri, oportet devenire ad aliquod primum movens immobile et ad aliquod primum mobile quod movetur a se ipso eo modo quo dictum est.[41]

Where did St. Thomas find that double conclusion he has reached? The method is that of the *Physics*, but the result is not. The *Physics* leads to an unmoved prime mover, but St. Thomas, with the complete picture of

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[40] St. Thomas, *De Substantiis Separatis*, c. 2 (ed. F.J. Lescoe, West Hartford: Saint Joseph College, 1963), 43-50, especially paragraphs 8-10, 43-46.

[41] *De Sub. Sep.*, c. II, § 8, *ed. cit.*, 43.

Aristotle's theology in mind, is willing to impose the outlines of the *Metaphysics* on the proof of the *Physics*. Indeed, after noting that the prime mover must be incorporeal in order to move in an infinite time,[42] St. Thomas sets forth the doctrine of *Metaphysics* XII, 7 as follow:

> Itemque cum in genere mobilium inveniatur appetibile sicut movens non motum, appetens autem sicut movens motum, concludebat ulterius quod primum movens immobile est sicut bonum quoddam appetibile et quod primum movens se ipsum, quod est primum mobile, movetur per appetitum ipsius. Est autem considerandum ulterius quod in ordine appetituum et appetibilium, primum est quod est secundum se intellectum, nam appetitus intellectivus appetit id quod est secundum se bonum; appetitus autem sensitivus non potest attingere ad appetendum quod est secundum se bonum sed solum ad appetendum id quod videtur bonum. Bonum enim simpliciter et absolute non cadit sub apprehensione sensus sed solius intellectus. Unde relinquitur quod primum mobile appetit primum movens appetitu intellectuali. Ex quo potest concludi quod primum mobile sit appetens et intelligens. Et cum nihil moveatur nisi corpus potest concludi quod primum mobile sit corpus animatum anima intellectuali. Non autem solum primum mobile quod est primum coelum movetur motu aeterno sed etiam omnes inferiores orbes coelestium corporum. Unde et unumquodque coelestium corporum animatum est propria anima et unumquodque habet suum appetibile separatum quod est proprius finis sui motus.[43]

Contrary to the difficulty posed by paragraph 29 of *SCG* I, c. 13, St. Thomas, in proceeding here from the *Physics* to the *Metaphysics*, is not seeking a supreme mover from a lesser one. The *primum movens immobile* that was reached within the framework of the *Physics* becomes now a *bonum quoddam appetibile*, an unmoved mover in the order of the good, loved and pursued by the intellectual soul that is eternally moving the first heavens. The other spheres, their souls and their unmoved movers do not concern us here.[44] It is immediately important to emphasize that, faced by the same situation as the one he considered in paragraph 29, St. Thomas here identifies the unmoved mover of the *Physics* and the appetible good of the *Metaphysics*: there is no subordination in the text of the *De Substantiis Separatis*. Of course, the language of paragraph 29 remains unexplained; but perhaps it is reasonable to add that, everything considered, what St. Thomas has said in the *De Substantiis Separatis* represents more adequately than paragraph 29 what he had in mind on both occasions. This cannot be proved; all that can be proved is that paragraph 29 and the above quotation from the *De Substantiis Separatis* are parallel texts.

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[42] *Ibid.*, 44.
[43] *Ibid.*, § 9, 44-45.
[44] See below, note 110.

That St. Thomas should have used the *Physics* and the *Metaphysics* to his own purposes in proving the existence of God is scarcely surprising. It is no more surprising that he has summarized his sources differently on different occasions, with more or less detail, and with varying occupations of his own. What is surprising, and much more difficult to assess, is St. Thomas' way of fitting Aristotle together in a pattern that looks like a continous exposition of his teaching but is continuons only in St. Thomas' own aim. The notion of an immobile prime mover, whom, as he says, men call God, is reached in a straightforward way. The basis of the proof is *Physics* VIII, the unmoved prime mover is for St. Thomas God, and he is reached as the unmoved or non-instrumental cause of motion. *De Substantiius Separatis* c. II is not such a straightforward text. If, as a parallel of paragraph 29, it offers an easier sequence of ideas to grasp, it also offers a puzzle of its own. Aristotle nowhere reaches at the same time an unmoved prime mover and a self-moved mover. Perhaps for reasons of economy, St. Thomas is loading into the proof of the *Physics* conclusions that are reached, not there, but, much later, in the light of the primacy of final causality in the *Metaphysics*. The procedure in the *De Substantiis Separaris* may be only a minor puzzle in an otherwise lucid and compact presentation of the Aristotelian theology. The inner articulation of that theology was not, after all, St. Thomas' immediate problem. What concerned him was to show that, though it was better rooted in experience than Plato's, Aristotle's doctrine of separate substances was faulty on two counts: the reason for their existence and their number.[45] If one is interested to discover, from St. Thomas' personal accounts of Aristotelian teaching, how he fits the *Physics* and the *Metaphysics* together, he can be misled by such a text as *De Substantiius Separatis* c. II. The economy of this text belongs in the world of St. Thomas' own purpose and is not a part-by-part description of Aristotle's doctrine.

Judging by St. Thomas' use, we must say that the theology of *Physics* VII-VIII contains a proof of God from motion. The unmoved prime mover of the *Physics* is God, not a lesser being (i.e. the soul of the first heavens). Indeed, in St. Thomas' use of the *Physics* in proving God from motion, no doctrine of the animation of the heavens is present. It is not present in the *prima via* of the *Summa* or in the *Compendium*. The case of *SCG*, c. 13 is more difficult because more complex. In the second proof from motion (§17ff.) St. Thomas follows Aristotle in proving that the first mover is not moved by something external to him. This does not prove that the first mover is unmoved. Either the first mover is unmoved or self-moved, therefore. If we hold the latter, then the argu-

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[45] *De Sub. Sep.* c. II, § 11-14; *ed. cit.*, 46-50.

ment is that the moving part of the self-moved mover is totally un-moved (§§20-25). The question now is: in the argument to this point have we proved, in proving a self-mover, that the first heavens is besouled? If so, the unmoved prime mover is the intelligence that moves it, and not God. But how did St. Thomas set out to prove God and end up proving the existence of the soul of the first heavens? It seems a preposterous development; so much so, that it is impossible. But, this time, there is more than paragraph 29 to consider.

At the very end of the two proofs of God from motion (§29), and before he turns to two proofs of God from Aristotle's *Metaphysics* (§§34-35), St. Thomas answers two objections on proving God from motion (§§30-33). Aristotle's procedure supposes the eternity of motion as part of the proof, which is held to be false according to Catholic teaching; it also supposes the animation of the heavens, "which many do not admit" (§32). To the first objection St. Thomas' answer is purely tactical. If the world and motion are held to be eternal, then to prove the existence of God under these conditions is much harder to do and for this reason much stronger as an argument (§31)![46] As for the animation of the heavens, St. Thomas answers as follows:

> Et ad hoc dicendum est quod, si primum movens non ponitur motum ex se, oportet quod moveatur immediate a penitus immobili. Unde etiam Aristoteles sub disiunctione hanc conclusionem inducit: quod scilicet oporteat vel statim devenire ad primum movens immobile separatum, vel ad movens seipsum, ex quo iterum devenitur ad movens primum im-mobile separatum.

This reply may disarm the objector, but consider what it does to Aristotle. It says that, on either of the two hypotheses at *Physics* VIII, 5. 258a4-9, the ultimate source of motion is still a separate and unmoved prime mover. A *movens primum immobile separatum* does not sound like the soul of the heavens. We ask: is not this separate and unmoved prime mover reached in the *Physics* and is he not God — the God reached near the beginning of *SCG* I, c. 13 in paragraph 3?

The more we reflect on this outcome, the more we are led to ask some specific questions. As St. Thomas sees it, is there a proof of God in the *Physics*? This means both whether St. Thomas thought so and whether he thought that Aristotle thought so. Second, is the animation of the heavens necessary to the proof in the *Physics*, according to St. Thomas? The question is not whether St. Thomas considered the doc-trine, which he tells us elsewhere most *moderni* did not accept, par-

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[46] Cp. the commentary on the *Physics: In Octo Libros Physicorum Aristotelis Expositio* (ed. P. M. Maggiòlo, Turin-Rome, 1954), 8, lect. 1, § 970.

ticularly important or significant.[47] The question is: is it a necessary step in the argument of the *Physics* and therefore specifically used in the proof of the prime mover? Third, how are we to understand the transition from the *Physics* to the *Metaphysics* ? If St. Thomas' use and report of Aristotle are any test, the transition is not what Paulus thought: it is not a question of transcending a mover who is not God in order to reach the true God in the *Metaphysics*. What is it then? Is it a transition that brings the efficient causality of the *Physics* together with the final causality of the *Metaphysics*, without, however, telling us how they belong together in one God? How does St. Thomas see this complex and embarrassing problem in the Aristotelian theology, and how does he see the causal unity of the Aristotelian world under the supremacy of a God who is the prime source and cause of motion in virtue of his self-fulfilled immobility?

We have come this far on the basis of St. Thomas' own *use* of Aristotle. This use, as we know, is colored by St. Thomas' theological purposes, which are many and varied. The question is: how, apart from those uses and purposes, does St. Thomas interpret what Aristotle said? With this question, we turn to St. Thomas' actual exegesis of *Physics* VII-VIII and *Metaphysics* XII.

IV

As his rubrics indicate, St. Thomas was occupied not only with the development of Aristotle's teaching in Books VI to VIII of the *Physics* but also with the technique of Aristotle's procedure. There is a doctrinal method at work in these books, St. Thomas believed, and an expository technique. There are large considerations that link the three books together in a particular order of development, giving to each its specific role in the formation of the overall doctrine. Thus, where Book VI dealt with motion in general, Books VII-VIII study motion more determinately by relating it to movers and things moved. This further inquiry proceeds in two stages. Book VII proves that there is a first motion and a first mover; then Book VIII examines the nature of the first motion and the first mover: *qualis sit primus motus et primus motor.*[48] In opening the commentary on Book VIII, moreover, St. Thomas adds the following: "After the Philosopher showed in the preceding book the necessity of positing a first movable, a first motion and a first mover, in this book he intends to investigate the nature of the first mover, the first

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[47] *Quaestiones de Anima*, q. 8, ad 3 (ed. J. H. Robb, Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1968), 137.

[48] *In 7 Phys.* lect. 1, § 884.

motion and the first movable".[49] Nor are these large divisions simply a matter of the distribution of the subjects examined in Books VII-VIII. On the contrary, later rubrics within these books make it perfectly clear that for St. Thomas Aristotle is proceeding under the guidance of methodic considerations.[50] Each book has its own procedural context, and we cannot (for example) read the development of Book VII in the later context of Book VIII.

St. Thomas' rubricating of the text of Aristotle has important consequences. The difference between an earlier and a later context in dealing with one and the same doctrine may very well be concreteness and determination: the earlier context may be general and indeterminate, lacking the concrete specification that the later one works out. And since the first source and the first cause of motion are the ultimate problems in Books VII and VIII, we are being invited by St. Thomas to think that Book VII contains a more general version of what will be spelled out more precisely and with fuller development in Book VIII.

What does Book VII teach on movers and things moved, and specifically on the existence of a first motion and a first mover, which St. Thomas has announced as its immediate accomplishment? Book VII begins with the classic proposition that everything that is moved by something. But since it is Aristotle's point that even what appears to be self-moved is not essentially or primarily moved as a whole, the proposition really means that everything that is moved is moved by another. This means that every corporeal or movable magnitude is divisible and can be moved only in the sense that one part moves another. But St. Thomas is aware that for Plato no body moves itself, and he explains that, even so, Aristotle is not here disagreeing with Plato. For in the *De Anima* Aristotle himself had said that sensation and understanding were motions, but of another kind, that is, acts of that which is perfect ($\tau o \tilde{v}$ $\tau \varepsilon \tau \varepsilon \lambda \varepsilon \sigma \mu \acute{\varepsilon} v o v$). But motion, as Aristotle is using the term here in the *Physics*, is the act of the imperfect ($\tau o \tilde{v}$ $\dot{\alpha} \tau \varepsilon \lambda o \tilde{v} \varsigma$), that is, of that which exists in potency. The point of Aristotle's non-disagreement with Plato is, then, that he is not attributing physical or bodily motion to the soul, just as he is not saying what Plato said in defending his dictum.[51] This conclusion means that there is no exception to the principle that in the world of bodies in motion everything moved is moved by another: every movable is divisible and it is self-moved only in the sense that one part moves another.

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[49] *Ibid.*, 8, lect. 1, § 965.

[50] *Ibid.*, 7, lect. 7, § 928; 8, lect. 5, § 1004; lect. 7, § 1021; lect. 9, § 1037; lect. 10, § 1050.

[51] Aristotle, *De Anima* 3. 7 (431 a 4-7); *Phys.* 3. 1 (201 a 10-11); 2. 201 b 31-33; St. Thomas, *In 7 Phys.*, lect. 1, § 885-886, 889-890. On the same point, see also St. Thomas, *SCG* 1, 13, § 10.

The concern in this procedure is, not what is moved or what the mover is, but the principle involved. Once this is established, we proceed to our main business: there is a first motion and a first mover. The proof is as follows. If the rule is true, then it should also be true that everything moved in place is moved by another. Aristotle first applies the rule, which has so far been proved in general terms, to local motion because (St. Thomas says) "local motion is the first among motions, as will be shown in Book VIII. He therefore here proceeds according to this motion in order to prove a first mover".[52] Now if anything is moved in place by something else, and this by still another mover, and so on, either the last mover is moved or it is not. If it is not, we have reached an unmoved and first mover. If it is moved, then the process must continue, but it must also stop: there cannot be an infinite regress in a simultaneously ordered system of causes. There is, then, a first cause of motion that is itself unmoved.[53]

The argument contains a premise that needs to be proved, namely, that the mover is contiguous or continuous with the thing moved. The hand that moves the stick is contiguous with, or touches, the stick; while one part of the air is continuous with another part.[54] The implication is that the mover and the thing moved are *simul*, or together. This means that we are dealing, not with a final cause (which can be at some distance from the agent) but with a mover that is a source of motion. We are dealing, then, with an efficient cause of motion. Such a mover is *simul* with the thing moved. Moreover, such a source of motion is, not remote, but immediate to the movable thing. Now we are, to be sure, dealing with local motion, but the *simul* in the relation of the mover and the thing moved does not mean that they are in the same place; it means that, because the mover and the thing moved are together, or *simul*, as contiguous or continuous, their termini are together (contiguous) or one and the same (continuous). This conclusion does not apply only to local motion; it applies to alteration and increase and diminution. (It also applies to generation and corruption, says St. Thomas, because of the similarity of their termini).[55] In other words, "just as there are three kinds of motion, so there are three kinds of movable things and likewise three kinds of movers. Moreover, what we have said is true in all instances, namely, that the mover and the thing moved are together. This will be shown in each instance. But it must first be shown in the case of local motion, which, as will be proved in Book VIII, is the first among

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[52] St. Thomas, *In 7 Phys.*, lect. 2, § 891.
[53] *Ibid.*, § 892-895. On Aristotelian method: § 896.
[54] *Ibid.*, § 894.
[55] *Ibid.*, lect. 3, § 898. (Cp. 6, lect. 13, § 880).

motions".[56] The togetherness of the mover and the thing moved is now proved for local motion, and at some length for alteration and augmentation and diminution.[57]

If we do not at this point anticipate the teaching of Book VIII, there is very little that we can say about the prime mover from Book VII. There exists an unmoved cause—an agent or efficient cause, according to the beginning of VII, 2—which is given together with the thing moved; there exist a first moved and a first motion resulting from that togetherness or immediacy, and this is the point where Book VIII will take up the study of mover and moved. But this result is so indeterminate that we have no reason to think that the prime mover is not a body or a bodily part. We have therefore reached a bare primacy in the order of motion — a first mover, a first motion, a first moved.

There is a surprising confirmation of this modest result in St. Thomas' commentary on the conclusion of the same chapter 5 in Book VIII in which Paulus had seen the doctrine of a besouled first heaven.[58] St. Thomas is in the midst of explaining how, according to Aristotle, the parts in a self-moved mover are related to one another, and what Aristotle means by saying at 258a20-21 that either the parts touch one another or one touches the other. The explanation is a lesson in method:

> Ubi considerandum est, quod Aristoteles nondum probavit primum movens non habere aliquam magnitudinem, quod infra probabit. Quidam autem antiqui philosophi posuerunt nullam substantiam absque aliqua magnitudine esse. Unde Aristoteles ante probationem hoc sub dubio secundum suam consuetudinem derelinquens, dicit quod duas partes moventis seipsum, quarum una est movens et alia mota, necesse est aliquo modo coniungi, ad hoc quod sint partes unius totius. Non autem per continuationem, quia supra dixit quod movens seipsum et motum non possunt continuari, sed necesse est ea dividi: unde relinquitur quod oportet has duas partes coniungi per contactum; aut ita ut ambae partes contingant se invicem, si ambae partes habeant magnitudinem; aut ita quod altera tantum pars contingatur ab alia, et non e converso, quod erit se movens non habet magnitudinem. Quod enim est incorporeum, potest quidem tangere corpus sua virtute movendo ipsum, non autem contingitur a corpore: duo autem corpora se invicem tangunt.[59]

What is St. Thomas saying? He is saying, surprising as it may seem, that up to near the end of chapter 5 of Book VIII Aristotle *had not yet* proved that the prime mover was not a body. He is also saying that, in keeping with his customary practice, Aristotle had left this point un-

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[56] *Ibid.*

[57] *Ibid.*, § 899-912.

[58] J. Paulus, "La théorie du premier moteur chez Aristote", 269. See above, note 3.

[59] St. Thomas, *In 8 Phys.*, lect. 11, § 1064.

determined because he had not yet proved it. How, then, are the two
parts joined in the self-moved mover so that they are parts of one
whole? They cannot be continuous, for this would mean that they can-
not be agent and patient.[60] They are therefore joined by contact, and
this can be either a mutual contact if both are bodies or a contact by
one if it is not a body. Nor is this all. In what follows (i.e. 258a21-27),
Aristotle answers his own question by explaining in what sense *at this
point* a whole is called self-moving. Aristotle *ostendit*, writes St. Thomas,
qua ratione totum dicatur movens seipsum, una parte movente et alia mota. And
St. Thomas comments before explaining the explanation that Aristotle
is about to give:

> Et supponamus quantum ad praesens, quod utraque pars sit continua,
> idest magnitudinem habens; quia de eo quod movetur, in sexto probatum
> est quod sit aliquid continuum; et accipiatur nunc idem de movente, an-
> tequam veritas probetur.[61]

We are, methodically speaking, still tied to the idea that the mover in the
self-moving whole is a body. We may wonder when the truth that such
a mover cannot be a body will command our attention. But now it does
not, and "now" is the end of Book VIII, 5.

St. Thomas' attentiveness to Aristotle's methodic procedure enables
us to ask a further question. How does St. Thomas view the transition
from Book VII of the *Physics* to Book VIII? To answer this question, let
us pass over the famous discussion at the beginning of *Physics* VIII on
the eternity of time and motion[62] and let us come to the moment when
we are taking a second look at the principle that everything that is
moved by another. Aristotle had first said that ἅπαν τὸ κινούμενον ὑπό
τινος ἀνάγκη κινεῖσθαι at the beginning of Books VII (1.241b34). Now he
summarizes Book VIII,4 by coming to the conclusion that ἅπαντα ἄν τὰ
κινούμενα ὑπό τινος κινεῖσθαι (256a2-3). Repetition? St. Thomas thinks not.
He thinks that it is a methodic transition from a common and un-
specified view of motion to a concrete examination of things moved and
movers. What Aristotle intends, beginning with VIII, 4, is to prove that,
in a world of eternal motion, though some things are alternately in
motion and at rest, there is also something that is absolutely unmoved
and something that is always moved. This is the moment of Aristotle's
methodic transition, as St. Thomas' rubric points out.

If we follow St. Thomas' judgment, chapters 4 through 6 of *Physics*
VIII prove that the prime mover is immovable and that the first moved
is endlessly in motion. Basic to this effort is the proof that everything

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[60] *Ibid.*, lect. 7, § 1028.
[61] *Ibid.*, lect. 11, § 1065.
[62] I.e. *Phys.* 8, 1-3; St. Thomas, *In 8 Phys.*, lect. 1-6.

that is moved by another. If this is the continuing theme of VIII, 4-5, let us notice its guiding location:

> Ostenderat siquidem supra in principio septimi, omne quod movetur ab alio moveri, ratione communi accepta ex parte ipsius motus: sed quia incepit applicare motum ad res mobiles, illud quod supra universaliter est ostensum, hic ostendit universaliter verificari in omnibus mobilibus et moventibus.[63]

The argument at the beginning of Book VII, therefore was based on the general nature of motion. Now, in VIII, 4, we are applying the general considerations about motion to movable things themselves. In this concretizing procedure St. Thomas follows Aristotle in VIII, 4 as he proves, in the case of the three classes of things that are properly said to be moved, the validity of the principle that everything that is moved is moved by another.[64]

We are now ready, in VIII, 5, to proceed to the more difficult problem of proving that, in the world of movers and things moved, we must arrive at some first unmoved mover. The problem is more difficult because, in the process of trying to reach an unmoved first cause of motion, Aristotle uses the notion of a self-moved mover. Hence the question is to determine, according to St. Thomas, the meaning and the role of such a self-moved mover in the argumentation leading to the unmoved mover. We have only to remember *SCG* I, c. 13, §29 to realize the full force of the difficulty in interpreting St. Thomas' view of Aristotle. How does St. Thomas the commentator locate the mechanism of a self-moved mover in the overall Aristotelian effort to reach a mover who is totally unmoved?

St. Thomas devotes three lectures to *Physics* VIII, 5 (namely, lectures 9-11) which, taken together, span the limits of the present problem. We can approach the specific purpose of these lectures by considering their rubrics.

> Postquam Philosophus ostendit quod omne quod movetur ab alio movetur, hic incipit ostendere quod necesse est devenire ad aliquod primum movens immobile.

> Postquam Philosophus ostendit quod in mobilibus et in moventibus non proceditur in infinitum, sed est devenire ad aliquod primum, quod vel est immobile, vel est seipsum movens; hic ostendit quod etiamsi perveniatur ad primum quod est seipsum movens, quod nihilominus oportet devenire ad primum quod est immobile.

> Postquam Philosophus ostendit quod movens seipsum dividitur in duas partes, quarum una movet et non movetur, alia autem movetur; hic ostendit quomodo huiusmodi partes se habeant ad invicem.[65]

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[63] *In 8 Phys.*, lect. 7, § 1021.
[64] Aristotle, *Phys.* 7. 4 (254 b 7-256 a 3); St. Thomas, *In 7 Phys.*, lect. 7-8.
[65] *In 8 Phys.*, 5, lect. 9, § 1037; lect. 10, § 1050; lect. 11, § 1062.

We are seeking, then, a *primum movens immobile*, and since there is no in-
finite regress, our search must terminate either in an unmoved mover
or in a self-moved mover. But even if we accept the second assumption,
the unmoved mover is still the correct terminus of our search, although,
given the same assumption, we must determine how, in the self-moved
mover, the unmoved and the moved parts are related to one another.

We can see the notion of a self-moved mover appearing in the *Physics*
when, positing that everything that is moved is moved by something,
Aristotle argues that this something is moved by something else or not.
If it is moved by something else that as a mover is taken to be self-
moved, then we must come to a first mover not moved by another but
assumed to be moved by itself. If, then, writes Aristotle, everything that
is moved is moved by something, and the first mover is indeed moved
but not by another, then the prime mover must be self-moved.[66] As St.
Thomas says: "If, then, it be granted that everything that is moved is
moved by something, as has been shown, and, *if, again, it be assumed that
the prime mover is moved*, then, since it has been proved that the prime
mover is not moved by another, it is necessarily the case that it is moved
by itself."[67] Thus, the notion of a self-moved first mover is an assump-
tion: it is assumed that the prime mover is both prime and moved,
which can mean only that it is self-moved.

The assumption has a historical origin, as St. Thomas immediately
points out:

> Est autem in hac ratione attendendum, quod primum movens moveri
> non est hic probatum; supponit autem hoc secundum communem
> opinionem Platonicorum. Quantum autem ad virtutem rationis, non magis
> concluditur quod primum movens moveat seipsum, quam quod sit im-
> mobile: unde in sequentibus hanc eandem conclusionem sub disiunctione
> inducit, ut infra patebit.[68]

There is therefore no proof in Aristotle's text that *primum movens moveri*:
it is a borrowed Platonic opinion. Aristotle's argument, moreover, no
more proves that the prime mover is self-moved than that it proves it to
be unmoved: the Aristotelian argument will remain disjunctive in the
sequel. The main thrust of Aristotle's argument, then, is not the deter-
mination of what the prime mover is; it is the conclusion itself, namely,
that, given the principle that everything moved is moved by another, it
is still true that not all movers are moved by another: that is, not all
causes are instrumental; there is a *first* mover, whether unmoved or
secundum Platonicos self-moved.[69] Naturally, to accept the Platonic

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[66] Aristotle, *Phys.* 8. 5 (256 a 13-21).
[67] St. Thomas, *In 8 Phys.*, lect. 9, § 1040 (4).
[68] *Ibid.*, § 1040 (5).
[69] *Ibid.*, § 1041.

position as a possibility — as an unexamined assumption — solves one problem and leaves another untouched. The solved problem is that there is no infinite regress in movers: there is a first and originating mover. This means, to put it in Aristotle's language again, that if we had to choose between making the cause and source of motion something *self*-moved and making it something moved *by another*, we would choose the self-moved as the superior cause.[70] We now turn to our unexamined question: does anything move itself, and, if so, how?[71] This question is part of a larger objective, namely, to prove that the prime mover must be unmoved. St. Thomas summarizes:

> Postquam Philosophus ostendit quod in mobilibus et in moventibus non proceditur in infinitum, sed est devenire ad aliquod primum, quod vel est immobile, vel est seipsum movens; hic ostendit quod etiamsi perveniatur ad primum quod est seipsum movens, quod nihilominus oportet devenire ad primum quod est immobile.[72]

To reach the conclusion that the prime mover is unmoved two notions have first to be clarified. One is the meaning of a self-moving whole; the other is the relation of the two parts to one another in the whole. In the self-moving whole, the whole does not move itself as a whole. The whole as movable is divisible, and this can mean only that one part moves and is unmoved and another part is moved and does not move.[73] If this is the case, the second point to clarify is: how are the parts related to one another? The self-moving whole has been discovered to be composed "of two parts of which one so moves that it is nevertheless unmoved, the other part is so moved that it nevertheless does not move".[74] How are these two parts related to one another? The answer, which we have already seen,[75] is an example of St. Thomas' recognition of Aristotle's procedure. How are the parts in a self-moving whole mutually related? Aristotle, says St. Thomas, has not yet proved that the prime mover is without magnitude. This will be proved later — and "later" is five chapters away: it is, in fact, a conclusion finally stated in the last two sentences of the *Physics* where, having proved that the prime mover is the cause of an everlasting motion and this for an infinite time, Aristotle concludes that the prime mover is indivisible, without parts and without any magnitude.[76] But now we are still in chapter 5, and we have not yet proved that the unmoved prime mover is not a body. The

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[70] Aristotle, *Phys.* 8. 5 (257 a 27-31).
[71] *Ibid.*, a31-33; St. Thomas, § 1049.
[72] *In 8 Phys.*, lect. 10, § 1050.
[73] *Ibid.*, § 1060.
[74] *Ibid.*, lect. 11, § 1062.
[75] See above, p. 000 and note 63.
[76] *Phys.* 8. 10 (267 b 25-27).

two parts in the self-moved mover are two bodies joined by contact. Were the unmoved part in the self-moved mover incorporeal, it would touch the moved part, but would not be touched by it. But both parts, in our present view, have magnitude, the mover as well as the moved part.[77] On the main issue, we can conclude that, even making the hypothesis of motion leading to a self-moved mover, we must argue that the first mover is itself unmoved.[78]

The point of this conclusion is not that the prime cause of motion, the unmoved mover, is a body; the point (for St. Thomas, at least) is that Aristotle has not yet proved that the unmoved cause of motion is not a divisible magnitude. It must also be said that there is nothing in the text of *Physics* VIII, 5 that to St. Thomas means a besouled first heavens. The hypothesis of a self-mover is assumed in order to show, by analysis, that the ultimate source of motion is unmoved. The nature of the unmoved mover we do not yet know: Aristotle is treating such a mover according to the principle of bodies (divisibility, continuity, contiguity, contact) pending the accumulation of data to show that the unmoved mover is immaterial.

The remainder of the *Physics* (i.e. VIII, 6-10) gathers the conclusions leading to such an end. The prime mover is not only unmoved but also incorruptible or perpetual and one in number. For if, though some things are born and die, the universe as a whole is eternally in motion, the first mover must itself be perpetual, since an everlasting effect can be caused only by an everlasting cause.[79] As to the oneness of the prime mover as an everlasting and unmoved source of motion, St. Thomas points out that Aristotle has not yet settled the question.[80] It is sufficient, Aristotle now says, that a single unmoved source be the cause of an everlasting motion if that cause is, as has been shown, itself everlasting.[81] There is, then, one everlasting mover, unmoved, causing a first and everlasting motion. This mover is not moved even accidentally. Hence, writes St. Thomas, "from the immobility of the principle that we posit as remaining immobile, it follows that the whole universe has a certain everlasting permanence according as it is joined to the immobile first principle by receiving its causal influence".[82]

Aristotle had proved at the beginning of Book VIII that motion and time were eternal. From this he has now proved that there is a single supreme prime mover, immobile and everlasting. But he has proved

[77] *In 8 Phys.*, lect. 11, § 1064-1065.

[78] *Ibid.*, § 1068.

[79] *Ibid.*, lect. 12, § 1074.

[80] *Ibid.*, § 1069.

[81] Aristotle, *Phys.* 8. 5 (259 a 6-13); St. Thomas, *In 8 Phys.*, lect. 12, § 1075-1976.

[82] *In 8 Phys.*, lect. 13, § 1081.

more. For if there is such a mover, moving in such a way, then what he moves immediately is itself everlasting.[83] Chapters 7-9 of Book VIII of the *Physics* are occupied with this first, everlasting and uniform motion. Aristotle first proves that locomotion is the prime motion, being the only one that can be continuous.[84] But, moreover, the only local motion that can be continuous is circular motion,[85] for only circular motion can be infinitely continuous.[86] Let us summarize: "That motion, therefore, was and will be everlastingly throughout all time, and what is the source of eternal motion, and moreover what the first motion is and which motion alone can be eternal, and that the first is unmoved, has been shown".[87]

As St. Thomas sees it, the last chapter of the *Physics* (VIII, 10) is devoted to showing the nature of the prime mover on the basis of the first motion, which has been found to be infinitely continuous. This purpose requires Aristotle to determine some points as the foundation of his argument for the nature of the prime mover. A mover of finite power cannot be the cause of a notion that is infinite in duration, and no finite magnitude can contain an infinite power.[88] And since Aristotle had already proved, in *Physics* III,[89] that there cannot be an infinite body or magnitude, we are now near the conclusion that a mover with an infinite power is not in a magnitude. But St. Thomas had pointed out, in introducing chapter 10, that there were three preliminary points that Aristotle set out to prove before establishing the incorporeality of the prime mover.[90] We have proved that the prime mover, moving in an infinite time, must have infinite power, and that no power in a finite magnitude can be infinite. Since there cannot be an infinite body, we are ready to say that the prime mover is incorporeal. Before proving his major conclusion, however, Aristotle proves (once more) the oneness of the prime mover. When someone throws a stone into the air, is not the air, in addition to the thrower, a cause of the continuing motion of the air? It is, but only from a motion received from the first mover, and in a diminished way. The point is that such a motion, caused by more than one mover, will come to a stop: if, then, there is an eternally continuing motion, there must be a single continuing mover.[91] For if, as has been

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[83] Aristotle, *Phys.* 8. 6 (259 b 33-260 a 1); St. Thomas, *In 8 Phys.*, lect. 13, § 1083-1084.

[84] Aristotle, *Phys.* 8. 7; St. Thomas, *In 8 Phys.*, lect. 14-15.

[85] Aristotle, *Phys.* 8. 8; St. Thomas, *In 8 Phys.*, lect. 16-19.

[86] Aristotle, *Phys.* 8. 9; St. Thomas, *In 8 Phys.*, lect. 19 (§ 1134-1135) -20.

[87] Aristotle, *Phys.* 8. 9 (266 a 6-9).

[88] St. Thomas, *In 8 Phys.*, lect. 21, § 1141-1142, 1146.

[89] Aristotle, *Phys.* 3. 5 (204 a 8-10), (204 b 22-24), (205 b 24-206 a 2).

[90] St. Thomas, *In 8 Phys.*, lect. 21, § 1142.

[91] *Ibid.*, lect. 22, § 1160-1163.

proved, there is a single continuous and everlasting motion, there is a single mover. When is a motion one? When it belongs to a single moved magnitude.[92] The prime mover is, then, one. But how does the prime mover move? He moves either as moved by something or as unmoved. If the former, and there is no infinite regress, we shall still reach a prime unmoved mover, who moves without external necessity (i.e. the necessity of being moved by another). Moving in an unmoved way, the prime mover moves without fatigue and therefore without interruption and hence continuously and uniformly, that is, without any variation in himself or in the body that he moves.[93]

Should it be asked: where is the mover of the first moving body "located"? the answer is: either at the center of the sphere (which is, in fact, the center of the universe) or on the surface of the sphere. Now a motion is swifter in proportion to its nearness to its mover. Here, however, let us notice the east to west daily motion of the heavenly bodies and also the west to east motion of the sphere of the fixed stars. According to this second motion a body moves more swiftly according as it is nearer to the center of the universe. The astronomers report that the moon makes its rounds in one month, the Sun, Mercury and Venus in one year, Mars in two years, Jupiter in twelve, Saturn in thirty, and the heaven of the fixed stars in thirty six thousand years.[94] But the speed of motion is opposite to this in the movement of the whole heavens. The farther a heavenly body is from the earth, the more swiftly it is moved, since it covers a greater distance in the same time as a lower body. Clearly, the circumferences of circles farther from the earth are greater, and yet, as far as the motion of the whole heaven is concerned, all heavenly bodies revolve at the same time in unison with one another. This means (to St. Thomas as to Aristotle) that the prime mover is, not at the center, but at the circumference of the outer sphere of the universe.[95] And yet, how is this possible? Being indivisible and without magnitude (as Aristotle will presently conclude), how can the prime mover have a designated location in a body? It is not better to say that the prime mover is no more in one place than in another? St. Thomas does not agree. The prime mover is not *located* on any part of the outer sphere: his efficient moving action is applied in a particular place, namely, in the heavens rather than on the earth, and in the east where the motion begins. The mover is not fixed to what is moved.[96]

[92] *Ibid.*, 6, lect. 12 and 5.
[93] *Ibid.*, 8, lect. 23, § 1164-1167.
[94] *Ibid.*, § 1168 (4).
[95] *Ibid.*, § 1168 (5).
[96] *Ibid.*, § 1169.

Aristotle, finally, has still one more query about the motion of a moved mover, and St. Thomas follows him through it. Can a moved mover cause a continuous motion in the sense that there is no repetition of recurrence of the mover's action? Recurring motions are successive, not continuous. This means that only the motion caused by an unmoved mover is eternally continuous. That is why, adds St. Thomas, in the *Metaphysics* Aristotle proves that there are many unmoved movers on the premise that there are many heavenly motions — that is, as though the number of the movers was based on the number of the motions.[97]

Aristotle's conclusion is clear, but (for our purposes) St. Thomas' is clearer. We have determined that the first and unmoved mover cannot have magnitude. The prime mover has infinite power, there is no such thing as an infinite magnitude, and no finite magnitude can contain an infinite power or move in an infinite time. But the prime mover, as moving an eternal motion in an eternal time, is indivisible, without parts and without magnitude.[98] So far Aristotle. And St. Thomas adds: "And thus the Philospher brings to a close the general consideration of the things of nature in the first principle of the whole of nature, God, blessed above all things throughout the ages. Amen".[99]

As we read *Physics* VII-VIII with St. Thomas eyes, there are three conclusions that we can reasonably reach. The unmoved prime mover of the *Physics* is God, the first principle of nature. Whatever the difference between the world of Aristotle and the world of St. Thomas, the proof of the prime mover is, in fact, the proof of God; it is not a proof of any *lesser* being: St. Thomas does not think so and, in fact, the *prima facie* evidence is that neither does Aristotle. An absolutely first (this is the force of the argument) and unmoved source of motion cannot be anything less than Aristotle's supreme principle of the eternal and orderly motion of the universe. And St. Thomas himself treats this supreme principle as God and accepts him as such: that is the evidence of the commentary on the *Physics*.

Second, we are not told at any time by St. Thomas that the prime mover is a soul or that he is present in the first heavens as a soul in a body. St. Thomas has found no such doctrine in the *Physics*. Moreover, to him at least, the notion of a self-moved mover is an unproved (but also, initially, undisproved) Platonic hypothesis on the nature of the first source of motion. That what is moved is moved by another does not rule out the possibility that the first source of motion is self-moved.

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[97] *Ibid.*, § 1170-1171. Note that as late as the end of his commentary on the *Physics* (§ 1171) St. Thomas is still referring to *Metaphysics Λ* as XI.

[98] Aristotle, *Phys.* 8. 10 (267 b 17-26).

[99] St. Thomas, *In 8 Phys.*, lect. 23, § 1172.

But the possibility does not stand up under analysis and, in the text of Aristotle as St. Thomas reads it, it is slowly eliminated. Aristotle does not go from the notion of a self-moved mover to its unmoved part as though to a soul; he tests the hypothesis of a self-moved mover, finds it wanting, and posits the alternative notion of an unmoved mover as the first source of motion. So St. Thomas believes.

There is a third point. The prime mover is, precisely, a mover, and though there is enough evidence to argue that the prime mover moves as an efficient cause, there is one thing we do not know: we do not know what such a causality, known finally to be the motion of an unmoved and incorporeal mover, is and what it effects. The prime mover, as St. Thomas notes, is described in *Physics* VIII, 5 as being a body and moving by bodily contact; and we are not told until the last chapter of the *Physics*, when the evidence for this conclusion had been fully amassed, that the prime mover is incorporeal. Within the context of this last chapter we can, plainly enough, think of the prime mover moving as an intelligence. But how does an intelligence move, and, more especially, what do we mean when we say that the supreme prime mover is an *unmoved* efficient cause of motion? How is intelligence an efficient cause of motion? We do not know, and the *Physics* does not enlighten us.

That the *Physics* should not enlighten us on the causality of an unmoved mover in scarcely surprising. For Aristotle had said in the second book of the *Physics* that whatever moves without itself being moved (i.e. is itself ἀκίνητον), does not belong to the study called physics: οὐκέτι φυσικῆς. What transcends physics — the ἀκίνητον — comes after physics, which is the literal meaning of metaphysics.[100] With the notion of the prime mover as immaterial, therefore, we are at the point of transition from physics to metaphysics: physics has proved that the supreme mover of the universe exists and that he is immaterial, metaphysics will examine the nature of immaterial entities and their causality. But this conclusion should not be left in an indeterminate state. When we say that the prime mover — whom, at the very end of the *Physics*, we finally discovered to be an immaterial being — *moves* or even is an efficient cause of motion, what do we mean to say? When a body moves, it pushes or pulls — or so St. Thomas had followed Aristotle in thinking.[101] But what do we mean by the *motion* of an immaterial substance? We are already within the framework of the *Metaphysics* when we ask this question.

[100] Aristotle, *Phys.* 2. 7 (198 a 27-31).
[101] St. Thomas, *In 8 Phys.*, lect. 23, § 1171.

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Metaphysics XII, 6 constitutes the point of entry of the theology of the *Physics* into Aristotle's metaphysical inquiry on the nature of being, just as *Metaphysics* XII, 7 constitutes the transformation of that theology into a doctrine of motion based on the supremacy of final causality. Hence, the problem of seeing how the efficient causality of the unmoved prime mover in the *Physics* can be reconciled with the primacy of final causality in the *Metaphysics* is reducible to determining how, within *Metaphysics* XII, Aristotle can go from efficient causality in chapter 6 to final causality in chapter 7. The transition is not an easy one to see because, in spite of interpretations to the contrary, there is no subordinationism involved in it. The unmoved prime mover of chapter 6 becomes the unmoved and supreme final cause of chapter 7. *How* this happens is certainly not easy to grasp, but that it does happen is St. Thomas view of the matter.

The setting is familiar. There are three kinds of beings (Aristotle says οὐσίαι, and St. Thomas says *substantiae*), two natural or physical, of which one is eternal (the heavens) and the other corruptible (plants and animals), and one immobile and not physical. Such an eternal and immobile kind of substance must exist for reasons that we already know from *Physics* VIII. It was there proved that motion must be absolutely everlasting. For time must be everlasting, so that, since time is the number of motion,[102] there is an everlasting and continuous motion, namely, circular motion.[103] This conclusion leads to a further one, which is really at the source of Aristotle's speculation on the nature of the prime mover. Everlasting motion, writes St. Thomas, requires the existence of an everlasting substance that is always moving and acting — that is, a substance that is actually moving and acting (and not merely able to do so). The Platonic Ideas are eternal, but they are useless in this context since there is no source of motion in them. Motion is eternal only if there is an actually moving eternal source. There is a still further and no less important precision. For the actually moving eternal source of motion must be such that it cannot not move, or otherwise the eternal motion *can* fail and thus not be necessarily eternal. Let us say with Aristotle that the source of motion is such that its substance is actuality: δεῖ ἄρα εἶναι ἀρχὴν τοιαύτην ἧς ἡ οὐσία ἐνέρ-γεια.[104] As St. Thomas says: *oportet esse aliquod primum principium motus tale*

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[102] Aristotle, *Phys.* 4. 11 (220 a 3-4).

[103] St. Thomas, *In Duodecim Libros Metaphysicorum Aristotelis Expositio* (revised edition, by R. M. Spiazzi, Turin-Rome, 1950), 12, lect. 5, § 2488-2491.

[104] Aristotle, *Metaph.* 12. 6 (1071 b 14-20).

cuius substantia non sit in potentia, sed sit actus tantum.[105] We have one more conclusion to draw from the *Physics*: the eternal cause of eternal motion is immaterial. In Aristotle's argumentation, to which St. Thomas raises no objection, the point is to prove, not that *one* being or entity is immaterial, but that there is a class of immaterial and eternal entities.[106] This is in keeping with the original metaphysical inquiry of XII, 6, namely, to use the results of the *Physics* in order to prove the existence of a class of such entities. The *Physics* had not excluded the possibility of many unmoved and immaterial beings; the *Metaphysics* proves without restriction the existence of such a class.[107] But the universe of the *Metaphysics* is that of the *Physics*. There is a supreme prime mover, unmoved, eternal and immaterial, causing directly the eternal and continuous circular motion of the outer heavens and, through this continuity, the continuity of generation and corruption.

How does the supreme and unmoved prime mover move? Up to this point — that is, up to the beginning of XII, 7 where Aristotle had concluded that ἔστι τι ὃ οὐ κινούμενον κινεῖ, ἀΐδιον καὶ οὐσία καὶ ἐνέργεια οὖσα (1072a24-25) — we could be excused for believing that κινεῖ was a matter of efficient causality. Aristotle had used κινητικόν, ποιητικόν, ἐνεργοῦν, αἴτιον and the like in XII, 6 to designate the causality of the prime mover. Is this not the language of efficient causality? It is. But, even so, we must now consider something about the action of the unmoved mover that we do not see until we examine the fact that he is unmoved in the light of a much later fact, namely, that he is immaterial. Only an immaterial mover can be absolutely unmoved in being active throughout time. We can therefore ask: *how* does an immaterial prime mover, immaterial because radically immobile and thereby first in the order of motion, move? What is the action of such immobility? In this transition lies the whole problem of the coherence of the Aristotelian theology.

The beginning of *Metaphysics* XII, 7 is not without its textual difficulties, but the sequence of ideas is clear enough. There exists a continuous and everlasting motion, the circular motion of the first heavens (1072a21-23). Hence there exists a mover who moves without being moved. This mover has just been described as being eternal (ἀΐδιον), as being entity (οὐσία), and as being actuality (ἐνέργεια); moreover, this description explains why the mover is οὐ κινούμενον. With this conclusion Aristotle is able to recognize how the prime mover, in moving

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[105] St. Thomas, *In 12 Metaph.*, lect. 5, § 2494.

[106] Aristotle, *Metaph.* 12. 6 (1071 b 20-21); St. Thomas, *In 12 Metaph.*, lect. 5, § 2495.

[107] St. Thomas, *ibid.*, § 2496-2499. For the absolute priority of act over potency, see Aristotle, *Metaph.* 12, 6 (1071 b 21-7); (1072 a 26); St. Thomas, *In 12 Metaph.*, lect. 6, *passim*.

without being moved, moves. "The objects of desire and of un-
derstanding move in this way: they move without being moved" (1072 a
25-26). We have made a crossing: we have specified the *way* in which the
prime mover moves: because he moves without being moved, he moves
as an object of desire (ὀρεκτόν) and as an object of understanding (νοη-
τόν). And since, at the supreme level, there is no room for any apparent
good as desirable, the supreme desirable is the supreme un-
derstandable, which is the supreme entity. The supreme entity is the
supreme desirable and the supreme mover (1072a27-b1).

The metaphysical transformation — or, rather, formulation — of the
motion of the prime mover has now taken place. As a supreme and un-
moved entity, he moves as a final cause. But consider what has hap-
pened. Where in *Physics* VII-VIII and *Metaphysics* XII, 6 κινεῖν seemed to
mean efficient causality, in *Metaphysics* XII, 7 it has turned into a final
cause. Supreme entity (whether one or a class remains unsettled) is now
seen as having the function of being a prime mover as a *final cause*: the
supreme κινεῖν *acts* — moves — as a final cause. And the reason for this
transformation is the explanation of the meaning and implications of
the unmovedness of the prime mover. The *Physics* had posited un-
movedness as a fact: there is a first cause of motion, namely, a mover
who as first is unmoved. But the *Physics* had not associated the un-
movedness of the prime mover with his immateriality: that im-
materiality was inferred (in the last chapter of the *Physics*) from his in-
finite power to move the heavens throughout eternal time. Here, in
Metaphysics XII, 7, however, the notion of the first prime mover is seen as
meaning prime entity, eternally achieved and intelligible, the primacy of
whose motionless motion becomes pure finality.

From 1072 a 25 to b30 the sequence of ideas in *Metaphysics* XII, 7 is
clear enough. Moving as eternal and actual entity, the prime mover
moves as an ὀρεκτόν, and, moreover, being a true ὀρεκτόν, he moves as
an object of understanding (and not simply as an apparent good). He is
therefore the absolute desirable, namely, the desirable that moves ab-
solute understanding. Prime entity is thus constituted because the prime
intelligible energizes prime intelligence. This is pure finality, moving as
an object of desire because it is unmoved and necessarily what it is. To
Aristotle this means that, because the true desirable is an object of un-
derstanding, the achieved absolute desirable consists in the identity of
absolute intelligence with the absolute intelligible. This is God, the
blessedness of whose life, consisting in this absolute achievedness, is the
bourn of all motion. The world of Aristotle leads to, and somehow
stems from, such a finality. Hence our problem with the theology of
Aristotle lies here. The perfection of God is both a model of being —
God is indeed what being ought to be — and the source of motion. God

is, in fact, necessarily a final cause because he is intelligence perfected
by the full and final possession of its perfect object. Such a divine per-
fection is the finality in which the world of Aristotle *begins*, and the
question is to know how finality can thus function as an originating and
hence efficient cause of motion.

It would be a mistake to read into the supreme mover, whose nature
is a magnificent achievement in *Metaphysics* XII, 7, more than Aristotle
intends. The mover of the first heavens is certainly one and supreme,
but his causality is limited to moving the first heavens. His supremacy,
in other words, is limited to being the cause of the motion of the first
heavens. Of course, the motion of the first heavens is the source of the
continuity of all others motions in the universe. It is here that the
multiplication of movers arises, as the opening lines of *Metaphysics* XII, 8
make clear. In XII, 7 Aristotle had described the life of God, and we
may not be prepared to consider whether "we should posit one such
entity or more and, if more, how many".[108] There may be one supreme
prime mover moving the outer heavens and thereby assuring the con-
tinuity of motion in the whole universe. But, in addition to this con-
tinuous circulation, there are the eternal motions of the planets to be
accounted for, and it is now Aristotle's argument that each of these
motions is caused by an unmoved and eternal entity.[109] The theory of
concentric spheres accounting for all the observed motions of the
heavenly bodies is not our present problem.[110] That Aristotle posited 55
independent heavenly motions, and therefore the same number of un-
moved movers, all of which he recalculated down to 47, is more in-
teresting astronomically than philosophically. The principle behind this
outcome is clear: ἀΐδιος κίνησις is moved by one unmoved mover.[111]
But it is just as clear that, however many motions there are in
the heavens (Aristotle thinks that his calculation is simply εὔλογον, not
ἀναγκαῖον),[112] his world is held together as one world because every
motion in it is directed to the motion of the starry heavens, itself moved
by the unmoved and perfect first mover.[113] These first beings — the
prime mover who is all act and pure finality and the starry heavens —
are Aristotle's gods, and he closes *Metaphysics* XII, 8 with a myth whose
kernel of truth is that the stars are gods and "the divine encircles the

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[108] *Metaph.* 12. 8 (1073 a 14-15). For a defence of the literary and doctrinal coherence of Book
XII of the *Metaphysics*, seen in the light of chapter 8, see J. Paulus, "La théorie du premier moteur
chez Aristote", 411-415.

[109] Aristotle, *Metaph.* 12. 8 (1073 a 28-34).

[110] See P. Duhem, *Le système du monde*, vol. 1 (Paris: A. Hermann et Fils, 1913), 102-129.

[111] Aristotle, *Metaph.* 12. 8 (1072 b 27-28).

[112] *Ibid.*, 1074 a 16-17.

[113] *Ibid.*, 1074 a 19-22, 31-36.

whole of nature: καὶ περιέχει τὸ θεῖον τὴν ὅλην φύσιν" (1074b4). The present text of Aristotle is, unfortunately, somewhat ambiguous. Is the antecedent of οὗτοι (b3) the separate movers or the stars or both? At b8 -10, where he separates truth from myth, Aristotle says that the tradition originally handed down by their forefathers was that "the first entities were gods: ὅτι θεοὺς ᾤοντο τὰς πρώτας οὐσίας εἶναι." It is noticeable, moreover, that St. Thomas, while fighting the idea of many gods, nevertheless thinks that the reference in the text is to the separate movers.[114]

Let us now ask what St. Thomas thinks about what Aristotle has been saying in *Metaphysics* XII, 6-7. For this purpose, let us pose, in the form of conclusions, some of the questions that need to be asked. These are principally three: (a) the transformation of the prime mover in chapter 6 into the supreme final cause in chapter 7; (b) the absence of any doctrine of the animation of the heavens in chapters 7 and 8; (c) the problem of God and gods.

Metaphysics XII, 6 is a summary of *Physics* VIII on the eternity of motion, on the continuity of the first motion and on the prime mover. This supreme prime mover, whose action is described in the language of efficient causality, is investigated in chapter 7 on a specific and hitherto unraised issue: *how* does he move? Because he is absolutely unmoved, Aristotle replies, he moves as a final cause. But how, we ask in turn, can a seemingly efficient cause become a final cause? And what happens to efficient causality? Does the astronomical theology of Aristotle dispense with efficient causes of motion, explaining the motion of the spheres entirely by final causes? Moving as objects of desire, whom — or what — do the prime movers attract? In any case, what happens to efficient causality in the metaphysical account of his theology that Aristotle has given?

These questions suggest a second point. If there were a doctrine of the animation of the heavens in *Metaphysics* XII, 7-8 it would account for the efficient causality needed to explain the heavenly motions. But there is none in the text. The question is not whether Aristotle believed in the animation of the heavens. Since he has said that ὁ δ' ι οὐρανὸς ἔμψυχος καὶ ἔχει κινήσεως ἀρχήν,[115] he evidently did: the heavens is besouled and has a cause — an efficient cause — of motion within itself. But, unfortunately, the *Metaphysics* says nothing about this. Nor is the question whether a besouled heavens cannot be read into the *Metaphysics*. It evidently can — if we wish to infer for Aristotle what he did not infer for himself. Not to insist on the mythological past to

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[114] St. Thomas, *In 12 Metaph.*, lect. 10, § 2597.
[115] Aristotle, *De Caelo* 2. 2 (285 a 29).

which Aristotle looked, we can infer that the starry heavens, moved by
the desirability of the prime mover, is alive — indeed, intellectually
alive — in order to desire him. In other words, once Aristotle has deter-
mined that the prime mover moves as an object of desire, as a final
cause, he has thereby created the need for an efficient cause moving the
heavens as a moved mover under the influence of the prime mover as
unmoved mover. This means, more precisely, that in the Aristotelian
theology the animation of the heavens became a necessary doctrine in
the light of the final causality of the supreme mover. But, as far as the
text of the *Metaphysics* is concerned, this is plausible speculation, in-
ferring for Aristotle what in fact he did not say. When Aristotle said in
the *De Caelo* that the heavens was besouled, was he expressing a
traditional religious sentiment handed on to him in the form of myth,
or was he also inferring from the unmovedness of the prime mover as
final cause the need for an immanent mover in the heavens?[116] Cer-
tainly the astronomical theology of Aristotle in the *Metaphysics* needed
animated spheres in order to account for the movement of the heavenly
bodies — once Aristotle had decided that the prime movers moved as
final causes. But, in fact, the *Metaphysics* is silent on this point, however
the fact is to be accounted for.

There is a third point. That the plurality of the prime movers is due
to astronomical rather than philosophical reasons seems clear. But that
the supreme cause of motion should be a final cause is not a clear
philosophical notion. Exactly what does the prime mover originate in
the world of Aristotle? Or is he simply a terminating cause? Yet this is
not possible. The world of motion *begins* in him — but as final cause.
Can St. Thomas make sense of that? And how can he come to terms
with a metaphysics in which God is purely a final cause of the order of
the universe?

Since in his commentary on *Metaphysics* XII, 6 St. Thomas follows
Aristotle's summary presentation of what he had proved in *Physics* VIII,
emphasizing in his turn the dependence on the *Physics*,[117] let us come to
the difficult moment when, early in XII, 7, Aristotle explains how the
prime mover moves. This takes place when, commenting on the tran-
sition to the question how the prime mover moves, St. Thomas writes:
"Since it has been shown that there is an unmoved first mover, it is

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[116] The role of myth in the formation of Aristotle's metaphysical theology is a serious problem
that ought not be ignored. There is, without any doubt, a rational daring and a rational
creativeness in Aristotle's theology; the only question is whether this rationality does not contain a
strong element of myth in its very metaphysics. Is not Aristotle's supreme prime mover both a
philosophical conquest and a mythical survival? Notice, in this connection, the role of πάτριος δόξα
in *Metaphysics* 12, 8 (1074 b 13) and πάτριοι λόγοι in *De Caelo* 2, 1 (248 a 3).

[117] St. Thomas, *In 12 Metaph.*, lect. 5-6, § 2488-2518.

necessary that he must move as does that which is desirable and intelligible". Why? Because only the desirable and the intelligible are found to move *non mota*.[118] The prime mover of the *Physics*, therefore, whom St. Thomas had followed the Latinized Aristotle in describing as an *effectiva* cause of motion,[119] is now presented as moving as an object of desire. How does St. Thomas understand this transformation of an efficient cause into a final cause?

There is physical motion and voluntary or appetitive motion. In physical motion the mover is itself moved, while in appetitive motion the will is a moved mover and only the appetible object is an unmoved mover. This, adds St. Thomas, is the teaching of the *De Anima*.[120] Now "the first mover is said to move as an appetible because the motion of the heavens is directed to him as to an end". To explain this point, which is his major concern, St. Thomas adds a supporting notion. The motion of the heavens (that is, the first heavens), he adds, is "caused by some proximate mover that moves for the sake of the unmoved prime mover, seeking to assimilate himself to the prime mover in causality (*in causando*) and bring to actuality what is contained in the power of the first mover".[121] This proximate mover is, clearly enough, a moved mover, moved by the desire of the prime mover acting as an appetible end. St. Thomas says no more at this point, and what he says is somewhat indefinite; but, in any case, the notion of a *proximus movens* is an addition to the text of Aristotle. St. Thomas then goes on with his main point, namely, that the motion of the heavens is not for the sake of generation and corruption but for an end nobler than itself — the unmoved prime mover.[122]

The rest of the commentary on *Metaphysics* XII, 7 is not without a major surprise. In the simple substantiality of his being the prime mover is first in the order of intelligibility and in the order of appetition. He is an end, therefore, in the sense of being a goal somehow to be shared in by others.[123] He is loved by the first heavens, which is first to be moved by him, and through whose eternal motion he moves other things eternally.[124] We thus reach once more the pure finality on which the heavens and nature hang through love.[125]

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[118] *Ibid.*, lect. 7, § 2519.

[119] *Ibid.*, lect. 5, § 2492.

[120] *Ibid.*, lect. 7, § 2520; Aristotle, *De Anima* 3. 10 (433 b 13-18).

[121] St. Thomas, *ibid.*, § 2521. For *explicet* in this paragraph, see *explicatur* in § 2631.

[122] St. Thomas, *ibid.*, § 2521.

[123] *Ibid.*, § 2522-2528.

[124] *Ibid.*, § 2529. — The following paragraphs (i. e. § 2531-2535) are a good example of St. Thomas' habit of following Aristotle very carefully and just as carefully pulling his results well beyond the Aristotelian text.

[125] Aristotle, *Metaph.* 12. 7 (1072 b 13-14).

At this point St. Thomas undertakes an exegesis of the immediately following lines of the text of chapter 7 that is surprising and even perplexing. Instead of thinking that the next few lines (i.e. 1072b14-19) begin a description of the prime mover,[126] a theme that Aristotle then pursues down to 1072b30, St. Thomas interprets lines 1072b14-19 as applying, not to the prime mover, but to the intellect of the soul moving the first heavens. In other words, in interpreting these lines, St. Thomas assumes the animation of the heavens as part of their context. The situation then becomes textually rather astonishing. At 1072b13-14, speaking of the prime mover as final cause, Aristotle had concluded by saying that ἐκ τοιαύτης ἄρα ἀρχῆς ἤρτηται ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ φύσις. At 1072b19 he then seemed to be describing the perfection of the divine intellect in its self-possession, ending, not without an unusual lyrical elevation, on the eternal and endless life that belongs to God — that *is* God (b30). But St. Thomas had other ideas in interpreting the text of Aristotle from 1072b14 on. "Here", he writes, "the Philosopher compares the prime being that moves as something intelligible and desirable to that which understands and desires it".For (let us notice that this is St. Thomas' reason) "if the first mover moves as the first understood and desired, it is necessary that the first movable desire and understand it. This, to be sure, is true according to the opinion of Aristotle in so far as the heavens is held to be endowed with an intelligent and desiring soul".[127] This is a moment of decision even though St. Thomas has not said how he came to interpret — or, rather, to approach — the text before him in this way. But, having done so, he goes on to attribute to the soul of the first heavens the perfection and the pleasure that we experience only fitfully.[128] He adds, however, that the supreme pleasure of this intellectual soul derives from its grasping the first mover, who is also the first intelligible.[129] This grasping, in turn, is to be understood as a contact and a participation in the subsistent intelligible that the prime mover is, much as, in Platonic teaching, we somehow "participate" in the separate Ideas in knowing them.[130] According to St. Thomas' commentary, Aristotle does not return to the life of the prime mover until

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[126] This was in fact the interpretation of Alexander of Aphrodisias, *In Metaph.* Λ 7, (1072 b 14); ed. M. Hayduck, Berlin, 1891, 696-698. Aristotle says, writes Alexander, that the best course of life, which we possess but for a short time, ἀεὶ ἔχει τὸ πρῶτον αἴτιον (696, 36-697, 2). Cp. 697, 6-7.

[127] St. Thomas, *In 12 Metaph.* lect. 8, § 2536.

[128] *Ibid.*

[129] *Ibid.*, § 2538.

[130] *Ibid.*, § 2541-2542.

1072b24, the transition being that the perfection reached by the soul of the heavens is found more fully in the intelligible that is God.[131]

St. Thomas' interpretation of *Metaphysics* XII, 7 is as surprising as the transition to chapter 8 is uneventful. For, though Aristotle had been led to consider why there was one supreme unmoved cause of motion, and to recognize why this mover moved as a final cause, still he had introduced the whole discussion of the unmoved cause of motion by examining a class of beings, namely, immaterial beings, and by considering the ground of their existence, namely, the requirements of motion, in the case of the supreme instance.[132] In other words, motion, which led us in the *Physics* to a supreme unmoved mover, here enables us to argue "that the first mover is absolutely immobile, that there is an everlasting motion caused by an everlasting mover, and that one motion is caused by one mover".[133] But there are more eternal motions in the universe than its diurnal motion caused by the uniform motion of the first heavens. There are therefore as many movers as there are such motions (namely, fifty-five or forty-seven, depending on which calculation one follows). With Aristotle, St. Thomas considers this result a probable rather than a neccessary account.[134] St Thomas is not particulary impressed by the myth at the end of chapter 8, namely, at 1074a38-b14. He interprets the ancient Greek tradition as saying by way of myth that the separate entities are gods and that their divinity surrounds the world of nature. But, still, St. Thomas is not disturbed. He believes that, on the basis of what Aristotle has proved, only the first principle will be called God. It is tempting to think that St. Thomas really believes this line of interpretation. Certainly he wishes to separate the Aristotelian theology from traditional Greek myth and to argue that its gods are, not divinized men erected into models for public edification, but the separate entities whose existence Aristotle posited in the name of the astronomy of the heavens. But it is far from clear that St. Thomas, who based his own preferred argument for the one God on the way of motion taught in the *Physics*, believed that Aristotle's supreme prime mover was anything more than a first principle of motion — indeed, a first principle of the first and diurnal motion of the universe.[135] Aristotle's prime mover was a God of sorts, since he was a first and unmoved source of motion, and this St. Thomas did not deny; but he was not a first principle of being, and this St. Thomas did not assert in the name of Aristotle in commenting on *Metaphysics* XII.

[131] *Ibid.*, § 2543.
[132] Aristotle, *Metaph.* 12. 6 (1071 b 3ff); St. Thomas, *In 12 Metaph.* lect. 5, § 2488.
[133] St. Thomas, *ibid.*, lect 9, § 2555.
[134] *Ibid.*, lect. 10, § 2586.
[135] *Ibid.*, § 2597.

VI

There are two sorts of disagreement in what St. Thomas says about the theology of Aristotle. As we have seen, what he says in his commentaries is not easily fitted together: the commentary on *Physics* VIII, 5 does not agree with the commentary on *Metaphysics* XII, 7. Moreover, what St. Thomas attributes to Aristotle in his personal writings is, if not discordant, at least not easy to reconcile with itself. What he has written in some texts (*SCG* I, c. 13, §§ 3, 17-24; *ST* I, q. 2, a. 3; *Compendium Theologiae* I, cc. 3-4) does not harmonize with what he has written elsewhere (*SCG* I, c. 13, § 29), while another discussion (*De Sub. Sep.* II, §§ 8-10) seems to contain a still different version of the Aristotelian theology. These textual differences are real, they are serious, and the question is to know whether they can be seen in a coherent way. And since, as we now know, the central issue cutting across the texts is the proof of the unmoved prime mover, including the terminus of the proof, let us begin our conclusion by summarizing St. Thomas' commentary on *Physics* VII-VIII.

The commentary contains two noteworthy characteristics, namely, St. Thomas' attentiveness to Aristotelian method and his exposition of the doctrine of the prime mover. Seen in methodic terms, Book VII proves in a general and undetermined way the existence of a prime mover, a prime moved and a prime motion. Book VII does not say what these are. Rather, relying on the principle that everything moved is moved by another, it simply says that there is a first and unmoved cause of motion, a first motion and a first moved. Moreover, the mover is given together with the moved, resulting in a first motion. Book VIII fills out this outline, beginning at VIII, 4, where Aristotle applies the preceding general considerations to movable things themselves. In VIII, 5 Aristotle proves the existence of a first unmoved mover, using in the process the notion of a self-moved mover. To St. Thomas this notion is not part of Aristotle's main line of argument; it is an undisproved Platonic hypothesis that Aristotle eliminates in the process of reaching a first unmoved mover. This unmoved mover is the supreme source of motion and St. Thomas has no difficulty in thinking of him as God. There is no trace of any doctrine of the animation of the heavens in St. Thomas' analysis of VIII, 5. There is, however, a recognition that, methodically speaking, Aristotle is still thinking of the prime mover as a body in bodily contact with the first heavens. This view will not be removed formally until *Physics* VIII, 10. There is one supreme and everlasting prime mover, causing the everlasting circular motion of the first heavens. To accomplish this, the prime mover must be an immaterial being, as Aristotle finally asserts in the very last lines of the *Physics*. To Aristotle's

conclusion St. Thomas adds: "And thus the Philosopher brings to a close the general consideration of the things of nature in the first principle of the whole of nature, God".[136]

Clearly, for St. Thomas, the argument in *Physics* VII-VIII proves the existence of God, not that of any lesser being. This is Aristotle's supreme principle, the unmoved source of motion. As a mover (and not, let us add, a soul), he moves the first heavens as what we can only call an efficient cause. But what is this efficient causality? All of Aristotle's descriptions, tied as they are in the *Physics* to the notion of the prime mover as a body, lose their force when we finally know that the prime mover is incorporeal. We can ask in *Physics* VIII, 10: how does an incorporeal mover move as an efficient cause, and what is the force of saying that he is not only unmoved but also incorporeal? With these questions we are at the doorstep of the *Metaphysics*.

Since, in St. Thomas' interpretation, *Metaphysics* XII, 6 is a summary of the doctrine of the prime mover in the *Physics*, the transition from the *Physics* to the *Metaphysics* takes place again in the transition from chapter 6 to chapter 7 in the latter work. But there is a difference. Where in the *Physics* we were looking for a prime source of motion and found it in a mover who was recognized to be unmoved in moving and only later recognized to be incorporeal in order to be able to move everlastingly, in the *Metaphysics* we are concerned with the nature of a class of separate entities that are the causes of eternal motion. The prime mover of the first heavens is the supreme member of such a class, but the class nevertheless exists in function of motion. In this sense, the transcendent world of unmoved entities, in their very perfection as pure beings, is unthinkable without the world of motion. Nature and the heavens move toward them as goals of becoming; yet, even so, they exist as motivating models for a world of motion that they do not know but that nevertheless explains what they are. This is eminently true of the supreme prime mover, the cause of the motion of the starry heavens. The causality of this mover is not easy to determine. In XII, 6 and in the opening lines of XII, 7 his motion certainly sounds like efficient causality. But in the course of XII, 7 we find that, since he moves as a pure and unmoved intelligible, his motion must be that of a final cause. St. Thomas sees no difficulty in this transition from efficiency to finality; at least he mentions none. On the contrary, accepting the view that the prime mover moves the first heavens as a final cause, St. Thomas proposes what can only be called an unexpected and forced interpretation of XII, 7.1072b14-30 in order to argue that, since the prime mover as an object of intellectual desire, the first heavens

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[136] St. Thomas, *In 8 Phys.*, lect 23, § 1172.

must be endowed with an intellectual soul that is moved by the desire of the prime mover. St. Thomas must have come to this text of the *Metaphysics* already prepared to find such a doctrine there; the doctrine is not in the text itself.

The coherence of St. Thomas' commentaries on *Physics* VII-VIII and *Metaphysics* XIII is not a simple exegetical problem. But the problem can become more manangeable if we recognize and accept one clear fact in St. Thomas' procedure. The two commentaries agree that the proof of the *Physics* is in fact the Aristotelian proof of the supreme prime mover. *Metaphysics* XII, 6 repeats the *Physics*, so that when we enter XII, 7 we have already proved the existence of the supreme mover. If we then continue to follow St. Thomas and accept the view that there is a doctrine of the animation of the heavens in XII, 7, we must also acknowledge that the doctrine appears, not in the proof leading to the prime mover, but rather in the causal descent from his action as a final cause. Let us emphasize the fact: a besouled heavens is not part of any proof of the prime mover, and this is true for both the *Physics* and the *Metaphysics*. So St. Thomas believed in his commentaries on these two works. Doctrinally speaking, whatever may be the case on other grounds, the animation of the heavens is a notion that stems from the final causality of the prime mover. Indeed, if the proof of the prime mover is based on the premise that everything that is moved is moved by another, then the only possible term of the proof is an unmoved mover; and since, according to St. Thomas' view of *Metaphysics* XII, 7, the intellectual soul moving the first heavens is a *moved* mover, there is no way of reaching the animation of the heavens from the existence of motion. It can be reached, if at all, from the view that the prime mover acts as an object of desire.

If this conclusion is true, it helps to throw some light on two difficult Thomistic texts.We have seen one of them, namely, *SCG* I, c. 13, § 29. The question is: was St. Thomas there arguing that Aristotle, having reached the soul of the first heavens in the *Physics*, which means a moved and subordinate mover, then went on in the *Metaphysics* to the unmoved final cause as the true God? We have tried to argue that such was not the case. In that text St. Thomas was thinking, not in terms of the *ascent* to the prime mover, but in terms of the *descent* from the prime mover as final cause. *SCG* II, c.70 is a more extended version of the same difficulty. Before this chapter, St. Thomas had explained a classic doctrine in a classic way: he had shown how an intellectual substance, the human soul, could be the substantial form of the body (II, c. 68). Then, after refuting arguments against such a view (c. 69), he turned his attention to Averroes and set out to prove what Averroes had never admitted, namely, that for Aristotle the intellect was substantially united

to man. St Thomas' proof is not as astonishing as it would have been had we not already read and reread *SCG* I, c. 13, § 29. The proof is nothing less than the doctrine of the animation of the heavens, derived seemingly from the *Physics* and using the hypothesis of a self-moved mover as its foundation. Since, moreover, such a self-moved mover can be only the besouled first heavens, the only question is the nature of its moving soul. But the answer is not far to seek: it is an intellectual soul and it is moved by an intellectual desire of the separate unmoved mover. What does this prove? It proves two things against Averroes. There is an intellectual form of matter; moreover, since the soul of the heavens has only the intellect as its power (i.e. it has no sensible powers), it also follows that the intellectual soul of the heavens is joined to it in its very substance. This outcome enables St. Thomas to argue victoriously that in man the intellect is joined to the body as its substantial form.

What are we to think of this singular detour through the heavens in *SCG* II, c. 70? Obviously, the question is not whether St. Thomas believed that for Aristotle the heavens was besouled. He did believe it. The question is: did he believe it as part of the proof of the prime mover in the *Physics*? This is more difficult to answer, for it poses a dilemma. If we do not know in *Physics* VIII, 5 what we learn in *Metaphysics* XII, 7, namely, that the prime mover moves as a final cause, how can we include such a knowledge in the Physics? The *Physics* proves, as St. Thomas recognizes, that the ultimate source of motion is unmoved and separate.[137] What the *Physics* does not do is to reach the prime mover as a final cause in the name of his immobility; nor does the *Physics* include any transition from efficient to final causality in its conception of the action of the prime mover. And this is the specific exegetical issue at stake. The issue is not the animation of the heavens;[138] the issue is that the transition to the prime mover specifically known to be acting as a final cause is not part of the proof of his existence. We must therefore come to a difficult but clear conclusion. We must suppose that, after knowing that the prime mover moves as a

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[137] *SCG* 1, 13, § 33. Notice that, even after § 29, the prime mover of the *Physics* is still called separate.

[138] On this point, see *ST* I, q. 70, a. 3, which places the problem of the animation of the heavens in its proper perspective. There is surely something un Aristotelian in St. Thomas' argument in *SCG* II, c. 70, and this as a matter of principle. How can a form be joined to matter for the sake of the matter? Is the soul of the first heavens, then, its substantial form? This is what *SCG* 2, 70 says, and the question is to know how it is possible on Aristotelian grounds. *ST* 1, 70, 3 has removed this point from discussion. The heavenly bodies are not "animated" in the sense in which plants and animals are: they have movers, not souls. Hence this outcome: "unde inter ponentes ea [corpora caelestia] esse animata et ponentes ea inanimata, parva vel nulla differentia invenitur in re, sed in voce tantum".

final cause in *Metaphysics* XII, 7, St. Thomas restructured, not the *proof* of the prime mover, but the *order of the movers* in the light of the primacy of final causality in Aristotle's world. This restructuring is not a way *to* the prime mover, it is a way *from* the prime mover, representing the order of causality in the hierarchy of motion from its first moment of origin.

Only such a conclusion enables us to see the various texts of St. Thomas on the Aristotelian theology without any disorder or incoherence among them. There are texts in which St. Thomas proves the existence of God as prime mover. These are: *SCG* I, 13, §§ 3, 17-25; *ST* I, q. 2, a. 3; *Compendium* I, cc. 3-4. None of these texts says how the prime mover moves, none knows him as a final cause, none knows any doctrine of the animation of the heavens. In other words, all these texts follow the interpretation of the argument for the prime mover that St. Thomas worked out in his commentary on *Physics* VII-VIII. There are other texts which, if taken either as proofs based on the *Physics* or as intended interpretations of the *Physics*, directly contradict St. Thomas' own analysis of the doctrine of the prime mover in Books VII-VIII. Such texts are: *SCG* I, c. 13, § 29; II, c. 70; and *De Substantiis* II, §§ 8-10. But these texts are not proofs of the prime mover and they are not based immediately on the *Physics*; rather, they are a schema of movers and their causalities as seen under the primacy of the supreme ὀρεκτόν. These texts both presuppose and transcend the proof of the prime mover and its perspective, since their governing point of view, assuming as it does the existence of the supreme prime mover as the highest separate entity, seeks to follow the causal chain in motion downward from his separate immobility.

Two mysteries remain, one Aristotelian, the other Thomistic. How does the efficient causality of the *Physics* become (if this is the correct verb) the final causality of the *Metaphysics?* And why is St. Thomas so apparently undisturbed by this remarkable transformation? The Aristotelian mystery cannot be removed, but the reason for that mystery is not the astronomical character of Aristotle's theology.[139] It was not his elaborate astronomical machinery that prevented Aristotle from fusing efficient and final causality in one creative divine action. It is the perfection of the Aristotelian prime mover that he is what he is and that he does nothing other than be himself. He is finality, therefore, without efficiency, just a motion in the heavens and in nature is efficiency striving, by an eternally continuous effort, to imitate a goal that always attracts it and always transcends it. The efficient causality of the prime mover in the *Physics* did not really become the final causality of the prime mover in the *Metaphysics*. There was no transformation, there

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[139] See above, p. 68.

was rather a shift in perspective from motion to immobility. The causality of the *Physics*, embedded in motion, was efficiency because, in the upward thrust of nature, movers were efficient causes and it was through them that the supreme level of motion was reached. There is no other way of looking to the supreme level of causality from within the dynamism of nature than through the moving causes that maintain the march of becoming toward actuality. This is the upward vision of the *Physics*, and it leads, not to supreme efficient cause acting as the origin of all efficiency in the universe, but to a world of separate entities that by their perfection transcend efficiency and the striving of the universe. They *are*, the universe strives, and moving causes belong in the world of that striving. Aristotle could no more think of the self-absorbed supreme prime mover as an efficient cause than he could think of being as becoming. His metaphysics had to undergo an inner revolution before his God, who was simply an immaterial kind of being, could become an efficient cause.

St. Thomas Aquinas was the author of a far-reaching revolution in Aristotelianism, but it is not easy to find a coherent interpretation of the Aristotelian theology in the various summaries and expositions that he has given. The main source of the difficulty lies in the fact that St. Thomas *seems* to have given more than one account of the proof of the prime mover, leading to more than one result. If this were a tenable view, then, admittedly, incoherence would be an exegetical stumbling block that could not be removed from the texts of St. Thomas. But is the view tenable? We have tried to show that it is not. We have done so, not by explaining the textual conflicts away, but by arguing that for St. Thomas (a) there is only one Aristotelian proof of God, namely, the proof contained in *Physics* VII-VIII; (b) the proof reaches a prime mover who is presented as a prime source (and thus as an efficient cause) of motion; (c) the proof does not contain any doctrine of the animation of the heavens. In the *Physics* we are simply following moving (i.e. efficient) causes to the existence of the prime mover with the aim of accounting for the origin of motion. We know that the prime mover is unmoved only because he is prime in the order of motion; we learn only later (at the very end of the *Physics*) that he is separate and immaterial; and though we do not know how he moves, we know that he is the supreme source of the order of moving causes. The ambiguities begin at this point.

St. Thomas believed that the supreme prime mover of the *Physics* was the separate entity whom Aristotle called God in the *Metaphysics*. But St. Thomas had nothing to say about the transition from the prime mover seen in the line of efficient causality to the prime mover seen as in fact acting as a final cause. God is final cause because, acting as an unmoved, separate and therefore purely intelligible good, he can be a

mover only as an end — a mover who motivates motion by his desirability as an intelligible good. Other than bending this Aristotelian teaching to make it harmonize with Christian theology, St. Thomas offered no personal remarks on it.[140] He clearly believed that, in proving the existence of the prime mover in the *Physics*, Aristotle was proving the existence of God; and in the *Metaphysics* he then went on to describe with Aristotle how the prime mover, acting as a purely immaterial and intelligible good, moved as a final cause. But on the precise point of explaining on Aristotelian grounds how the causality of the prime mover turned out to be the finality of a transcendent good, St. Thomas offers no direct comment.

From one point of view, this conclusion means that we do not know how, in St. Thomas' eyes, the Aristotelian world hangs together at its highest level. At least, we are not told how. And yet, the same St. Thomas has elsewhere thrown an oblique but clear light on this very question. He has said in the *Summa* that Plato and Aristotle did not rise to the origin of being, that is, they had no doctrine of creation;[141] and in the late commentary on the first book of the *De Caelo*, where Aristotle had described the necessary unicity, eternity and incorruptibility of the world, St. Thomas did not interrupt the flow of this teaching except to make the same comment at two points. At I, 3. 270a12-22 Aristotle proved that the heavens was by nature not subject to generation and corruption. On this St. Thomas remarks: "Nevertheless, according to the Catholic Faith, we do not say that the heavens has always existed even though we say that it will always exist. But this is not against the demonstration that Aristotle is here setting down. For we do not say that the heavens began to be through generation, it began through a causal action by the first principe, by whom the whole being (*totum esse*) of all things is produced, even as the philosophers have also held".[142] At the end of the commentary on Book I of the *De caelo* St. Thomas has a somewhat more elaborate version of the same point:

> Est autem considerandum quod praedicta rationes Aristotelis procedunt contra positionem ponentem mundum esse factum per generationem, et etiam esse incorruptibilem vel per se vel per voluntatem Dei. Nos autem secundum fidem catholicam ponimus quod incoepit esse, non quidem per generationem quasi a natura, sed effluens a primo principio, cuius potentia non erat alligata ad dandum ei esse infinito tempore, sed secundum quod voluit, postquam prius non fuerat, ut manifestetur ex-

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[140] See St. Thomas, *In 12 Metaph.*, lect. 11, § 2613-2616.

[141] *ST* 1, 44, 2.

[142] *In Aristotelis Libros de Caelo et Mundo Expositio* (ed. R. M. Spiazzi, Turin-Rome, 1952), I, lect. 6, § 64.

cellentia virtutis cuius supra totum ens; quod scilicet totum ens tantum dependet ab ipso, et eius virtus non est alligata vel determinata ad productionem talis entis.[132]

St. Thomas is here parting company not only with the eternally generated world of Aristotle, but also with the eternally incorruptible created world of the philosophers that he has already mentioned. Avicenna is the philosopher that St. Thomas has mainly in mind, having more than once attacked his doctrine of an eternally necessary creation.[144] But it is important to distinguish Avicenna's *doctrine* of creation from his *definition* of the meaning of creation: St. Thomas, in fact, has accepted and followed the latter throughout his career.[145] In the presence of Aristotle in the *De Caelo*, St. Thomas is saying that the arguments for an eternal world — i.e. a world that was eternal by nature — had nothing to do with a world that *incepit esse* and did so as *effluens a primo principio*, and moreover did so in such a way that its whole being depended on the first principle alone. This principle was a creating God, who was master of the universe in a way that Aristotle never saw.

Aristotle's prime mover was the final cause of a universe of which he was not master: he was the anchorage of its intelligibility and order, a final cause that excluded efficiency. Clearly, for St. Thomas, by as much as it came to be by motion, the Aristotelian world excluded efficient causality at its source: the world became within the eternal givenness of its being. It became the eternal and continuous repetition of itself, achieving an endless approach to the God who was its model rather than its goal. It is not difficult to see that in such a view efficiency in the world of motion must have a source, a first and unmoved mover, as the *Physics* teaches, but nevertheless a source that gives, not existence as an efficient cause, but its own intelligibility as a model for others to follow. On the way up to the prime mover, we are following the line of efficient causality because we are following the *particular* origin of *par-*

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[143] *Ibid.*, lect. 29, § 287. — Between the *Prima Pars* and the commentary on the *De Caelo*, both of which deny the idea of creation to Aristotle, we must locate *De Sub. Sep.* c. IX, § 48 (p. 86) and 52 (p. 90), which seems to affirm it. Yet the text does not affirm it: it does not say that Plato and Aristotle had a doctrine of creation; it says that, even though they believed in an eternal world, this did not lead them to *deny* creation. The question is: did they *affirm* it? The point of *De Sub. Sep.* c. IX is, not that Plato and Aristotle held any doctrine of creation, but that they could offer the principles from which such a doctrine could be reached — and was reached by St. Thomas in the course of the same text. As to what St. Thomas thought on more historical grounds, a sentence on Plato speaks for itself: "Haec autem positio quantum ad aliquid quidem veritatem habere potest, simpliciter autem veritatem habere non potest" (c. XI, § 61, p. 100). — See also note 145 below.

[144] See *De Potentia* 3, 16; *ST* 1, 47, 1; *De Sub. Sep.* c. X, § 53-54, *ed. cit.*, 92-93.

[145] See A. C. Pegis, "St. Thomas and the Origin of the Idea of Creation" in *Philosophy and the Modern Mind*, ed. F. X. Canfield, (Detroit: Sacred Heart Seminary, 1961), 49-65.

ticular things by way of motion. But at the top of reality, at that point where the prime mover keeps the world going by the continuous motion of the first heavens, the only universality that the prime mover can exercise as the causal origin of motion is finality: he is the exemplar of what he shares but does not cause, being.

We must come so far in order to see how discreet St. Thomas was about giving a name either to the revolution that he was perpetrating within Aristotelianism or to the uncreated world of Aristotle. On his own ground, St. Thomas followed and used Aristotle with his own principles in mind to his own purposes. But St. Thomas was also a generous follower, giving to Aristotle's philosophy the freedom and the light with which to become a Christian reality; which is, no doubt, why so many of us have had some trouble in seeing the historical Aristotle behind St. Thomas' Philosopher. Even so, the historical Aristotle was not far from St. Thomas' mind, though we are given more approaches to the Philosopher that Aristotle became in St. Thomas' Christian theology.

St. Thomas brought together many ways of proving the existence of God from the philosophers, but the first and most evident way remained for him the highly empirical way of motion. What St. Thomas did with the way of motion, and especially the unAristotelian direction in which he developed the proof, can be seen in the *SCG* in the transition from I, c. 13 to cc. 14-28, and in the *ST* in the transition from I, q. 2 to q. 3 and the following. For whereas Aristotle had gone from the proof in the *Physics* to the discovery of the prime mover as a universal final cause of motion, St. Thomas went from the proof of God to the further proof that God could not be the first cause of motion unless he was pure existence — unless he contained within himself *totam perfectionem essendi*, to repeat St. Thomas' expression. The idea of creation was born in this ascent to God as the absolute being reached in his absolute simplicity. Thus, where Aristotle had no ultimate or universal location for the origin of efficient causality except finality, St. Thomas followed the line of causality in motion to its creative source and located it in a God who was the supreme master of all that creatures were and did.

St. Thomas himself has not drawn the consequences of saying, as he does say, that for Aristotle being as being had no origin. But the consequences are there, and if we risk drawing them for ourselves we begin to see what sort of coherence St. Thomas found in the theology of Aristotle. The supreme source of motion was for Aristotle a final cause in which efficient causality originated: finality was the first instance of a moving cause because in a world in which being itself had no origin the only thing that did have an origin and needed to be explained was the intelligibility and continuity that the heavens and nature maintained. On its own ground, this is a coherent doctrine, but its coherence depends on its ground. If being has no origin, then there is no universal

efficient cause. There is a universal efficientless final cause, the order of separate entities, and chief among them the supreme entity who moves as a supreme desirable.

Similarly, we need find no incoherence in St. Thomas' several accounts of the Aristotelian proof of the prime mover if we distinguish those texts in which he is actually reporting the Aristotelian proof in the *Physics* from the texts in which he is expounding, not the proof itself, but, given the proof as already made, the structure of the Aristotelian world from the top down, that is, within the descending perspective of the prime mover as final cause. This is the perspective of *Metaphysics* XII, which summarizes the proof of the *Physics*, discovers that the prime mover acts as a final cause, and, given that discovery, introduces the animation of the heavens to explain efficient causality in the motions of the spheres. When St. Thomas is presenting the theology of *Metaphysics* XII, 6-8, he is not proving (or thinking that Aristotle is proving) the existence of God. Standing beyond the proof, he is seeing and presenting the order of Aristotle's movers as imposed by the knowledge that the prime mover moves only as a final cause. In this sense there is no proof of the mover in *Metaphysics* XII; the proof of the prime mover remains for St. Thomas the argument in *Physics* VII-VIII.

Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies.

MYTH AND RELIGION IN AN EARLY CHRISTIAN EPIC

George William Shea

C HRISTIAN poets of the Middle Ages were faced with the problem of
   how to present both Christianity and the mythology of Greece and
Rome. This was an important issue, whose resolution influenced the
practice of later European writers. Although general studies of this
question, such as Ernst Curtius' *Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mit-
telalter*, have been completed,[1] there is still a need for a closer study of
individual poets and their solutions to this problem.

It is the purpose of this paper to examine the practice of the sixth
century Latin poet Flavius Cresconius Corippus in his epic, the *Johannis*
or *de Bellis Libycis*.[2] The poem, which comprises nearly 5000 lines, deals
with the campaigns of Justinian's *magister militum,* Johannes Troglyta,
against the Berbers of North Africa. It is an interesting work to study
from this point of view for a number of reasons. First, although he is a
Latin poet, Corippus is writing for the military leaders of an eastern
army and may therefore reflect the practices of Byzantine court writers
as well. Second, as an epic poet, the author was working in a genre
which relied heavily on mythological *topoi* and devices. Finally, the con-
tents of the poem required that Corippus deal with both the Christian
and the native African religions as well as with the Graeco-Roman
myth.

Here then are the questions we would like to answer: How did Corip-
pus present Christianity in his epic? How was The Graeco-Roman pan-
theon employed? Finally, how did he treat the gods of the native tribes?
These are questions which faced not only Corippus but later writers of
Christian epic poetry as well. The solutions of this sixth century poet
should be of interest, therefore, to students of classical, medieval and
modern literature alike.

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[1] Ernst Robert Curtius, *Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter* (Bern, 1948). Although
this entire work deals with the medieval adaptation of the Graeco-Roman literary tradition, chap-
ter 13 on the Muses is especially appropriate to the subject of this paper.

[2] One ms., the Budensis, bore the title *Johannis*; another, the Casinensis, the title *de Bellis Libycis*.
The poem is, therefore, referred to under both, *Johannis seu de Bellis Libycis*.

CHRISTIANITY

We may note, first of all, that three epic devices which involve religion are, except in the descriptions of the religion of the African tribes, always christianized by Corippus. These are prayer, ritual, and supernatural or preternatural intervention in human affairs. The first of these, prayer, can be divided into two broad categories: prayers of praise and prayers of supplication, both of which are usually brief. Typical is the prayer found in the account of John Troglyta's victories in Persia, which are reviewed by the emperor in the first book of the poem. There, one of the emperor's courtiers, after witnessing the defeat of the Persian Mermeroes, prays in the following manner:

> extendens geminas pariter cum lumine palmas
> ad caelum sic laetus ait: "tibi gloria semper,
> summe deus, victos tandem post tempora Persas
> cernere quod merui nostri virtute Iohannis."
>
> 1:106-109

There is little tension between the classical and Christian here. The attitude of prayer, the vocabulary and the idea of thanking the divinity for a victory are common to both traditions.[3]

There is a tension, however, in a longer prayer, one of supplication, which also occurs in the first book. The hero's fleet is caught in a storm, as was that of Aeneas; and in that dire situation, John makes the following request:

> omnipotens verbi genitor rerumque creator,
> principium sine fine, deus, te cuncta fatentur
> auctorem et dominum, factorem elementa tremescunt.
> te venti nubesque pavent, tibi militat aer,
> imperioque tuo nunc arduus intonat aether
> magnaque concussi turbatur machina mundi.
> tu scis, summe pater, tu praescius omnia nosti:
> non auri cupidus, non ulli munere lucri
> in Libyam compulsus eo, sed scindere bellum
> et miseras salvare animas. haec sola cupido,
> hic animis amor omnis inest, huc iussio tantum
> principis alma trahit, noster te principe princeps
> imperat. ipse tibi meritum debere fatetur
> ordine servitium. tu illi nos subicis omnes
> et servire iubes: tua sum praecepta secutus.
> aspice, sancte, favens, et nostros cerne labores.
> iam placidus, tantaeque pius succurre ruinae.
> sin sua peccantem damnant delicta Iohannem

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[3] For the attitude of prayer Cf. *Aen*, 1.93; for the custom of thanking the gods for victory and safety, compare the Roman custom of declaring a *supplicatio*; e.g., Cic., *Cat.*, 3.6.15; and also that of dedicating weapons to the gods; e.g., Hor., *Od.*, 3.26.3-6.

iudice te, quocumque alio me comprime leto,
pro Petro nunc parce meo."

1:286-305

The structure of this prayer is clear, but in its various parts there is a
subtle interweaving of Christian and pagan themes. It begins with a list
of divine titles, a device which is common to both traditions. The titles
themselves, however, suggest a mingling of sources. God may be *om-
nipotens* to the earlier Latin poets,[4] but he is not *creator*, as here. His com-
mand of the elements, on the other hand, is again a common factor. It
occurs in the Prayer of Manasses (1-5) which was in use for liturgical
psalmody in the fifth century A.D.[5] and in the first book of the *Aeneid* as
well (65-66; 133ff). Several of the phrases in this description of nature's
service to God are echoes of earlier Latin poetry: arduus ... aether"
(*Georgics* 1:325); "machina mundi" (Lucret. 5:95). In the next section of
the prayer Corippus treats the relationship of the hero to God. This is
approached in two ways: first, God's omniscience is stressed: the fact
that he knows what the hero is doing and that his motives are good;
second, the hero points out that he is acting, in a way that God himself
has commanded, that he is under orders from the emperor. In these
lines Corippus, in explaining the relationship of the once deified em-
peror to the Christian God, is once again mixing two traditions.[6] The
emperor is indeed *princeps*, but he, as the hero says, is *te principe princeps:*
the emperor is God's vice-regent on earth and merely carries out his
commands. In the last part of the prayer the request is made. Here the
epithets change in order to suggest not the power of God but his mercy
and gentleness: *sancte, favens, placidus, pius*. The conclusion is almost en-
tirely Christian, for the tone is one of penitence and charity.[7] The hero
admits that he may be guilty in the eyes of God and therefore accepts
his own punishment, but he begs for the life of his innocent son. It is in-
teresting to note that in the same situation, Aeneas' thoughts were of
the past, of the glory he had lost by not dying on the plains of Troy.
Characteristically, the Christian Hero's thoughts are not of past glory,
but of the future, his own reconciliation with God and his descendant's
survival.

Corippus must also have had to decide whether and how he would
describe Christian ritual. Certainly his model, Vergil, had taken great

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[4] The epithet is frequently applied to Juppiter in Vergil, *Aen.*, 2.689, 4.206, 5.687, 9.625 *et alibi*.

[5] The Greek text of this prayer may be found in *Septuaginta*, vol. X, Psalmi cum Odis, ed. Alfred
Rahlfs (Göttingen, 1967), p. 361-362. For a discussion of the origin and history of the prayer, see R.
H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, (Oxford, 1913), p. 612-619.

[6] For the emperor's position as a divine instrument and viceregent of Christ see J. M. Hussey, *The
Byzantine World* (New York, 1961), p. 12; for the special sanctity of the emperor after Constantine
see N. H. Baynes and H. St. L. B. Moss, *Byzantium* (Oxford, 1948), p. 268-269.

[7] The early church saw the virtue and practice of penance as an integral part of the Christian ex-
perience. For this, see Tertullian, *De Paenitentia*; Origen, *De Oratione*; and Cyprian, *Ad Novatianum*.

pains to describe pagan ritual accurately.[8] Would Corippus do the same? The answer to this question is found in two passages in which the hero participates in what is clearly a formal religious rite. The first, and shorter one, occurs after the first victory of the Romans. After their return to Carthage, the hero visits the cathedral church. Here is the description of the event:

> sic limina templi
> magnanimus ductor signis comitantibus intrans
> oravit dominum caeli terraeque marisque,
> obtulit et munus, summus quod more sacerdos
> pro redituque ducis pro victisque hostibus arae
> imposuit, Christoque pater libamina sanxit.
>
> 6:98-103

Once again there is a tension between his desire to describe a Christian act of worship and his fidelity to classical diction. The vocabulary is Vergilian: *templum, sacerdos, munus, libamen*; and this along with the brevity of the description makes it almost impossible to state with certainty the exact nature of the ceremony. One would expect that the *munus* brought by a conquering hero would be spoils of war; but the bishop or *summus sacerdos* places it on the altar in the accustomed way: *more*, and then consecrates it to Christ: *Christoque ... sanxit*; both of which acts suggest that the *munus* is the bread and wine for the Eucharist.

The second description (8:318-369) is longer, but it too is unclear, for a number of lines after 369 are missing. In this case the passage opens with the preparation of the site for the ritual. The standards of the army are brought and a temporary altar is set up in the middle of the camp and is then hung with sacred draperies. A choir is formed and the ceremony begins. It can be divided into five parts: the singing of hymns by the choir and by those called *ministri*, the entrance of the general and the peoples' prayer for forgiveness, the prayers of the general and his lieutenant Ricinarius for the army, the offering of the *munus* which is found *acceptibile*, and finally what seems to be the beginning of the consecration. Here again classical diction is maintained, but the sequence of events and the fact that we are told that it is the Lord's day, make it almost certain that a Mass is being described.

Equally common in earlier epic poetry was the intervention of divine powers. In Homer and Vergil the action always moves on two levels, human and divine, with the divine considered as the final cause of human events. In the larger sense this posed no problem for Corippus, for the Christian world view resembled the pagan one in that it too attributed to divine power the ultimate governing of the universe. It is

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[8] There are a number of such descriptions in the *Aeneid*; e.g., the burial of Misenus 6.212ff; and the rites of Hercules 8.280ff.

perfectly easy for him to adapt old phrases to his own purposes: victories are won *favente deo* (3:299) and defeats are suffered *irascente deo* (3:457). Furthermore, the leaders of the Roman force explicitly acknowledge their total dependence upon God. When the emperor sends John to Africa, he says:

> cetera Christus agat, noster dominusque deusque
> in melius referens et te per cuncta gubernet
> prosperitate sua.
>
> <div align="right">1:151-153</div>

The commander himself, after his defeat, reflects upon the wisdom of the Old Testament: "vana est hominum vigilantia certe/non vigilante deo" (7:38-39).[9] Divine intervention is also emphasized by the poet at the conclusion of prayers. Thus after the hero prays for aid in the storm at sea, we are told:

> talibus orantis fletus et verba recepit
> suscipiens dominus: validis mitiscere ventis
> imperat ...
>
> <div align="right">1:310-312</div>

When, after the defeat of the Roman army, John prays for assistance, we are told that God grants it:

> hic pater omnipotens, lacrimas et verba dolentis
> suscipiens, Latias voluit revalescere vires.
>
> <div align="right">7:107-108</div>

A greater problem for Corippus must have been the question of divine apparitions. They were frequent in classical epic; but by Corippus' age, the divine inspiration of individuals and prophecy in general were looked upon as suspect.[10] The appearance of the divinity as a mere device in a poem might even have been considered sacriligeous, and therefore Corippus avoids it. There is, however, a curious apparition in the first book on the poem: first of a fallen angel and then of a saint. Whether these creatures are part of a dream we cannot tell. About twelve lines before the apparitions the commander is said to be asleep, but within those lines the fleet sets sail and it is probable that he awoke at that time. At any event, whether a dream vision or not, the fallen angel appears as the fleet approaches the coast of Africa. He is referred to as a *tristis imago* (243), and he is described in terms that suggest his alliance with the enemy, the Moors, whose dark skin is, throughout the poem, made to symbolize their depravity. Thus he is called *cognata tenebris* (244); and we are told that: "maura videbatur facies nigroque

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[9] Psalm 126.

[10] Among the earliest visionaries to be condemned were the Montanists. See Eusebius *His. Ecc.*, 5.16.6-10.

colore" (245). He threatens the commander, "horrida sulphureis con-
torquens lumina monstris" (251) and forbids him to land in Africa. The
general, however, recognizes the vision for what it is: "angelus deiectus
Olympo" (253) and pursues the creature who flees, scattering dark
shadows and dust in his path. Then the second apparition occurs. We
are told:

> aspectu placidus senior decendit Olympo,
> candida sidereis gestans velamina peplis
>
> 1:259-260

We are never told who this *senior* is. He tells the commander to ignore
the fallen angel and to continue his voyage. He is referred to as *pater op-
time* (265) and *vir dei* (266), which suggests that he may be a saint or
perhaps a priest or bishop. The fact that he tells the general to follow in
his footsteps may suggest that he himself was concerned with the people
of Africa; but beyond this conjecture we cannot go.

   Perhaps the most interesting aspect of the entire passage for a
modern reader is the use of black and white, clearly racial here, to sym-
bolize good and evil. The fallen angel is black and like the natives stands
for opposition to the kingdom of God and the Empire. His function is
to bring darkness and confusion. The saint, however, is *placidus* and *can-
didus*. He represents peace and especially the mission of enlightenment
which belongs to Church and Empire.

GRAECO-ROMAN MYTHOLOGY

   An examination of Corippus' use of Graeco-Roman myth reveals that
no single rule governed his decisions about what to retain and what to
discard. We find instead that there are a number of circumstances in
which mythology is permitted. The most prominent use of mythological
imagery is in the similes, where it is clear that a literary, not a
theological, effect is desired. Thus, in describing the burning cities of
Africa, Corippus writes:

> haud aliter Phaethon cunctis e partibus orbis
> non bene concesso succenderat omnia curru
> flammivomis raptatus equis, ni fulmine summo
> omnipotens genitor terras miseratus anhelos
> disiunxisset equos, restringens ignibus ignem.
>
> 1:336-340

There is obviously no theological difficulty here; the author was simply
imitating his predecessors in employing one of the well-known pictures
which Graeco-Roman myth provided,[11] in order to decorate and

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[11] Ovid, *Met* 2.1ff.

illustrate his poem. At times Corippus introduces such passages with a parenthetical *ut ferunt, ut aiunt,* or *fertur*; but it is unlikely that he did so for a theological reason. Here again the practice was well established long before his time (Vergil, *Aen.* 1:15).

The Graeco-Roman gods also appear as personifications of divine power. Thus, the sea is Thetis (1:130); heaven is Olympus (1:259); the sun is Phoebus (2:157); the moon Cynthia (2:418); the crops are Ceres (3:324); and wine Bacchus (7:70). These names, like that of Mars which appears throughout the poem for war, posed no problem for the poet. They are so extensively used in classical epic that they had become little more than abstract synonyms for the terms they replaced. Besides, Corippus had before him the example of the Stoics who had, still earlier, accepted the Graeco-Roman pantheon, making its members poetic symbols of the many aspects and processes of the universe.

The question of whether to use mythological imagery was not, however, always a simple one. There are a number of cases where Corippus had a clear alternative, but chose the pagan rather than the Christian framework. The source of his inspiration, for example, is always the *Musae* or *Camenae* (Praef. 28, 37; 1:8; 3:334-335). Unlike Milton he adds no reference to the Holy Spirit.[12] The Furies are likewise employed as the forces which drive men to madness and war (3:36; 5:34; 8:136), not the devil and his band. Corippus chose this mythological representation of irrational behavior in spite of the fact that, as we have seen, a fallen angel does appear in the first book. There, however, the apparition was juxtaposed with the appearance of a saint; and the author's purpose was not to portray diabolic possession, but to contrast good and evil motives. This absence of the devil may be contrasted to the practice of another sixth century poet, Alcimus Avitus, in whose biblical poems the devil is recognized as the ultimate cause of all evil and sin.[13]

Still another example of pagan imagery is the use of Juppiter as sky and rain god:

> horrificos veluti cum Juppiter excitat ignes
> aethere commoto, et tonnitru conterritat orbis
> omne genus, fractisque tremunt praecordia nimbis:
>
> 5:395-397

This is somewhat surprising in that we have already seen the author making explicit reference to God's power over the elements. We can only conclude that Corippus is here foreshadowing a technique used by

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[12] Milton, *Paradise Lost*, 1.17ff.

[13] Alcimus Avitus, *Poemata*, ed. Peiper, in *Mon. Germ. Hist., auctores antiquissimi*, 6, pars post. For the role of Satan see especially Bk. 2, *passim*.

later Christian poets: the use of Juppiter to refer to God.[14] In much the same way, the poet describes death in the terms of classical epic: "ire sub umbras" (1:488); "annus/miscuerat superis manes" (3:347-348); "transmisit ad umbras" (5:104); "mittit ad umbras" (5:264, 7:429). Here, as in the case of references to Hell: "Stygias undas" (1:401); "Tartara" (4:214); Orcus (6:12) the poet has chosen the Vergilian diction and let it stand for the Christian idea.[15]

Finally, we should consider Corippus' use of *fatum, fortuna,* and *sors,* three words which he uses interchangeably for fate. This power, which was one of the most important in classical epic, might pose a problem for a Christian author. We have already seen that Corippus acknowledged the omniscience and providence of God. What would he make then of *fatum* ? If we examine the instances of this word, we discover that it is almost always used in connection with evil occurrences. It is, of course, used of death, for which it had earlier become almost a synonym:[16] (1:391; 2:477; 4:382; 5:163; 5:505; 7:360); but it is also used of civil strife: (3:184; 3:201; 3:224; 3:234; 3:403; 3:413; 3:415; 3:418 3:424). It appears then that the author has used this concept to describe the cause of evil events. In all likelihood this does not spring from any dualistic view of his, but rather from the traditional association of the word with the inexorable approach of death and destruction.

What rule then can we formulate regarding the above uses of mythological imagery? All seem to occur in reference to things for which the Christian imagery is considered in some way weaker or inappropriate. Secondly, in all cases the terms and concepts used are essential to classical epic and its diction, and provide a more vivid and colorful image than the Christian equivalent.

NATIVE DIVINITIES

In turning to a consideration of the African religion, let us first attempt to identify the divinities mentioned by Corippus.[17] Foremost among them is the Egyptian god Ammon, whose shrine was at Siwa near Cyrene, and who was regarded by the Greeks as a god of prophecy and pictured by them in the likeness of a horned Zeus.[18] Several pilgrimages

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[14] As in Dante's *Divine Comedy: Purg.,* 6.118. However J. D. Sinclair suggests that Dante may have supposed *Jove* and *Jehovah* to be the same word.

[15] For parallels in classical epic, compare Vergil's *ire sub umbras, Aen.,* 4.660, and *Stygias undas, Aen.,* 3.215, 6.358, 7.773, 9.91; and Lucan's *mittit ad umbras,* 10.392.

[16] For *fatum* used of death, see Lewis and Short: *fatum* II.B.2.b.

[17] For an ethnological analysis of the tribes in the epic, see M. Riedmuller, *Die Iohannis des Corippus als Quelle libyscher Ethnologie,* Diss. Erlangen (Augsburg, 1919).

[18] E. Meyer, "Ammon", in W. H. Röscher, *Ausführliches lexicon d. griechischen u. römischen Mythologie.*

are made by the Africans to his temple in Corippus' poem. The first is
made by Guenfan, the father of the Berber chieftain Antalas. It is in-
teresting to note that at the temple he sacrifices to Juppiter as well
(3:84); and "tristes et Apollinis aras/inde petens Phoebi tripodas lau-
rusque requirit" (3:84-85). The second pilgrimage is made by Carcasan
leader of the second African uprising, and it helps to explain the re-
lationship between Juppiter and Ammon. We are told:

> Marmaridum fines, habitat quo corniger Amman,
> inde petit, duri Iovis responsa poposcit
>
> 6:147-148

From this description we gather that the prophetic message came from
Juppiter but through Ammon. Ammon then is similar to Apollo; he
makes Juppiter's will known to man.

Second in importance is the native god Gurzil. Ierna, chieftain of the
Ilasguas, a Syrtic tribe, is said to be his priest (2:109), and the god him-
self is, we are told, the son of Ammon and a heifer (2:110-111). Gurzil
accompanies the Africans into battle and is entreated by them in the
fight (5:39). More perplexing is the magic appearance of the god on the
battlefield. It is described thus by Corippus:

> cum*** magica taurus dimittitur arte
> Maurorum e medio, taurus, quem Ierna sacerdos
> atque idem gentis rectorum maximus auctor
> finxerat Ammonii signantem numina Gurzil,
> omina prima suis. celsis tunc cornibus ille
> inter utrosque furit, dubius qua rumperet hostes
>
> 5:22-27

Later Ierna flees: "et simulacra sui secum tulit horrida Gurzil". (5:495).
What is this strange device? Presumably Ierna, the priest, fashions a
likeness of the god and releases it in the midst of the battle. It is horned
and resembles a bull; but the manner in which it is propelled is unclear.
The fact that it acts like an animal would lead one to believe that some
kind of animal carries the image, tries to break through the Roman
lines, and then in terror flees to its own men.

Two other divinities are mentioned: Sinifer: "quem Mazax numina
Martis accipit atque deum belli putat esse potentem" (8:305-306); and
Mastiman, who is referred to as Taenarian Juppiter and to whom
human victims are sacrificed. The title Taenarian as well as the
sacrifices suggest that he is a god of the dead. This is made more ex-
plicit in the description of the ritual to this divinity:

> Taenarium dixere Jovem, cui sanguine multo
> humani generis mactatur victima pesti.
> pro scelus infaustum! gemitus miserabilis, auras
> undique concutiens, clamoribus aethera pulsat.

imprimit hic ferrum jugulis et vocibus ipsum
numen agit, dubiasque vocans exire per umbras
solis iter temptare jubet. tunc more profano
diripiunt pecudum fibras et fata requirunt

8:308-315

The fullest description of an African rite occurs when the father of
Antalas, the native chieftain, visits the shrine of Ammon to consult the
priestess about his son's destiny. The passage is too long for quotation
here. We can, however, trace the clearly defined parts of the ritual. It
begins (3:81) with the approach of the suppliant to the temple, and his
killing of the sacrifices, called here *horrida sacra Iovi* (3:84). He then en-
ters the temple where the *vittata sacerdos* likewise sacrifices *omnigenum
pecus* (3:87). She then examines the entrails and places them on the altar.
Then begins her seduction by the power of the god. It begins with self-
immolation; for the *sacerdos* takes a knife from the altar and stabs herself
with it (3:92-93). Then, bleeding, she goes into a frenzy; her hair stands
on end, her eyes roll; she begins to leap about. Finally her face grows
red, a sure sign, Corippus tells us, of the god's power (3:98). There
follows a stage in the ceremony in which she is incoherent; she moans,
gasps and utters indistinguishable words. This, however, passes and she
next speaks the prophecy, which is clear and complete (3:107-140). It
contains not only the facts welcome to the Moors themselves; but the
account of their eventual defeat as well. Most remarkably, it also con-
tains a prediction and endorsement of Christianity's coming to all
Africa (3:125-126). The scene ends with the collapse of the prophetess
(3:141), and an elaborate description of the sounds which run through
her exhausted body.

The second consultation of this oracle is that of Carcasan, leader of
the second uprising (6:145-176). The description in general corresponds
with the earlier one. Here we are told that a bull is sacrificed (6:153),
that the priestess uses the *tympana* in her dance (6:154); and that the
prophecy is given at night (6:161). The incoherent stage is here omitted,
the prophecy is given at once, and the priestess does herself no violence.
The greatest difference between the passages, however, is the manner in
which she here makes the prophecy unclear and deliberately misleads
the questioner. She prophecies that the Berbers will hold the fields of
Africa forever, that there will be peace, that Carcasan will enter Car-
thage and be marvelled at, finally that he will subdue nations. The
prophecy, of course, is like Gyges' answer at Delphi; Corippus explains
that the Africans will be buried in the land; that Carcasan will be led
into Carthage as prisoner and beheaded, and that Rome will impose
peace (6:177-187).

It remains for us to consider the attitude of the writer towards the
native religion. First, we note that the native gods are identified with

Graeco-Roman gods, a practice which the Greeks and Romans had adopted earlier. Beyond this, three characteristics of the religion are stressed: bloody and violent sacrifice; possession by the god and ecstacy; and divination and prophecy. Each of these are counter to the spirit of Christianity and are presented in as unattractive a manner as possible.

In several places the nature of the gods is mocked. Thus, in reference to Gurzil's lineage Corippus says: "tanta est insania caecis/mentibus! ah, miseras fallunt sic numina gentes!" (2:111-112). The theme of deception is repeated in connection with the second prophecy. Here Corippus says: "semper amat miseras deceptor fallere mentes/Juppiter hic quem, vane, rogas". (6:149-150). In view of this, it is especially surprising that Corippus puts his own view of the future of African belief in the mouth of the native priestess. It is she who says "Africa namque suum factorem fessa rogabit, quem colit deum, quem fas cognoscere dignos". (3:125-126). The line is not understood by the Africans but surely Corippus intended it to be taken as a true prophecy, referring to the Christian God.

Indeed, if there is a central theme to the epic, it is this: that the Christian God must be brought to all and that he must be brought by the emperor and his forces. The war, like the struggles of many later Christian heroes, is a religious crusade and a fight for civilization. It is summed up in the hero's prayer in the first book:

> non auri cupidus; non ullo munere lucri,
> in Libyam compulsus eo, sed scindere bellum
> et miseras salvare animas. haec sola cupido
> hic animis amor omnis inest huc iussio tantum
> principis alma trahit. noster te principe princeps
> imperat. ipse tibi meritum debere fatetur
> ordine servitium; tu illi subicis omnes
> et servire iubes; tua sum praecepta secutus

                                                              1:293-300

Fordham University

REFLECTIONS ON THE EPIC QUALITY OF
AMI ET AMILE: *CHANSON DE GESTE*

Thomas E. Vesce

IN the many discussions touching upon the origins and the sway of the story of these two look-alikes of early France, emphasis is placed upon distinguishing among those accounts found in the genres of folk-tale, hagiography, romance, miracle play and *chanson de geste*.[1] While this scholastic rubric undoubtedly serves as a measure for the legend's importance, this traditional approach does little to elucidate the epic nature of the story told in *Ami et Amile: chanson de geste*, most recently edited by Peter Dembowski.[2]

Again, in the course of his discussion on various *chansons de geste* which do not exactly belong to any of the three major cycles of the king, William, and the rebellious vassals of France, Urban T. Holmes states that, "Despite their varied nature, these poems are all *chansons de geste* because of their literary form and because of their settings." (U. T. Holmes, *A History of Old French Literature* (New York, 1948) p. 114). Come down to modern times in 3504 decasyllabic verses divided into 177 *laisses* which each terminate with a hexasyllable not in assonance with the *laisse* itself (Cf. Dembowski, p. vii-viii), the form of the poem does support Homes' statement.

However, if *Ami et Amile* is considered a *chanson de geste* because of its form, then the same view must be maintained for another decasyllabic poem divided into *laisses, La vie de saint Alexis*. While Léon Gautier did label the *Alexis*, "une petite chanson de geste de l'ordre religieux," (L. Gautier, "L'épopée nationale," in L. Petit de Julleville (ed.), *Histoire de la langue et de la littéraire française*. 1, (Paris, 1986), 116), this view has not prevailed and it is traditional to consider the excellent *récit* of the pious Alexis as part of the body of hagiographical writings which preceded the full flowering of the epic song in France.

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[1] For a handy bibliography, see, William Calin, *The Epic Quest: Studies in Four Old French Chansons de Geste* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1966), pp. 58-59.

[2] *Ami de Amile: Chanson de Geste*, ed. Peter F. Dembowski (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1969). References to the text follow this edition. Also cf. *A. Critical Edition of Amis et Amiles*, ed. Robert J. Mayberry (Diss. University of North Carolina, 1968).

In a succint description of the competitive poetic climate of medieval France, Petit de Julleville makes use of remarkable terminology: "Combien de fois n'a-t-on pas opposé les aventures des saints à celles des preux et des chevaliers!" (P. de Julleville, *Histoire*, 1, 20). In all probability, this exclamation reflects a true panoramic picture of the times which sustained the three life styles of humility, fidelity and charity (or *Minne*), open to the various classes.

In rather a similar position, Aurelio Roncaglia suggests that the *chansons de geste* were heir to *chansons de saints* (Cf. A. Roncaglia, "*L'Alexandre* d'Alberic et la Séparation entre Chanson de Geste et Roman," *Studia Romanica*, 4 (1963), 44). Erich Köhler remarks that, "La chanson de geste était un 'article de foire' offert à un public qui partageait encore unanimement une même conception du monde." (E. Höhler, "Quelques observations d'ordre historico-sociologique sur les rapports entre la Chanson de Geste et le Roman Courtois," *Studia Romanica*, 4 (1963), 24). The audiences which supported such stories are further identified by Köhler when he states, "La chanson de geste a célébré la première le héros profane tandis que les clercs — en langue vulgaire comme en langue latine— ont célèbre le saint. Le saint, c'est le héros de l'Eglise et c'est peut-être surtout le héros des gens pieux et peu cultivés." (Köhler, *Studia Romanica*, 4 (1963), 58).

To contend that a saint — a pious hero — could experience adventures, one would have to specify that these adventures are of a spiritual kind. Petit de Julleville seems to have done just this in his discussion on the poems on the lives of the eastern saints who are described for the most part as, "héros de la pénitence," either with a sin to expiate or not. (P. de Julleville, *Histoire*, 1, 4).

But the term *aventure* varies in meaning according to Köhler who proposes that: "Pour le héros des chansons de geste, les coups du sort restent autant de «hasards» d'accidents, qui s'ordonnent sans difficulté dans la figure générale du destin de la nation ou de la chrétienté. L'«aventure» du chevalier courtois, par contre, est l'événement qui lui ad-vient (*advenire-adventura*) à lui personnellement. Ce n'est pas à dire qu'il ne soit plus question de la société; mais sa prospérité dépend désormais de la personne du chevalier, qui devient le véritable responsable de l'ordre." (Köhler, *Studia Romanica*, 4 (1963), 26).

Clearly then, a pious story will relate the events which happen in the life of a hero who exercizes the religious courage which his fellows should have but unfortunately can only aspire to. Such stories will be celebrated for the edification of all men (Cf. P. de Julleville, *Histoire*, 1, 34), and for the extolment of humility, one of the basic virtues of Christian society (Cf. P. de Julleville, *Histoire*, 1, 39).

As regards *Ami et amile*, Joseph Bédier believed that the heroes of, "cette ancienne chanson de geste française," became saints by accident sometime late in the development of the legend (Cf. J. Bédier, *Les légendes épiques* 2 (Paris, 1926), p. 187). Jessie Crosland, for her part, states that, "It is the strenrth of an idea that gives the legend its epic value and its unity, for it is the theme of indussoluble friendship which governs it from beginning to end.' (J. Crosland, *The Old French Epic*, (Oxford, 1951), p. 218. It is certainly possible to conceive of *amicitas* as a form of humility since one who is full of *superbia* and egocentric can hardly come to know what it is to have a friend. But does *amicitas* alone (without question a much extolled virtue in the *chanson de geste*) make a poem into an epic of France?

As partial answer, one could consider Léon Gautier's succinct definition of an epic: "Elle est traditionnelle, elle est nationale, elle est anonyme." (L. Gautier, in, P. de Julleville, *Histoire*, 1, 131). Since it is conceivable that many could only agree that the term, "anonyme," is fully comprehensible, although not universally applicable, another standard must be sought.

Edmond Faral's much studied definition of a *chanson de geste* could perhaps be stated as a starting point then: "On appelait au moyen âge *chansons de geste* (du latin *gesta* pris au sens de «récit historique») des romans de chevalerie en vers, dont l'action se déroule au temps de Charlemagne ou de son fils Louis, exceptionnellement au temps de Clovis, ou de Charles Martel, ou de Charles le Chauve." (E. Faral, in Bédier et Hazard (edd.), *Histoire de la littérature française illustrée*, (Paris, 1923), p. 7). Now it should be a fairly simple matter to prove that Ami and Amile, two supposed subjects of Charlemagne, were chivalrous and so allay any doubts about the epic nature of the French poem which describes their adventures.

The adjective, "chivalrous," is defined as: "1. having the qualities of chivalry, as courage, courtesy, and loyalty; 2. considerate and courteous to women, gallant; 3. gracious and honorable toward one's enemy, esp. when he is defeated, and toward those who are weak or socially inferior; 4. chivalric." (J. Stein & L. Urdang (edd.), *The Random House Dictionary of the English Language: the Unabridged Edition* (new York, 1967), p. 259a.)

On the first points of courage and courtesy, the poet names Amile, "li preus et li cortois," (v. 124), and his friend, "li prouz Amis fu cortois et vaillans," (v. 136). Many times both are referred to as, "li baron," (v. 14 et passim), meaning worthy men. But it could be said too that the poet uses these terms only to state his subject: he is not telling a story about simple folk or bourgeois but about Ami et Amile, scions of such high-

born families (*barnaige*, v. 3),[3] that the Pope himself acted as their god-father (v. 24).

Reading further along about these two, "gentiz hom," (v. 64) and, "franc hom," (v. 152), which the two born counts (vv. 70, 79), certainly were, the poet offers little basis for their attributives of, "prouz," "ber," and particularly, "vaillans." Before going into battle with the Bretons, Charlemagne welcomes the two friends into the ranks of his gathering army, "car molt les vit biaus homes." (v. 207). But they are only two young men untried in war, for, as the poet has just proclaimed: "En lor mains tiennent les espees nouvelles." (v. 202). So despite all the fine adjectives which the poet uses to set the scene, Ami and Amile are basically 'green' knights, or, as Hardré, Charlemagne's treacherous adviser considers them, they are newly-arrived knights-for-hire (*soudoiers*, v. 244).

In a *laisse* of twenty-three verses, the poet describes how the great host of Charlemagne prepares for the war against the Bretons. Of all these verses, only three will actually tell of the battle proper:

> La veissiéz un estor si felon,
> Tant elme fraint et percié tant blazon,
> L'un mort sor l'autre trebuchier el sablon.
>
> (vv. 220-222)

Hardly begun, the description of the battle is broken off by the poet — in a manner very unlike various composers of epic song — to state briefly how the two friends played their part in it:

> Bien i ferirent andui li compaingnon:
> Douz contes prinrent, Berart et Nevelon,
> Si les envoient a Paris en prison.
>
> (vv. 223-225)

The *laisse* then closes with the poet stating that Charlemagne was pleased by these acts (or was it by his victory?), as was his daughter Belissant, but that Hardré was not.

The next battle described in the poem involves Gombaut le Loherainc against whom Charlemagne has been fighting for some fifteen years (v. 286). Hardré, who cannot tolerate the presence of the two new knights at court, makes a pact with Gombaut to have them ambushed. After concluding the agreement, Hardré seeks out the two companions, as well as Charlemagne's other knights, and taunts them:

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[3] Dembowski offers the gloss, "force (?)," p. 123, for the term as used in v. 1802, "Dex t'en prest le barnaige!" The word normally carries the meaning of 'body of barons, noble assembly, or the qualities of a baron, valor, courage.' In this text, it probably signifies both worldly and spiritual excellence and power.

> Seignor, dist il, on m'a fait demonstree
> Que Gombaus vient a moult grant assamblee,
> Ici doit iestre ansoiz prime sonnee.
> Se la estoit vo proesce monstree,
> Liés en seroit Charles li emperere.

<div align="right">(vv. 359-363)</div>

In the following *laisse* (22) of twenty-six verses, the poet again employs six scant lines to describe the battle:

> Jusqu'a l'agait en vont li chevalier.
> Premierement les assaillent derrier
> Et enapréz lor saillent Berruier.
> La veissiéz un estor conmencier,
> Tant escu fraindre, tante lance brisier,
> L'un mort sor l'autre verser et trebuchier.

<div align="right">(vv. 374-379)</div>

Once more, Ami and Amile take two prisoners whom they send on to Paris to a happy Charlemagne (vv. 380-384). The battle is over and the poet announces: "Et li dui conte se voldrent repairier." (v. 385). The remaining verses of the *laisse* are concerned with the ever continuing machinations of the villainous Hardré.

These two scenes would seem to be the only ones which the poet advances to sustain Ami's and Amile's claim to valor. Nowhere else are the two men seen fighting against the enemies of Charlemagne and, with mighty blows, help him protect the fatherland. But these scenes, which add little to the epic character of the poem, stand very pale next to the great war-pictures found in such epics as *Gormand et Isembard, Guillaume, Roland,* or even the epic supposedly the most mediocre of all, *Simon de Pouille.*[4] One dozen verses which describe actual warfare in this poem must surely be considered a poor yardstick of the military skill of Ami and Amile, let alone of their heroic stature.

Believing Hardré's false report of the two friends' death, Belissant mourns: "Hé! douz amis, com voz estiéz preudon!" (v. 416). But one suspects that she regrets their loss not because they were exceptional warriors but because they possessed outstanding physical charm. (This suspicion is confirmed when she admits that she is much attracted to Amile, "Car trop i a bel home." (v. 661). Upon seeing the friends return alive with two chargers and counts in tow, she exclaims, "Seignor, dist elle, preu iestez et hardi," (v. 444), and warns the young knights against Hardré who hates them mortally and whom she calls, "le cuivert de put lin." (v. 445).

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[4] Cf. Léon Gautier, *Les épopées françaises,* 3 (Paris, 1878-1894), pp. 346-347.

The poet obviously enjoys indulging in the much used technique of contrasts: pitting the vaunted (but scarcely proved) worth of the hero(es) against the sly baseness of the villain of the piece. While the companions are sufficiently courageous to play out the roles of *soudoiers* in Charlemagne's army, and so qualify as being chivalrous, examination of the poem turns up little proof of the extraordinary *virtus* of the two warrior-heroes.

The poet shows the two to be gracious and honorable toward their enemies (given above as a third definition for chivalrous), when they spare their prisoners' lives (six in number: two taken in the Breton war; four taken in the Gombaut skirmish: two sent on to Charlemagne; two who return with them to the court).

But the poet would seem to point up the unseasoned judgment of the two heroes when they accede to Hardré's entreaty that they do not condemn him before Charlemagne but accept instead a rich bribe: his relative Lubias who has the means of making one of them into a wealthy husband.[5] Realistically drawn from contemporary life by the poet, this offer of marriage provides the material for the telling of the (mis)adventures of Ami who contracts the alliance.

Seven years later, when Ami is returning home to visit his wife and son, he will advise Amile never to accept any offers Hardré may propose:

> Mais une chose voz voil je bien monstrer,
> Que ne preingniéz compaingnie a Hardré.
> Tost voz avroit souduit et enchanté
> Et tel hontaige et tel blasme alevé
> Que ne seroit a nul jor amendé.
>
> (vv. 561-565)

Since the poet has cast Hardré as a villain, one can well imagine Ami's unpleasant experience in being allied to the villain's family. It is not surprising then that Amile will refuse Hardré's offer of friendship (vv. 588-605). In this refusal, the poet could be seen preparing his audience for the bloody outcome of the only other militaristic struggle in the poem which Hardré and Amile will engage in: the judicial duel.

Caught *in flagrante delicto* with Belissant, Hardré denounces Amile before the assembled court where it is decreed that a *judicium Dei* shall decide the matter. But fearing God's wrath, Amile has the contest delayed until he and Ami can exchange identities. Ami's timely arrival at court saves Charlemagne's own wife and son who had guaranteed Amile's return. The disguized Ami then vows a fight to the finish:

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[5] The exact relationship of Lubias to Hardré is not clear. Cf. Dembowski's note to v. 333, p. 118.

> Mon enciant, au brant forbi d'acier
> Le [Hardré] cuit je si malement atirier,
> Trestouz les membres et la teste tranchier,
> Se Dex m'est en aïe."

<div align="right">(vv. 1381-1384)</div>

A confident Hardré modifies these terms in order to bring about even greater disgrace to the knight who yields the field:

> Et dist Hardréz: "Biaus sire, et je l'otroi
> Et par devant ces chevaliers le di:
> Qui vaincus iert, pendus soit le matin,
> Ne soit raiens ne d'argent ne d'or fin,
> Ne n'ait secors de parens ne d'amis."

<div align="right">(vv. 1400-1404)</div>

The king accepts these conditions but Hardré is dumbfounded when Ami boasts that, since he is innocent of the charges, God will grant him victory:

> — Glouz, dist li cuens, voz i avéz menti,
> Si m'aït Dex et li saint qui sont ci,
> Qu'o Belissant ne couchai ne dormi,
> Sa blanche char nu a nu ne senti,
> Se Dex me laist de cest champ issir vif
> Et sain et sauf arriere revertir."

<div align="right">(vv. 1425-1430)</div>

As Ami is stating simple facts about himself, the form of the judicial duel remains inviolate. But since he is not the accused person, it is he who is indeed the liar who will be forced to make amends for this perversion of a legal process. Before this may occur, the poet has a more immediate problem to solve: how can his hero Ami be victorious without overturning contemporary moral principles and legal traditions?[6]

In the battle which begins with *laisse* 75, the two adversaries deal each other doughty blows: Ami cuts off the right ear of Hardré (vv. 1492-1500); Hardré's sword gets stuck in Ami's headgear and the spectators believe that his brain has been penetrated (vv. 1508-1520); Hardré uses Ami's sword to give him another blow on the head (vv. 1538-1549); Hardré's sword falls to the ground and Ami picks it up to hit Hardré such a hard blow that the villain's right eye pops out of its socket on to the ground (vv. 1550-1568).

With the coming of evening, the assembled barons petition the king to halt the battle until the next day. Charlemagne accepts and all repair to Paris to wait upon the next round in the morning (vv. 1585-1597). While both knights have been sorely tried, and Hardré particularly has

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[6] For a perceptive discussion of the problem, see, Calin, pp. 83-90.

been grievously wounded, the poet still has not indicated which one
will yield to the other.

During the night however, an event occurs which makes it clear that
Hardré will fail. In a conversation with his godson Aulori, Hardré ad-
vises that the only way to survive in society is to avoid honestly ob-
serving God's commandments and to practice instead malice and deceit:

> "Je te chastoi, biaus filleus Aulori,
> Que n'aiez cure de Dammeldeu servir,
> Ne de voir dire, se ne cuides mentir.
> Se vois preudomme, panse de l'escharnir,
> De ta parole, se tu puez, le honnis.
> Ardéz les villes, les bors et les maisnils.
> Metéz par terre autex et crucefiz.
> Par ce seréz honoréz et servis.
>
> (vv. 1625-1632)

With these words, the poet transforms Hardré into a pariah who has
broken allegiance to his Creator. While he may have been right in
bringing charges against Amile and Belissant — perhaps acting in an
ungallant manner at worst — Hardré here loses all claim to God's
mercy and forfeits his peers' respect by the unpardonable crime of
breaking faith with his Lord God. In the morning, he seals his fate when
he appears on the field with a shield which proclaims the felony:

> A son col pant un escu a lyon,
> Dist tel parole qui le greva le jor:
> "Ier fiz bataille el non dou Criator,
> Hui la ferai el non a cel seignor
> Qui envers Deu nen ot onques amor.
> Ahi, diables! com ancui seraz prouz."
>
> (vv. 1658-1663)

Confronted by this fearsome spectacle, Ami makes an act of faith and
prays that God will give him the strength to strike down the renegade:

> "Dex, dist il, Peres qui formas tout le mont,
> Meïs saint Pierre el chief de Pré Noiron
> Et convertiz saint Pol son compaingnon
> Et Daniel garis en la fosse au lyon,
> Si com c'est voirs et noz bien le creons,
> Me doingniéz voz occirre cel glouton,
>
> (vv. 1667-1672)

Suddenly, the all encompassing question of serving and keeping faith
with God (*Gottesdienst*) subsumes the moral issues at hand. Hardré has
boldly proclaimed *Teufelsdienst* and must be defeated. Perhaps reflecting
his audience's *eschivement*, the poet takes but six lines to accomplish this
(vv. 1676-1681), where before, in describing a contest between two

Christian knights, he required over one-hundred verses (vv. 1470-1595).

Having duly preserved the foundations of feudal Christian society, the poet is free to return to the question of justice so that all the moral tensions the two companions have generated can be set to rest (Cf. Calin, pp. 91-92).

In agreeing to play his friend's role in the judicial duel, Ami displayed much generosity (another trait of a chivalrous person). Indeed, in doing this, it might be said that he was following Christ's instruction: *There is no greater love than this that a man should lay down his life for his friends.* (John, xv, 13-14).

On the other hand, this display of *amicitas* causes Ami to violate a higher code and if men may be fooled by his artful disguise, God, the sustainer of Truth, is not. When Ami tries to retreat and terminate his deceit, he is prevented by Charlemagne who decides it is time to reward the knight for his many services. Believing that he is speaking to the real Amile, Charlemagne awards his daughter to him in marriage. Ami tries to put off the acceptance of such a rich favor but Charlemagne, who is in all of this passage the unknowing agent of God, suddenly does not wish to follow the counsel of his court but affirms:

> "Vassal, dist il, ne voz mouvroiz de ci,
> Ainz en venréz avec moi a Paris.
> Ber, pran ma fille par la toie merci,
> Frere seroiz, voz et Bueves mes fiz.
>
> (vv. 1721-1725)

When Ami protests that such a trip would expose him to the vengeance of Hardré's clan, Charlemagne insures his safety by placing Ami under his personal protection (v. 1731). The king then orders the complete obliteration of the renegade's body; gives his daughter over in marriage to Ami(le); and confers the city of Riviers upon him with ten thousand men in fief (vv. 1755-1760).

Faced with the prospect of adding bigamy and adultery to his already great deception, Ami prays God for aid. But it is all too clear that he must prepare to swear fidelity to these new contracts of marriage and fiefdom in place of his friend (vv. 1761-1774). Immediately following the unavoidable oath-taking, an angel of God informs Ami of the consequences of his actions:

> "Di va, Ami, com te voi nonsaichant!
> Tu preïz fame au los de tes parans
> Que n'a plus bele chevaliers ne serjans.
> Hui jures autre, Deu en poise forment.
> Moult grans martyres de ta char t'en atent:
> Tu seras ladres et meziaus ausiment,
> Ne te parront oil ne bouche ne dent,

Ja n'i avraz aïde d'ami ne de parent
Fors d'Yzoré et d'Amile le gent.

(vv. 1812-1820)

As though this verdict from God may not suffice to sharpen interest in the awesome penance of this false husband, the poet entices his audience further when he describes how Belissant was instructed in the swearing of her conjugal troth:

Voz jurreréz orendroit a bandon
Que voz panréz Amile le baron
Au loëment d'Ami son compaingnon,
Ne antr'euls douz ne meteréz tanson.
— Sire, dist elle, volentiers le jurronz

(vv. 1829-1835)

These verses could be said to contain the wellsprings for the remainder of the poem: Ami's expiation of his sins and the contrastive study of the marriages of Belissant-Amile and of Lubias-Ami. Accordingly, the second half of the poem which now begins (vv. 1835-3504), makes it somewhat difficult to view the work as a feudal epic. Affinities with a *Vie de St Alexis, fabliaux* of married life, and also with the travails experienced by a married knight (*Erec et Enide*) seem more readily discernible than are similarities in the treatment of the feudal duties and the fearless deeds of a *prodome* in Charlemagne's service.

Before proceeding further, it may be well to consider the type of courtesy (if any) which the two friends have demonstrated heretofore.

Ami certainly did not act gallantly or with any courtesy when he allowed himself to be bribed into marrying Lubias after Amile rejected her. Amile's explanation to Charlemagne of his rejection was hardly polite, although probably very realistic:

... "Sire, drois empereres,
Mes compains l'ait qui plus est conquereres,
Et si fiert mieus dou tranchant de l'espee."

(vv. 477-478)

Lubias' reaction to being so used is easily understandable and, as would any slighted female, she predicts, "Moult se repant quant ne m'ot a moillier." (v. 503). Lubias' natural enmity for the two friends is a marvelous foil to the sworn amity of Belissant.

As regards Charlemagne's daughter, she too was treated as a simple chattel and given away as a marriage prize. Prior to that event, the poet did nothing to show her as a lady who knew the niceties of courtesy. Quite the contrary, for she brazenly — at least for a Soredamors or a Fénice of romance — berates Amile for refusing to accept her service of

love (vv. 612-615).[7] Amile endures her declaration for him and his body and then bluntly answers:

> ... "Damme, ci a grant mesprison.
> Ja voz demande li fors rois d'Arragon
> Et d'Espolice Girars li fiuls Othon,
> Qui mainne an ost plus de mil compaingnons.
> Ne les panriéz por tout l'or de cest mont,
> Et moi voléz qui n'ai un esporon
> Ne borc ne ville ne chastel ne donjon,
> Onques ne vi mon feu ne ma maison!
> Je nel feroie por tout l'or de cest mont,
> Mais je serai, ma damme, li vostre hom,
> Servirai voz a force et a bandon,
>   Car ce doi je bien faire."
>
>   (vv. 631-642)

It appears that the young knight for hire realizes that the taking of a wife means having to have enough money to keep her in a suitable style, and so he refuses to take on these burdens.

Later, when Belissant slips under the pelts of his couch, Amile asks if the warm body belongs to some married person or the king's daughter. If none of these, then it may stay and gladly too and in the morning he promises to give it one-hundred sous (vv. 674-683).

In the entire episode, the poet can be seen recreating for his audience scenes drawn for contemporary life where such adventures were well known. Again, like many a *chanson de geste*, there is no element of courtesy described here. Nor should the subsequent judicial duel be compared with the duel for a lady's honor which champions like Yvain (*Le chevalier au Lion*) will fight. It is truth which is being tried here not courtesy. That is why the retribution which will be exacted will be heavy, for he who would distort truth and so disorder the workings of society — Ami — must himself suffer disorder and distortion via the scourge of leprosy.

When told of the substitution which made possible her victory over Hardré, Belissant meekly (and rather comically?) holds to her sworn oath and accepts the *status quo*. The poet then has the two friends lead her off to the nearest church so that the true Amile may marry her and consummate the marriage (vv. 1969-1974).

Perhaps Belissant is more fortunate than Lubias in her conjugal activities. When Lubias' substitute husband returned home from court after seven years, she had to bed down with him and a sword of chastity. When her real husband finally returns to her, she is then told that his

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[7] The present writer does not agree with the basic premise of the discussion set forth in Calin, p. 81, on the "*Ami* poet['s]... literary skill in the treatment of love. e.g., Belissant's passion for Amile."

embrace is denied her because he is a leper. It would seem that there
are real psychological grounds for the contemptuous actions Lubias
will be guilty of against her spouse. Unfortunately however, the poet is
not inclined to make her into an object of sympathy. Instead, he treats
her simply as a member of a treacherous clan from which better is not
to be expected. Since the poet has no interest in "fleshing on" her
character, Lubias stays on the level of a stock type: a shrewish wife and
a merciless mother who will be put away finally and barely tolerated by
those around her.[8] In all, the poet's portrayal of Lubias as a
questionable bagatelle at the mercy of her men-folk strongly speaks
against any attempt to invest the poem with courtesy.[9]

Returning to the main issue of expiation of sin, it seems that the poet
uses Lubias' character as a channel for the expression of the wrath of
the injured baron, found in many feudal poems (Cf. W. P. Ker, *Epic and
Romance: Essays on Medieval Literature,* New York: 1957, p. 53). Tem-
porarily at least, for, in this part of his work, the poet will illustrate the
truths of the old proverb, "De si haut, si bas," (Cf. J. Morawski, *Proverbes
français antérieurs au XVme siècle* (Paris, 1925), p. 20, 557), and the epic
maxim, "Bien est eidiez cui Deus velt eidier," (Cf. Morawski, p. 10,
251). Having shown how God had blessed Ami with every possible gift
(good health and physical charm, noble rank and riches, good and
trusty friend), the poet will now picture Ami stripped of it all, forlorn
of everyone except two serfs Garin and Haymme, until the per-
formance of his penance duty restores him to God's grace many years
later.

While Ami's sufferings may be compared with the trials undergone
by such as a St. Alexis, there is the essential difference that Alexis chose
to live out his calvary *ad majorem Dei gloriam* while Ami was made into a
pariah in order to atone for his rash disrespect of God's law. In-
terestingly, the only person who can offer the leper respite from his

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[8] Cf. Calin, pp. 73-74 and pp. 80-81, where Lubias' character is assessed on the (de)merits of her
family background; and p. 97, where she is called, "a far more dangerous creature, [a] *fax Satani*,
capable of bringing about unbelievable harm." While the character of Lubias undoubtedly fulfills
an archetypal role, there is no reason why it cannot be used by the poet to portray contemporary
attitudes on women and marriage.

[9] Cf. Crosland, pp. 225-226; who says, "...the complete lack of courtesy towards the women on
the part of the men gives an archaic flavor to the whole poem." She goes on to add, "This absence
of chivalry definitely helps us to place our poem and rank it among the epics rather than the
romances." Clearly, the text can not qualify as belonging to the class of courtly writings, but again,
it appears a foregone conclusion that it is an epic. In discussing the poem's form and particularly
the *incipit*, Miss Crosland had previously remarked: "It has the conventional opening lines of the
period.... which contrasts so unfavourably with the simple majestic début of the *Chanson de Roland*...
but are not so trivial as those of the later more romantic poems which sing of spring and birds and
flowers." (p. 223). It would appear that, while strongly indicated in the poem's opening verses, the
third class of hagiographical or pious writings are simply ignored.

pain for any length of time ("trois ans touz plains," v. 2505), is his god-father Yzoré, the Pope. The Pope alone can give aid to Ami, for did not Christ put the power to mitigate and allay the Divine judgments in the hands of St. Peter and his successors. The poet's orthodoxy is plainly there for all to see and was by no means lost on his audience. (Once again too, the poet is contrasting the aid given by this godfather with the evil counsel Hardré had given his godson Aulori).

After leaving the Pope, Ami continues on his journey and seeks out his brothers in Clermont. They refuse to give him any substantial help, and the broken Ami tells his serfs to leave him and go home for he can ride his horse no further since his sickness has eaten away the flesh of his thighs (vv. 2583-2587). But his servants refuse to abandon him and instead find a common sense solution:

> Une charrete ont li serf achatee,
> Trois sols en donnent, moult l'ont bien atornee
> Et de fresche herbe et joinchie et comblee,
> Et lor seignor dant Ami i monterent,
> A la charrete le murlet atelerent.
>
> (vv. 2592-2596)

Although this means permits them to continue on together, the transporting of Ami in a lowly cart strips him of any last dignity he might have yet possessed, for no knight rode a cart without dishonor, as shown by Chrétien's *Lancelot*. Once so high a personage, Ami is reduced to the station of a non-entity, completely at the mercy of thieving ferrymen whose greed alone prevents them from killing him (vv. 2640-2672).

Managing to reach Amile's city of Riviers, Ami is recognized by his friend by means of the goblet which Yzoré had given each of them at their christening. Without fear of contamination, Belissant and Amile open their arms, hearts, house and bed to their leper friend (vv. 2739-2764). The poet is obviously indicating that this reunion, similar to the liturgical kiss of peace, is possible because of the Pope's cup from which Divine Grace is dispensed.

Once again, an angel appears to Ami. This time Ami is asked if he still has a member which can serve his needs. Answering that his sword arm is still intact, Ami entreats God to cast him from his exile and take his life, for he can endure no longer (vv. 2779-2787). The Angel responds that Ami should be encouraged because his deliverance can be simply effected: Amile must kill his two sons and bathe Ami in their blood. By these acts of complete faith and hope in God's charity the poet will show that God's Grace may be found again.

Indeed, Amile had just told his leper friend:

Or croi en Deu, le Gloriouz puissant,
Se riens savoie en cest siecle vivant
Qui voz poist faire assouaigement,
Se g'en devoie quanques a moi apant
Vendre, engaigier ou livrer a torment,
Nes mes douz fiz certez ou Belissant,
Si le feroie, gel voz di et creant."

(vv. 2836-2842)

This renewal of *amicitas* is quickly put to the test. When Amile is told of the cure which Ami needs, he finds it difficult to provide it:

Li cuens Amiles fu forment esperduz,
A la terre est envers pasméz cheüz,
Li bacins chiet et li brans d'acier nus.
Quant se redresce dist com hom perceüz:
"Ahi! dist il, chaitis! com mar i fuz,
Quant tes anfans anvraz les chiés toluz!
Mais ne m'en chaut, quant cil iert secorrus
Qui est des gens en grant vilté tenuz
Et comme mors et il amenteüz
          Mais or venra en vie."

(vv. 2972-2981)

In a scene reminiscent of the one in which Dante's Ugolino is entreated by his sons to do what he must (*Inferno, xxxiii, 61-63*), the poet has Amile's older son encourage his father to the deed:

"Biax tres douz peres, dist l'anfes erramment,
Quant vos compains avra garissement
Se de nos sans a sor soi lavement,
Noz sommes vostre, de vostre engenrement,
Faire en poéz del tout a vo talent.
Or noz copéz les chiés isnellement,
Car Dex de gloire noz avra en present,
En paradis en irommez chantant
Et proierommez Jhesu, cui tout apent,
Que dou pechié voz face tensement,
Voz et Ami vostre compaingnon gent.

(vv. 3000-3010)

The restoration effected, Ami is dressed in fine robes, proper to his recovered station in society.[10] The friends then rush off to tell Belissant of all these happenings. Naturally enough, such news may only be told in Church where the congregation of the faithful can participate in celebrating the Divine Grace. Unfortunately, the poet does not describe

[10] Cf. A.H. Krappe, "The Legend of Amicus and Amelius," *Modern Language Review*, 18 (1923), 158-159, who states that the contemporary attitude was that, "leprosy meant social death." Ami's new robes advertise his cure, i.e., reacceptance into the Christian world.

Belissant's first reactions in hearing about her sons' death. In this, he may be seen more interested in protecting the inviolate character of her oath (never to question the friends), than in exercizing his talent to present a realistic cameo of a distressed mother.

Amile invites all to view his sons' bodies and announces that he and Ami are prepared to forfeit their lives for these murders (vv. 3163-3167). As the poet will have his audience know, even great barons must submit to the law which must be satisfied. But again, the God of the New Testament is merciful, and so, when the congregation reaches the children's chambers, they find them alive and well, playing with a golden apple: a second miracle.

After a description of the appropriate celebrations of joy and thanksgiving, the scene shifts to Blayes where Ami goes to see his son and take back his city from Lubias. Before venturing to meet his wife, Ami prudently decides to find lodgings in the house of a bourgeois, Gautier, to learn about the state of affairs currently obtaining:

> Li cuens Amis, cui Dex gart d'encombrier,
> Ne volt monter en son palais plenier,
> Ainz volt moult bien enquerre et encerchier
> De Lubias qui ja fu sa moilliers
> Com se contient, s'elle fait a prisier,
> S'elle fait moult por son mari proier;
> Et de Girart son fil qu'il a tant chier
> Voldra avant moult tres bien encerchier,
> S'il est preus d'armes contre autre chevalier.
>
> (vv. 3302-3310)

But the news of Ami's return spreads through the city, and all the barons, knights, clerks and priests flock to Gautier's house to see him. Much surprized, Lubias decides that she will also learn if the rumor is true. When she sees her lord husband fully restored, the submissive Lubias (much unlike the harsh wife of Ami the leper), says:

> "Ami, biaus frere, le mien cors voz presant
> Conme la toie por faire ton talant.
>
> (vv. 3433-3434)

Not fooled by this rather gratuitous offer, Ami exiles Lubias to the very hovel which she had so begrudgingly given him to live in when he was sick. Once more, by not recording Lubias' reaction to this sentence, the poet can be seen to be affirming the principle that all women, even high-born ladies, should not pretend to anything more than that which their men-folk deign give them.

However, Lubias' acquiescence serves her well for, after eight days, Ami brings about a third miracle and pardons his wife (vv. 3456-3457). This would not have been possible if the poet depicted Lubias still in-

tent on competing with her husband. Ami also could not have been shown exercizing Christian charity and proving to all that he was made of better stuff than the vindictive Lubias and her kin. The world of Ami and Amile set aright, the poet concludes his story by having the two friends leave their families once more in order to perform greater duties. After Amile names Belissant the regent of Riviers for their two sons, and after Ami confers Blayes on his only heir Girart, the two friends decide to go off on a pilgrimage — not a crusade — to the Holy Sepulchre to receive God's blessing (v. 3479).

The poet is explicit that they reached the Holy Land without effort ("La mer passerent au vent sans aviron," v. 3482), and that they also returned from there without any impediment ("Puis s'en retornent arriere sans tanson," v. 3486). Obviously, there is no note of discord — no war against the Infidel — in these verses which describe rather a special, mystical voyage of the two who:

> Jusqu'au Sepulcre n'i font arrestison,
> La sainte Crois, ou souffri passion
> Jhesus li Sires, baisierent a bandon,

> (vv. 3482-3485)

Having scaled these spiritual heights, the two pilgrims have completed their tasks in this world, and so, before they may reach their earthly homes, the poet reports:

> Quant li baron orent la mer passee,
> Par Lombardie ont lor voie tornee,
> Retorner voldrent arriere en lor contree.
> Parmi Mortiers ont lor voie tornee,
> La lor prinst maus par bonne destinee.
> Ileuc transsirent, c'est veritéz prouvee.

> (vv. 3491-3496)

The mood conveyed by these last verses is clearly one of intense spiritual peace. This may be a clerical ideal but scarcely an ideal supported by a warrior-class, ready to die in battle for God.[11] Such a con-

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[11] Cf. Crosland, p. 223: "It is interesting to compare with this [*Vita Amici et Amelii Carissimorum*] the poetic version... represented by the Old French epic poem *Amis et Amiles*, which occupies in many ways a middle position between the two Latin versions [Radulphus Tortarius' work being the other] and illustrates in an illuminating manner the difference between the treatment of a subject by the monks and the 'jongleurs'." Also Cf. p. 228: "We have lingered over the *Amis Amiles* partly...because it is a good example of the way in which a popular story could be pressed into the epic mould, so that not only its form but its character also could be worked into the accepted pattern."

Against this, one could place the caution expressed by H. R. Jauss during a discussion on the close ties which exist between the hagiographic writings and the epics: "On devrait tenir compte du fait que chaque genre a aussi un sujet caractéristique et en même temps une manière particulière de concevoir et représenter ce sujet dans le développement même de l'action. Au moment où l'on fait entrer dans la forme d'un genre un autre sujet, ... à ce moment là des transformations s'opèrent...' (H. R. Jauss, *Studia Romanica*, 4 (1963), 54).

clusion for a heroic poem, a *chanson de geste*, could be considered somewhat defective. As an ending for an *exemplum*,[12] a moral tale about pious (not virtuous, i. e., physically puissant) heroes, which is what this story is, these concluding verses are worthy indeed of their composer who says:

> Ici sera la chansons definee
> Des douz barons qui a esté chantee.
> Ce est d'Amile a la chiere membree,
> D'Ami le conte, qui ot renommee
> Que touz jors mais noz sera ramembree
> Jusqu'en la fin dou monde.

<div align="right">(vv. 3499-3504)</div>

Briefly stated then, these reflections have endeavored to examine the quality of this traditionally labelled *chanson de geste, Ami et Amile*. It would seem patently clear that the two friends simply do not register as great warriors, given to epic excesses and failings. It has been seen that the poet's description of their activity in battle is confined to some six verses of identical phraseology. On the other hand, the progress of the two exemplars from a naive youth to a prudent maturity is much more interesting and in fact takes up more than half of the poem. Their souls are tempered by living in this valley of tears, as it were, and it is by a righteous observance of law that they are able to attain God's Grace. In the last verses of the poem, the author states that a chanson has been sung about two barons. The object here has been to suggest that this lofty song is not necessarily a *chanson de geste* but rather a *Te Deum* which will not be forgotten until the end of the Christian world.

Mercy College, Dobbs Ferry, N. Y.

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[12] Cf. the *Compte Rendu* of Calin's book *The Epic Quest* by J. Williamson: *"Amis et Amiles* contient aussi un aspect réaliste dans le détail descriptif, mais il s'agit dans ce poème d'un monde religieux." (J. Williamson, *Studi Francesi*, 32 (1967), 322).

AN EARLY IRISH ADAM AND EVE:
SALTAIR NA RANN AND THE TRADITIONS OF THE FALL*

Brian Murdoch

T HE story of the Fall of Man as it is related in the biblical Genesis is laconic in the extreme, and in view of this, attempts have been made from an early stage to expand and to clarify the received narrative. The process begins in canonical and apocryphal Jewish writing, is continued to a certain extent in the New Testament, and developed more fully in Jewish and Christian apocryphal and pseudepigraphic works, then in theological commentary throughout the Middle Ages and beyond. The story of the Fall has exercised too a strong influence over man's poetic imagination, and the various ramifications of the original story are reflected in numerous medieval and post-medieval literary works in Greek, Latin and the vernacular languages of Europe. Watson Kirkconnell, in a list which is restricted with very few exceptions to dramatic and poetic monuments and which is, moreover, far from complete, notes some two hundred and fifty pre-Miltonic treatments of the theme.[1] The Early Middle Irish poem known as *Saltair na Rann* — the 'Psalter of Quatrains' — devotes its first twelve sections, 2388 lines, to a description of the Creation, the Fall, and the postlapsarian life of Adam and Eve. This is considerably more extensive than the biblical text, and the late tenth century Irish work is of interest as one of the earlier extant vernacular treatments of the theme. It is a work, moreover, which deserves to be better known, particularly outside Irish studies proper. *Saltair na Rann* is rarely mentioned in comparative studies on the Genesis tradition, whether they are thematic investigations of particular motifs,[2] or whether they are of a more specifically literary nature. Thus J. M. Evans, in a recent study of Milton's work in the light of the traditions of the Fall, speaks with

[1] *The Celestial Cycle* (Toronto, 1952), pp. 483-636.

[2] As for example Esther Casier Quinn, *The Quest of Seth for the Oil of Life* (Chicago, 1962).

justifiable enthusiasm of the Old Saxon/ Anglo-Saxon *Genesis B* as a work which stands out amongst its contemporaries on account of the imagination with which the poet treats his subject. *Genesis B* "owes little or nothing to the writings of the 'accepted authorities,' and it makes substantial and far-reaching changes in the story's plot and characterisation."[3] *Genesis B* is admittedly an earlier work than *Saltair na Rann*, but the latter was written well before the next group of works which Evans considers — works such as the Middle English *Cursor Mundi*. A comparison between *Genesis B* and the Irish work might well have been a profitable one.

The purpose of the present paper is twofold. It seeks first to examine the Fall as it is presented in *Saltair na Rann*, considering in particular the extra-biblical motifs which the poet employs, with regard to parallels and potential sources in other writings. Secondly, its aim is to establish as far as possible the literary value of the work: little-known as it is, *Saltair na Rann* deserves in its treatment of the Fall to be ranked with acknowledgedly impressive medieval versions of the same theme, such as *Genesis B*. As far as the literary appreciation of the work is concerned, very little has been written on *Saltair na Rann*. On the question of sources and parallels a certain amount has been published already, but even this research has not been extensive, nor is it always objective.

Saltair na Rann is made up of one hundred and fifty sections, in imitation of the number of the Psalms, and giving the work its name. Twelve extra sections are composed in quatrains, and the entire work — exclusive of the extra cantos — totals some 7788 lines. The poem deals, in addition to the Fall, with later Old Testament history and with the life of Christ. *Saltair na Rann* was written between 985 and 990 and its authorship is unknown, although an ascription to the ninth century poet Oengus the Céle Dé is false. It was perhaps written, so several scholars now believe, by a certain Airbertach Mac Cosse Dobráin, a monk of Ros Ailithir, now Roscarberry in the South West of County Cork. Airbertach died in 1016, and is known to have written on other Old Testament subjects.[5]

Although there are a number of partial manuscripts of the text, there is only one complete version, MS. Rawlinson B 502 in the Bodleian

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[3] *"Paradise Lost" and the Genesis Tradition* (Oxford, 1968), p. 152. Evans does not mention *Saltair na Rann* in his study at all.

[4] See St John D. Seymour, "The Signs of Doomsday in the *Saltair na Rann*," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 36 (1921-4) C, 154-63.

[5] On the date and authorship, see Gearóid S. Mac Eóin, "The Date and Authorship of *Saltair na Rann*," *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 28 (1960-1), 51-67 and David Greene, "The Religious Epic," in: *Early Irish Poetry*, ed. James Carney (Cork, 1965), 78f. Greene also comments on the false ascription to Oengus.

Library at Oxford, and it was from this MS. that Whitley Stokes made
the sole edition of the poem in 1883.[6] To the misfortune of the com-
parativist there is still no complete translation of the work, nor even of
the portion of the poem dealing with the Fall. This appears to be due in
part to the difficulty of the language,[7] and it certainly accounts in its
turn for the fact that the work is relatively unfamiliar. Some of the
relevant portion was translated in 1912 in Eleanor Hull's *Poem-Book of
the Gael*,[8] and certain quatrains have found their way into other an-
thologies.[9] There is a resumé of the entire Fall-section, however, in an
article by St John D. Seymour, to which fuller reference will be made
later.[10] Judgements of the poetic value of the work, then, must of
necessity be restricted to those sections translated by Hull. It might of
course be argued that one cannot make judgements of this sort from an
(imperfect) translation, but better this than nothing at all. For purely
thematic investigation, things are somewhat simpler. In addition to
Seymour's resumé, there are a number of close analogues of *Saltair na
Rann* in Old Irish, and these may be drawn into account. Thus a prose
version of the Fall which tallies closely with that of *Saltair na Rann* is
found in the *Lebor brec*, one of the major collective manuscripts of early
Irish, and this has been translated and edited.[11] An Irish narrative of the
penance of Adam and Eve, corresponding with a part of our poem has
also been edited and translated from a MS. in the Advocates Library in
Edinburgh.[12] Other prose renderings of material found in *Saltair na
Rann* — not all of it relevant to the study of the Fall, however — are
found in the *Yellow Book of Lecan*, the *Book of Ballymote*, the *Book of Uí
Maine*, the *Liber Flavus Fergusiorum* and the Brehon Laws, but these are
without readily available translations.[13]

It was recognised at an early stage that many of the additional
motifs concerned with the Fall in the poem bear close resemblance to
ideas encountered in the early apocrypha of the Old Testament, and in

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[6] *"Saltair na Rann,"* a *Collection of Early Middle Irish Poems* (Oxford, 1883). For the MS. see the fac-
simile ed. of Kuno Meyer, *Rawlinson B. 502* (Oxford, 1909), pp. 25-68, with a description on p. iv.

[7] Thus the translator, Eleanor Hull, in *The Poem-Book of the Gael* (London, 1912), p. 2. Hull com-
plains of the lack of other MSS. with which the text might be compared. In 1912, of course, the
catalogues of MSS. belonging to the Royal Irish Academy had not yet been prepared.

[8] Pp. 1-50.

[9] *A Golden Treasury of Irish Poetry AD 600 to 1200*, ed., trans. David Greene and Frank O'Connor
(London, 1967), pp. 115-122.

[10] "The Book of Adam and Eve in Ireland," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 36 (1921/4) C,
121-33. The resumé is on pp. 121-4.

[11] B. MacCarthy, *The Codex Palatino-Vaticanus n° 830* (Dublin, 1892), pp. 37-90.

[12] Alan O. Anderson, "*Pennaid Adaim*, 'The Penance of Adam,' " *Revue Celtique* 24 (1903), 243-53.

[13] For details, see Eleanor Knott, "An Index to the Proper Names in *Saltair na Rann*," *Ériu* 16
(1952), 99-122, and Myles Dillon, "Scel Saltrach na Rann," *Celtica* 4 (1958), 1-43.

particular in the Judaeo-Christian apocrypha which go under the generic head of 'The Books of Adam and Eve.'[14] Whitley Stokes drew attention in the introduction to his edition (p. ii) to the close connexion between sections XI and XII of *Saltair na Rann* — Adam and Eve after the expulsion from Paradise — and the Latin *Vita Adae et Evae*, a Genesis apocryphon well-known throughout the Middle Ages.[15] Three years later, George Stokes, in a study of Irish ecclesiastical history, noticed similarities between the Irish poem and an Ethiopian text known variously as 'The Book of Adam and Eve' or as 'The Conflict of Adam and Eve,' a translation of which had at that time just appeared.[16] George Stokes was aware of the implications of this connexion, although the parallels between the Irish and the Ethiopian works are not quite as close as he considered them to be.

The relationship with the apocryphal legends of Adam and Eve was investigated more fully in 1922, however, when St John Seymour read before the Royal Irish Academy his paper on "The Book of Adam and Eve in Ireland." Seymour affirmed the similarities between *Saltair na Rann* and the *Vita Adae et Evae*, but considered that the influence of the latter was not restricted to sections XI and XII only of the Irish text, but extended over the entire narrative of the Fall. But Seymour drew attention too to a number of motifs present in *Saltair na Rann* which, while they are not found in the *Vita* are found, however in a text that is closely related to it, the possibly earlier apocryphon known as the *Apocalypse of Moses*, which has been preserved in Greek.[17] As a result, Seymour concluded that "the writer of *S[altair na Rann]* had before him both *A[pocalypse of Moses]* and *V[ita Adae et Evae]*, the former possibly in a Latin form ... [he] made use of one or the other, as it suited his needs and fancy."[18] Seymour was aware though that there are differences between *Saltair na Rann* and these apocrypha both in form and in matter. Extra-biblical motifs are there in the Irish work which occur in neither of the two Adambooks. In examining some of these motifs, Seymour pointed to similarities between the Irish work and the writings

[14] For a list of these texts, which are discussed in detail below, see F. Stegmüller, *Repertorium biblicum medii aevi*, 1 (Madrid, 1940-61), 26-35.

[15] See M. L. W. Laistner, *Thought and Letters in Western Europe A. D. 500-900*, 2nd ed. (London, 1957), p. 305. The edition of the *Vita Adae et Evae* most commonly used in that of Wilhelm Meyer in the *Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, philos.-philolog. Cl. 14/iii, (Munich, 1878), 185-250.

[16] *Ireland and the Celtic Church* (London, 1886), p. 216, n. 1. The translation of the Ethiopian work referred to is that of S. C. Malan, *The Book of Adam and Eve* (London, 1882).

[17] There is a translation of this apocryphon, by L. S. A. Wells together with one of the *Vita* in R. H. Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, 2 (Oxford, 1913), pp. 123-53.

[18] "Book of Adam," p. 131f.

of Rabbinic Judaism, other oriental apocrypha, and even Islamic tradition. He considered, finally, that there were certain points that betrayed an expressly Irish imagination. In the latter point he echoed the conclusions of two eminent earlier literary historians, Eleanor Hull[19] and Douglas Hyde,[20] both of whom describe the work as blending traditional material with some peculiarly Irish touches. This view still obtains, and *Saltair na Rann* has recently been described as being "full of native colour, which gives the Bible narrative an unmistakably Irish touch ..."[21]

Seymour's study did not cover the entire treatment of the Fall. Indeed, on occasion that critic chose to examine in themselves trivial details, and in doing so, he failed to look at the overall effect of the description of the Fall in the work.

The researcher dealing with a theme as ramified as that of the Fall of Man must of course be prepared to cast his net wide, both in the search for potential sources, and in the matter of relevant literary analogues. As far as the former is concerned, it is apparent that the Adambooks are of prime importance. These apocrypha are extremely diversified. The basic collection of legends from which they stem seem to be of Jewish origin,[22] although the extant forms are predominantly Christian. They fall into a number of separate groups.[23] The earliest is represented by the Greek text referred to already, the *Apocalypse of Moses*, dating perhaps from the first century of our era. Its closest relative is the Latin *Vita*, thought to date from about the fourth century. The two texts are identical in parts, but there are motifs in each which are not found in the other. The *Vita* was perhaps the best known of the Adambooks in medieval Europe, and there are translations into Armenian, Old Church Slavonic, down to a version in Early New High German: there are Middle English translations and adaptions of the work, and it exerted an influence on other works in Middle High German and Middle English — the *Cursor Mundi* is an example of this.[24] It is worth mentioning briefly the recent editorial history of the *Vita*, however. It was edited in 1879 by Wilhelm Meyer in a form based on MSS primarily in Munich, with a version appended from a Paris MS. of the ninth century, the latter one of the oldest surviving texts of the work. Some fifty years latter the work was re-edited from MSS in England, and J. H. Mozley,

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[19] *A Textbook of Irish Literature*, 1 (Dublin and London, 1906), 162f.

[20] *A Literary History of Ireland* (London, 1899), p. 418.

[21] Greene, "Religious Epic", p. 80.

[22] L. G[inzberg], "Book of Adam", in: *The Jewish Encyclopaedia*, 1 (New York, 1901-6), 179f.

[23] A useful summary is that of F. R. Tennant, *The Sources of the Doctrines of the Fall and Original Sin* (Cambridge, 1903), pp. 195-203.

[24] On the various recensions, see Meyer's edition, pp. 209-20.

the new editor, pointed to a number of small but revealing differences between his version and Meyer's text.[25] This illustrates the fact that there is no established text of the *Vita Adae et Evae*, and a work as well-known as this was will of course have undergone innumerable small changes from MS. to MS. These variants, small though they may be of themselves, will be reflected perhaps in the vernacular works based on the text. The publication of Mozley's version was instrumental, in fact, in clearing up what had hitherto been thought of as 'problematic readings' in some of the Middle English adaptions.[26]

A second group of Adambooks has at its head the Ethiopian version already mentioned, and there are analogues elsewhere in Ethiopian writings, as well as in Arabic.[27] A third group is represented by a Syriac text known as *"The Book of the Cave of Treasures,"* which once again has Ethiopian and Arabic recensions.[28] There are also minor Adambooks which fall outside this group, and there are records of further versions which have not been preserved.[29] In speaking of motifs common to this whole corpus of Fall-mythology it is convenient to retain the general term 'Adambook.' Otherwise the different texts have to be specified.

In outline, the versions are similar. They take up the story of the Fall after the expulsion, recording the life of Adam and Eve and the hardships experienced by them, down to Adam's death. Many describe a penance carried out by the pair. Frequently there is a retrospective version of the Fall as it is narrated in Genesis, although with embellishments, and in some versions the devil continues to attack the fallen pair. The Adambooks tell too of the children — Cain, Abel, and especially Seth, with whom in some texts Eve returns to Paradise to obtain for the dying Adam the 'oil of mercy.' The specifically Christian versions of the legends often have a promise of the Redemption at this point, and some later Christian texts of the *Vita* in particular show an overlapping with the legends of the Holy Rood.

Some of these originally Jewish legends pass back from Christian writings into later Jewish texts, such as the eighth century *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer*.[30] They pass too into Islamic tradition, and into the gnostic

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[25] J. H. Mozley, "The *Vita Adae*", *Journal of Theological Studies*, 30 (1929), 121-49.

[26] A. C. Dunstan, "The Middle English *Canticum de Creatione* and the Latin *Vita Adae et Evae*", *Anglia*, 55 (NF 43) (1931), 431-42.

[27] See for example the *Hexameron* of Pseudo-Epiphanius, ed., trans. Ernst Trumpp, *Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, philos.-philolog. Cl. 16/ii (Munich, 1882).

[28] E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Book of the Cave of Treasures* (London, 1927). An Arabic recension to which reference will be made is the so-called *Kitab al-magall*, the '*Book of the Rolls*', trans. Margaret Dunlop Gibson, *Apocrypha Arabica* (London, 1901), pp. 1-58.

[29] Montague Rhodes James, *The Lost Apocrypha of the Old Testament* (London, 1920), pp. 1-8.

[30] Trans. Gerald Friedlander (London, 1916).

literatures.[31] As far as *Saltair na Rann* is concerned, then, these legends are an important potential source. Seymour's assumption that the *Vita Adae et Evae* served as one direct source of the poem is likely to be correct, although not perhaps to the extent that Seymour thought. But it is well to keep in mind the essential difference between the Adambooks and the Irish work. As Seymour was himself aware, *Saltair na Rann* treats the Fall according to the biblical chronology, where the Adambooks do not.[32] The account of the first Fall in the Adambooks is invariably retrospective, and the starting point is the expulsion.

In investigating the extra-biblical motifs in the poem, account must be taken, of course, of the score of commentaries on Genesis printed in Migne's *Patrologia Latina* which antedate the Irish work.[33] Here, however, the value of the comparison will often be negative. J. M. Evans describes how in the ninth century (and we can extend it to the late tenth) there obtained for the story of the Fall "an unbroken exegetical tradition which consisted of little more than various permutations of Augustinian ideas."[34] This is indeed the case, and I have demonstrated elsewhere how this standard exegesis can affect a vernacular work.[35] But as Evans points out, there are later commentaries on Genesis which were concerned not only with Augustinian theology, but with the story of the Fall as a story. Evans cites as an example Alcuin's *Interrogationes et responsiones in Genesis* (PL 100. 515ff.), and he sees the comments of the interrogator, Sigewulf as having more in common with Rabbinic legend, with *haggadah*, than with Augustinian exegesis. The questions betray a "typical Germanic reaction" to the received story, and the Anglo-Saxon/Old Saxon *Genesis B*, which also shows little of the standard exegesis "attempted to provide typical Germanic answers."[36] It will be fruitful to consider *Saltait na Rann* in a similar light when we have compared it with the exegesis of the Western Church.

There are, of course, poetical versions of the Fall in Latin which antedate *Saltair na Rann* — one thinks of the lenghty poem on the Creation by the sixth-century bishop Avitus of Vienne, for example. In the ver-

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[31] For a particular example, see Brian Murdoch, "The Garments of Paradise: a Note on the *Wiener Genesis* and the *Anegenge*," *Euphorion* 61 (1967), 376, n. 15. Reference is made there both to the *Qur'an* and to the Mandaean *Ginza*.

[32] "Book of Adam," p. 131.

[33] Including writings by Ambrose, Augustine, Gregory the Great (via Paterius), Isidore, Bede and the Pseudo-Bedan writings, Alcuin, Rabanus Maurus, Remigius of Auxerre, Angelomus of Luxeuil, Wigbod.

[34] *"Paradise Lost,"* p. 152.

[35] "Garments of Paradise." See also Brian Murdoch, *The Fall of Man in the Early Middle High German Biblical Epic*, (diss. Cambridge, 1968), *passim*.

[36] Evans, *"Paradise Lost,"* p. 156.

nacular, the Anglo-Saxon works *Genesis A* and *B* were written well
before the Irish poem, and there are German versions at no great a tem-
poral remove. Comparison with all these will throw light on the
originality or universality of a given motif.

The eighth section of *Saltair na Rann* was described by Seymour as
deriving from the *Apocalypse of Moses*, from the passage where Eve looks
back at the first Fall; but he was aware of a number of points in which
the Irish work differed from the apocryphon.[37] The description of the
events leading up to the Fall in *Saltair na Rann* is considerably longer
than that of the *Apocalypse of Moses*, however, and contains a number of
interesting motifs that are rarely encountered elsewhere.

Of particular interest is a scene preliminary to the Fall proper, in
which Lucifer persuades the serpent to become his accomplice in the
deed. The passage is an extended one, and is not without some literary
merit within the framework of the narrative as a whole. The temptation
is carried out, incidentally, by Lucifer himself. He is not bound "in
adamantine chains" and forced therefore to send a deputy, as is the case
in *Genesis B* and certain other vernacular texts down to Milton.[38] We are
not told why Lucifer selects the serpent for his purposes, but it is ap-
parent from what follows that the serpent is conceived of as a creature
of beauty and intelligence, rather than as one of suitable ugliness. This
is a Rabbinic and oriental Christian conclusion, rather than a Western
one. The Fathers of the Western Church lay great emphasis on the ser-
pent's basically evil nature. Augustine's comment is typical of many:

> animal scilicet lubricum et tortuosis anfractibus mobile, operi suum
> congruum, per quem loqueretur, [superbus ille angelus] elegit.[39]

This attitude is reflected in works such as the Early Middle High German
Vienna Genesis, in which snakes are seen as potentially evil even before
the Fall, and the same attitude of hostility to the snake is encountered in
Latin poetical versions of the theme such as those of Avitus, Cyprian of
Gaul and Marius Victor.[40] *Saltair na Rann* does not see the serpent as

[37] "Book of Adam," p. 125.

[38] See Brian Murdoch, "The Fall of Man: a Middle High German Analogue of *Genesis B*," *Review of English Studies*, NS 19 (1968), 288f., with reference to further literature on the theme of the 'diabolical council.'

[39] *De civitate Dei* xiv, 11 (*Corpus Christianorum, series Latina* > CCSL 48, 432, 63f.) See the following exegetes: Ambrose (*Patrologia Latina* > PL 16, 1143f.); Epiphanius (PL 41. 642f.); Cassian (*Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* > CSEL 13, 226, 1ff.); Gregory (PL 76. 191); Paterius (PL 79. 694); Angelomus (PL 115. 136); Honorius of Autun (PL 172. 1119).

[40] Cyprian of Gaul (CSEL 23, 4, 72ff.); Marius Victor (CCSL 128, 142, 395ff.). Avitus' *Poemata* have been edited by Rudolf Peiper in the series *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* auct. ant. VI/ii, 197-294 (Hanover, 1883). For this point, see II, 119-35, p. 215f. For other poetical versions, see Dracontius (PL 60. 735ff.); Rusticus Helpidius (PL 62. 543), and the later (Pseudo-)Hildebert of Le Mans (PL 171. 1224).

obviously and eminently suitable for the temptation. Indeed, Lucifer appears to take some time finding the serpent:

> Lucifer, many his clear questions,
> went amongst the animals,
> amongst the herds outside Paradise
> until he found the serpent.[41]

There appears to be a parallel with this notion in the writings of the Eastern Christian Church. It is not encountered in the Adambooks. The Ethiopian Fathers, however, dwell upon the devil's excursions amongst the animals, trying to persuade one of them to assist him.[42] The idea is preserved too in Islamic legend, where the devil tries the peacock, and then the serpent as an equally beautiful creature.[43] The beauty and intelligence of the serpent is stressed in the earliest Jewish *haggadah*, and in the writings of the Eastern Church,[44] and it is to this that Lucifer appeals in *Saltair na Rann*:

> "It is not useless (*i.e.* unworthy of you) thy being outside?"
> said the Devil to the serpent;
> with thy dexterous cunning,
> with thy cleverness, with thy subtlety?

> Great was the danger and the wickedness
> that Adam should have been ordained over thee;
> the downfall of him, the youngest of created things,
> and his destruction, would be no crime to us.

> Since thou art more renowned in warfare,
> first of the twain thou wast created,
> thou art more cunning, more agreeable in every way (?)
> do not submit to the younger!

> Take my advice without shrinking,
> let us make an alliance and friendship ..."[45]

There are references later to the serpent's "fair body."

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[41] Hull, *Poem-Book*, p. 23. The Irish text which follows, is cited from Whitley Stokes' edition without alteration as to word-division etc. For assistance with the Irish text I am indebted to my former pupil in the German Department of the University of Glasgow, Mr Duncan Maclaren.
> Lucifer, lin cest ṅglanna
> luid im-mesc nan-anmanna,
> 'sintsluag friPardus im-maich,
> conid ann fuair innathraig. (VIII, 1133ff., Stokes, p. 17)

[42] See Budge, *Cave of Treasures*, p. 65f.

[43] See G. Weil, *Biblische Legenden der Muselmänner* (Frankfurt/Main, 1845), pp. 7-10.

[44] For the Jewish views, see Louis Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, I (Philadelphia, 1913-38), 71f., 5, 94f., I, 78, 5, 101 and 123f.

[45] Hull, *Poem-Book*, p. 23
> "Nirbdimmain dobith im-maich,"

The notion of a positive alliance is found in some of the Adambooks, although not in the *Vita Adae et Evae*: it is there in rudimentary form in the *Apocalypse of Moses*, and in one of the Armenian Adambooks,[46] but it is not found in other vernacular treatments of the Fall. The extent of the passage is interesting. The praise of the serpent's cunning is closer to the biblical original, in fact, than to many interpretations of the narrative: Fathers both of the Greek and of the Latin Church see the serpent merely as an instument of the devil, a more or less expendable part of the story, to be kept in for traditional reasons only. The creature is seen in this fashion by the apologist Theophilus of Antioch,[47] and Augustine's comment is again typical:

> quid ergo mirum, si suo instinctu diabolus jam inplens serpentem eique suum spiritum miscens eo more, quo vates daemoniorum inpleri solent, sapientissimum eum reddiderat omnium bestiarum secundum animam vivam inrationalemque viventium?[48]

The serpent of *Saltair na Rann* has a rôle far more positive than this: he is a character, and not an instrument.

As a literary motif within the poem, the passage is effective: the devil builds upon pure flattery of the creature's cleverness and beauty, bringing in the addition a point that the serpent is, after all, older than Adam. This pre-echoes two later passages in the work, first the temp-

> arDiabul frisinnathraig,
> "arthuaichle tricce, delm ńgle,
> ardoglicce, arth'amainse.
>
> "Bamor inguassacht, sincol
> Adam huassot d'ordnigod:
> ossar nanduli methlad,
> nibadchin duini amandrad.
>
> "Orat noisichu *fri*cath,
> toisechu rothuistiged,
> atgliccu asaimdil ce*ch*ruth,
> nachat[t]airbir fondossor.
> "Gaib mochomarle cenchess,
> denamm cotach iscarddes ..." (VIII, 1137ff., Stokes, p. 17)

[46] For the *Apocalypse of Moses*, see Charles, *Apocrypha* II, 145 (*Apocalypse* xvi, 1-5). The Armenian Adambooks have been translated into German by Erwin Preuschen in the *Festgruss für Bernhard Stade* (Giessen, 1900) as "Die apokryphen gnostischen Adamsschriften," pp. 163-252. For this point, see pp. 173f., and 190.

[47] *To Autolycus* II, 28: see the French translation by Jean Sender and the edition of Gustave Bardy in the *Sources Chrétiennes* 20 (Paris, 1948), p. 196f.

[48] *De Genesi ad litteram* xi, 2 (CSEL 28/iii/2, 336, 8ff.), quoted or echoed by Bede, Pseudo-Bede, Alcuin, Rabanus, Wigbod, Claude of Turin, Angelomus, Remigius of Auxerre, the *Glossa Ordinaria* and a number of early scholastic sentence-collections. See Murdoch, *Fall of Man in Early Middle High German*, p. 26, n. 1.

tation of Eve with a similar flattery, secondly a passage based fairly
clearly on the *Vita* in which the devil tells Adam of how *he* had refused
to bow down to God's later creation, and had fallen because of it.

But the relationship between the flattery of the serpent and the flat-
tery of Eve is not a straightforward one. The serpent is considerably less
gullible than Eve, and this brings to light another motif, which Seymour
does not discuss, and which is extremely rare. The serpent's answer to
the devil's proposition shows a striking difference between *Saltair na
Rann* and the *Apocalypse of Moses*. In the latter, the serpent is at first wary
of joining the plot, as he is afraid of the anger of God; only when the
devil persuades him that *he* will do the talking, does he agree to act as
the devil's vehicle.[49]
The serpent is a far less pusillanimous character in the Irish work:

> "What reward is there for me above every great one?"
> said the serpent to the devil;
> "on my welcoming thee into my fair body,
> without evil, as my fellow-inhabitant?"

To this the devil replies:

> "What greater reward shall I give to thee
> according to the measure of our great crime
> (than that) our union in our habits, in our wrath,
> shall be for ever spoken of?"[50]

One can but marvel at the psychology. The serpent is guaranteed a place
in history if he acts as the devil's partner-in-crime. The source is un-
clear. The notion may be the poet's own, but its essentially haggadic
flavour suggests an oriental source of some sort: it is not inconceivable
that this entire section rests upon a (lost) apocrypha of oriental
provenance. Whatever the source, however, the poet's choice of the
motif is a happy one, and the appeal is a great for us as it must have
been for the poet.

The persuasion of the serpent to participate in the Fall is, however, a
fairly well circumscribed section of the poem. For the poet now tells us
that the devil *changed himself into* a serpent:

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[49] *Apocalypse* xvi 5, Charles, *Apocrypha* II, 145.
[50] Hull, *Poem-Book*, p. 24f.
        "Cialuag nomtha fiadca*ch*thur,"
        arinnathir fr*i*Diabul,
        "artailti duit im'churp chain
        cenna[ch]locht dom'chomaittreib? (VIII, 1165ff., Stokes, p. 17)

        "Caluag ismo dob*er* duit
        feib ata meit armorhuilcc,
        arn-óentu iarṁbes, iarṁbruth,
        bid dog*res* arn-anmnigud." (VIII, 1173ff., Stokes, p. 17f.)

in the likeness of the serpent's shape
slowly he went tarrying
directly to the gate of Paradise.[51]

This view is of course a commonplace; the devil does this in *Genesis B* and in the Middle High German *Anegenge*. Elsewhere he enters the body of the creature — in the *Vienna Genesis*, for example. In point of fact, both views are represented in *Saltair na Rann*, as is clear from the serpent's remarks about 'welcoming the devil into his body'. Even this ambiguity is not unique, as both views are found too in the *Anegenge*. Seymour himself comments on the commonplace nature of both ideas.[52]

While persuading the serpent, the devil voices the definite opinion that Eve should be approached rather than Adam:

> listen to my clear reasoning:
> do not go forth to Adam.
>
> 'Give me a place in thy body,
> with my own laws, with my own intellect,
> so that we both may go from the plain
> unexpectedly to Eve".[53]

It is once again a medieval commonplace that the woman is the weaker of the two, the most easily tempted. Augustine says of the devil:

> sermocinatus est feminae, a parte scilicet inferiore illius humanae copulae incipiens, ut gradatim perveniret ad totum, non existimans virum facile credulum nec errando posse decipi, sed dum alieno cedit errori.[54]

The idea of a gradual overcoming of the human pair is found too in

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[51] Hull, *Poem-Book*, p. 25. Hull notes (p. 25, n. 2) that "tarrying" may be read as "steadily."
　　　　　rosamlai indelb nanatrach,
　　　　　isfóil dodeochaid frifoss
　　　　　iarcoir Parduis dondoros. (VIII, 1178ff., Stokes, p. 18)
[52] "Book of Adam," p. 127f.
[53] Hull, *Poem-Book*, p. 24.
　　　　　"coiste fadein frim'cheil ṅglain,
　　　　　ass náteig dochum nAdaim.
　
　　　　　"Tabair dam inad it'churp
　　　　　iarmogliged, iarm'intliucht,
　　　　　*con*dechsam fogrís iarṁbla
　　　　　arndís adochom nÉuá." (VIII, 1151ff., Stokes, p. 17).
　　　　　The Irish text of the stanza following this reads as follows:
　
　　　　　"Aura[i]lem fuirri 'malle
　　　　　torud incrainn aurgairthi,
　　　　　coroheralasi coglan
　　　　　iarum inṁbaid forAdam." (VIII, 1157ff., Stokes, p. 17)
[54] *De civitate Dei* xiv, 11 (CCSL 48, 432, 67ff.).

Saltair na Rann. In the quatrain following immediately upon the ones quoted above, the devil says:

> "Let us together urge upon her
> the fruit of the forbidden tree,
> that she afterwards may clearly
> press the food upon Adam".

The poet does not expatiate, however, on the devil's fear of a repulse from Adam, again a commonplace, and one which is made concrete in *Genesis B* and in the Anglo-Norman mystery play *Mystère d'Adam* in the late twelfth century, where the serpent *is* first repulsed by Adam.[55]

The portrayal of the temptation of Eve in *Saltair na Rann* is marked by a realism that is once again uncommon. Erich Auerbach's study of the same theme in the *Mystère d'Adam* describes the Fall in the following terms. "Adam talks and acts in a manner any member of the audience is accustomed to from his own or his neighbor's house; things would go exactly the same way in any townsman's home or on any farm where an upright but not very brilliant husband was tempted into a foolish and fateful act by his vain and ambitious wife who had been deceived by an unscrupulous swindler".[56] The Eve of the Irish poem tallies with this description, even if we are unable, through lack of a complete translation, to judge the character of Adam. It must be remembered, however, that the *Mystère d'Adam* is a dramatic work (and a later one at that), plainly intended for a large lay audience.

The devil has a disguise, but he is still outside Paradise. He calls Eve to talk with him, but she protests at first that she is too busy to do so:

> "I have no time to talk with anyone",
> said Eve to the serpent;
> "I am going out to feed
> the senseless animals".[57]

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[55] *Genesis B* 495-521, ed. Otto Behaghel, *Heliand und Genesis*, 8th ed. by Walther Mitzka (Tübingen, 1965), p. 221f. *Mystère d'Adam* 113-173, ed. Paul Studer (Manchester, 1918), pp. 7-10.

[56] Erich Auerbach, *Mimesis*, trans. Willard Trask (New York, 1957), p. 131.

[57] Hull, *Poem-Book*, p. 26f. The entire temptation of Eve discussed here is found on pp. 26-30. The relevant quatrains of the Irish text are as follows:

> "Nimhuain fricallaim neich,"
> arEua frisinnathraig:
> "ítu icfrithalim im-mach
> nan-anmanna n-indligtech."
>
> "Massathú indEua roclos
> coclú frifeba hiPardos,
> ben Adaim alainn nadchres,
> furri alim molanles."
>
> "INtan nadbi Adam hifos
> isme chometas Phardos,

But the devil continues with the flattery that marked his opening comments — "O Eve of the fair form" — and appeals once again to beauty and brains:

> "If you are the Eve whose fame was heard
> with honour in Paradise,
> wife of Adam, beautiful, wide-minded,
> in her I desire my full satisfaction".

The magic begins to work, and Eve responds:

> "Whenever Adam is not here,
> I am guardian of Paradise
> without wearness, O smooth, pale creature,
> I attend to the needs of the animals".

The serpent now picks up the point of Adam's absence, and makes quite sure that Eve is alone:

> "How long does Adam go from thee,
> On which side does he make his fair circuit,
> when at any time he is not here
> feeding the herds in Paradise?"

Eve assures the serpent/devil that Adam is away worshipping God and all the time her friendly tones persist — "bright jewel", "O noble creature". The devil is sure of her ear and safe from any interruption, and the temptation can now begin. Here again, however, the Irish poem differs from the biblical version. Where the Bible has the serpent put a direct question (Genesis 3.1), the Irish version is more subtle:

> "I desire to ask a thing of thee",
> said the slender, very affable serpent,

> cenchess, amil blaith banna,
> dognim less nan-anm[ann]a."

> "Ciaheret teit Adam uait,
> cialeith focheird achainchuaird,
> tan nadbi fríhuáir iPardos
> frithalmi intsluaig iPardos?" (VIII, 1185ff., Stokes, p. 18)

> ...

> "Ail dam ní d'athchomarc huait,"
> arindnathir chóel comsuairc,
> "uair isglandil dochail chain,
> aEuá, aandeir Adaim!" (VIII, 1205ff., Stokes, p. 18)

> ...

> "Abbair frim, a Eua án,
> feib donrala fricomrad,
> lasinflaith farmbretha ifos
> immaith formbetha iPardos?" (VIII, 1213ff., Stokes, p. 18)

"because bright. and dear is thy clear reasoning,
O Eve, O bride of Adam"!
...
"Tell me, O glorious Eve,
since it chances that we are discoursing together,
in your judgement, is the life in Paradise,
with your lordship here, pleasant"?

Taken in by the ingratiating tone, Eve herself offers the information about the prohibition, giving the devil his chance to make his promise about the effect of the fruit: "God is deceiving you ... do not hesitate ... the discernment between good and evil will be as the High Prince instructed you".

Just as in the biblical Genesis, Eve is afraid: "I dare not, lest we die". But the devil's answer in *Saltair na Rann* is more positive than that of the Yahwist's account. Eve will eat, provided the serpent fetch the apple for her. To do this, he must enter Paradise, and Eve lets him in. This overcomes the problem of how the devil/serpent came to be inside Paradise, and at the same time it places the blame more securely upon Eve's shoulders. She takes the fruit — an apple[58] — and eats half.

It is to be hoped that this somewhat lengthy summary gives some idea of the characterization. We have come a long way from the biblical account, and indeed, from the pictures that we find of the principal protagonists in the exegetical writings. The serpent/devil in particular has a life of his own. In the Bible, the serpent's approach is a direct one, and the Latin Fathers, too, credit the serpent/devil with full prior knowledge of the situation in Paradise. For Augustine and many subsequent exegetes, the initial question put by the serpent in Genesis 3.1 is based on the desire to preclude any possible plea of ignorance of the prohibition on Eve's part at a later stage.[59] The careful precautions that the serpent/devil takes in *Saltair na Rann* to make sure of Adam's absence cause one to see the creature as a very worldly kind of rogue. We are far closer to the homely atmosphere of the *Mystère d'Adam* than we are to Milton's impressive pandaemonium, let alone Augustine's theology.

Comparing the treatment of the temptation here with other Latin and vernacular versions, there is no other work that exactly matches the Irish poem, although there are points of similarity with some texts. The *Genesis B*, for example, has the devil diguised as an angel try to tempt Adam, and then, after a rebuff, turn to Eve with the threat of Divine anger:

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[58] On the nature of the fruit, see Seymour, "Book of Adam," p. 128.

[59] See Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram* xi, 30 (CSEL 28/iii/2, 362, 25ff.). Cf. Bede (PL 91. 54); Pseudo-Bede (PL 93, 230); Alcuin (PL 100, 523); Rabanus (PL 107, 487); Claude of Turin (PL 50. 910); Angelomus (PL 115. 136); the *Glossa ordinaria* (PL 113. 91).

þý ic wât þaet hè inc abolgen wyrð
mihtig on môde ...[60]

The devil leads her on with lies, rather than flattery, and there is much
stress on the woman's inferior mental capacities — "wîfes
wâcgeþôht".[61]

The flattery is found in other works, however. This is particularly
true of Avitus' poem on the Creation, in which the devil's opening
words are:

O felix mundique decus pulcherrima virgo ...

and where Eve responds in terms not unlike those of the Irish Eve:

Suavibus O pollens coluber dulcissime dictis ...[62]

But Avitus cannot resist a little moralising, and as the temptation
progresses he becomes harder on the woman, more in accord with the
attitudes of the established Western authorities. The closest parallel is,
for this portion at least, the *Mystère d'Adam*. Although the Anglo-
Norman play does not develop the rôle of the serpent as such, the temp-
tation of Eve resembles that in *Saltair na Rann* both in attitude and in
terminology. The devil appeals once more to Eve's intelligence and
beauty:

Tu es fieblette e tendre chose,
E es plus fresche que n'est rose;
Tu es plus blanche que cristal,
Que neif que chiet sor glace en val;
Mal cuple em fist li criator:
Tu es trop tendre e il trop dur;
Mais neporquant tu es plus sage,
En grant sense as mis tun corrage.[63]

Given the exegetical commonplace of Eve's stupidity, it is of course
dramatically effective for the devil to appeal precisely to her in-
telligence.

The commentaries themselves do not, of course, develop at any
length the way in which the temptation is carried out, nor, indeed, do
many other versions of the narrative. Avitus, *Genesis B* and the *Mystère
d'Adam* are in any case by no means typical. Medieval characterization
tends in any case towards the ideal, the typical or the symbolic,[64] and

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[60] *Genesis B* 558f., Behaghel, p. 223.
[61] *Ibid.*, 649, p. 226. On this motif, see Evans, *"Paradise Lost"*, p. 161.
[62] Peiper, p. 216 (Avitus II, 145 and 169).
[63] *Mystère* 227-34, Studer, p. 12f.
[64] Cf. David Blamires, *Characterization and Individuality in Wolfram's "Parzival"* (Cambridge, 1966),
p. 1.

both Eve and the serpent are particularly prone to being treated according to the last fashion. Thus in the *Vienna Genesis* and in the *Vorau Genesis*, both Middle High German versions of the narrative, Eve falls because of her concupiscence, and falls readily. In the former poem, this seems to be the effect of an allegorical interpretation of the entire Fall in which Eve is the *symbol* of fleshly lusts. Effective though this interpretation might be in the tropological sense, the notion is theologically confused: concupiscene, as *poena peccati*, cannot be equated with *peccatum* itself in the context of the Fall. But this is an *impasse* which was a problem even for Augustine. The *Vorau Genesis* has a more abstract theological description of the temptation, once again involving concupiscence, and based perhaps on Bernard of Clairvaux.[65] Similar judgements may be made of many later versions — as for example the Middle English *Genesis* from Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, the far earlier Latin texts of Cyprian of Gaul or Marius Victor, or indeed the early portions of the *Lebor Gabála Érenn*, an Irish version from later in the Middle Ages.

Is it possible to point to outside influences for any of the motifs in this part of the poem? That Eve is alone when the devil approaches her is not stated explicitly in the Bible, but it is assumed, even in the commentaries. It *is* stated in an early Christian apocryphon, the so-called *Book of James* XII, 1: "... the serpent came and found Eve alone and deceived her ..."[66] In the Adambooks it is usually stated that Adam was guarding the North and East of Paradise, Eve the South and West. What is not stated in these apocrypha is that Eve was feeding the animals. This is an extremely natural point, and is precisely the sort of thing that the poet might have introduced himself. For all it is most effective, and for all that it fits well with the poet's situation in rural Ireland, it need not be original as a motif. While it is not a common notion, it *is* found elsewhere, and once again in an oriental source. This is the *Discourse on Abbatõn*, by Timothy, Archbishop of Alexandria, who sat between 380 and 385. The work is found in a Coptic MS. that is in fact almost the exact contemporary of *Saltair na Rann* (British Museum Oriental 7025):

> Eve came forth and passed through the northern part of Paradise, close by the wall, in order to obtain fruit (sic) for the cattle and for all the [other] creatures, because My Father had told Adam and Eve to feed them according to His command And the serpent himself came at the hour of evening to receive his food according to his wont, for the serpent was like unto all the [other] beasts ...And the Devil lived nigh unto Paradise, and he

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[65] Murdoch, *The Fall of Man in Early Middle High German*, pp. 106-110.
[66] Montague Rhodes James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford, 1924), p. 44.

lay in wait for Adam and Eve by day and by night, and when he saw Eve
by herself he went into the serpent, and said within himself, "Behold, I
have found my opportunity "[67]

The parallelism is not exact, nor should we expect it to be. There is little
enough likelihood of Timothy's *Discourse* having been the source for
Saltair na Rann. And yet it is indicative that even this motif was known.
It is equally significant that the notion is again attested in oriental
writing.

The Adambooks do not say that Adam was worshipping God. This
idea seems, however, to be an adaption of a motif which *is* found in
both the *Apocalypse of Moses* and the *Vita Adae et Evae*. In these, Adam
relates how in Paradise he and Eve had been provided with guardian
angels by God. These angels, says Adam, were away at the time of the
Fall of Eve worshipping God. Adam too was apart from his wife:

> And the hour drew nigh for the angels who were guarding your
> mother to go up and worship the Lord, and I was far from her, and the
> enemy knew that she was alone and gave to her, and she ate ...[68]

Even if the *Apocalypse of Moses* is the source for the idea (and the *Vita*, it
might be mentioned, does not make it as explicit as does the other
apocryphon that Adam was elsewhere), the Irish poet has still adapted it
quite considerably.

That the serpent/devil is outside Paradise is a point which many of
the commentators tackle. Augustine, for example, sees him as having
been outside Paradise, talking over the wall.[69] The Irish work, in its in-
teresting avoidance of this problem, differs once again from the Adam-
books. The *Apocalypse of Moses*, for example, has the devil, hidden in the
serpent, simply scale the walls of Paradise.[70] In an Arabic recension of
the *Book of the Cave of Treasures*, the *Kitab al magall*, Eve lets in the devil,
who is riding upon the serpent: but here the serpent is a mere vehicle,
and once inside, the devil begins the temptation independently.[71]

Eve's caution is a well-known literary motif, a calculated suspense
that will lend weight to the Fall when it does come. It has no biblical
basis, but it is found for example in Avitus, in *Genesis B*, and indeed in a
weaker form in the *Vienna Genesis*.[72] That the devil/serpent fetched the

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[67] *Coptic Martyrdoms in the Dialect of Upper Egypt*, ed., trans. E. A. Wallis Budge (London, 1914), p.
485. On the MS., see p. xxiif. The point may in fact be originally Rabbinic.

[68] *Apocalypse* vii, 2 (cf. *Vita* xxxiii, 1f.), Charles, *Apocrypha* II, 142. But the point *is* in the *Book of
James* XIII, 1, James, p. 44.

[69] *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* xiv, 20 (PL 34. 206).

[70] *Apocalypse* xvii, 1, Charles, *Apocrypha* II, 146.

[71] Gibson, *Apocrypha Arabica*, p. 8f.

[72] Avitus II, 213-27, Peiper, p. 218. *Genesis B* 589-98, Behaghel, p. 224f. *Wiener Genesis* 702f., ed.
Viktor Dollmayr, *Die altdeutsche Genesis nach der Wiener Handschrift* (Halle/S., 1932), p. 21.

fruit may again owe something to the Adambooks, but as Seymour has indicated, the Irish work differs in detail from the *Apocalypse of Moses*, in which Eve is tricked by the devil: he refuses to give her the fruit until she promises that she will give some to Adam.[73]

It seems unlikely from this that the *Apocalypse of Moses* was, as Seymour considered, a primary source for the temptation of Eve. It is possible that the apocryphon provided the stimulus for isolated motifs, but there is too much that is not paralleled there — the entire character of the serpent, the form of the temptation proper — the very core, in fact, of the narrative at this point. Possibly the poet was utilising motifs which he had read or heard, the Adambook/legends amongst them; it is interesting that so many of the details should have oriental analogues, however. What is equally important, however, is that the poet has given us a narrative that is easily comprehensible without detailed knowledge of the exegetical-theological background of the time. His consistently literal (if haggadic) account of the temptation contrasts in this with vernacular texts such as the Vienna or Vorau Genesis poems. And it contrasts in characterization and situation-portrayal with Marius Victor or with the Middle English Corpus Christi *Genesis*.

But it is not the overall effect of the story that critics have ascribed to the poet's imagination, but rather the inclusion of specific motifs. One such point is that Eve eats exactly half of the apple, which according to Seymour "appears to be an Irish conception."[74] The assumption is one which requires no great originality of mind in any case. But it is worth making the point that even this relatively unimportant idea has its predecessors. It is in Avitus — "semesum namque gerebat" — and also in the *Vienna Genesis*, which might at this point be following the Latin writer, however — "si gaz iz halbez."[75] This is worthy of mention because it shows clearly the dangers inherent in the search for originality of *detail* in medieval text. With biblical material in particular and certainly in the tenth century, such originality as there is will be found in the *treatment* of the material rather than in the material itself.[76]

We are unable to pass aesthetic judgement on the rôle of Eve as a temptress, on Adam's sin, or on the expulsion from Paradise, as there

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[73] *Apocalypse* xix, 1f., Charles, *Apocrypha* II, 146. The serpent is sometimes seen in art as giving the fruit to Eve, as in the Moutier-Grandval Bible of 834-843, or the slightly later Bamberg Bible: see John Beckwith, *Early Medieval Art* (London, 1964), pp. 55 and 60.

[74] "Book of Adam", p. 128.

[75] Avitus II, 240, Peiper, p. 218. *Wiener Genesis* 708, Dollmayr, p. 21.

[76] For some interesting comments on what constitutes 'originality' in a medieval theological work, see the articles by Hilda Swinburne, "The Selection of Narrative Passages in Otfrid's *Evangelienbuch*", *Modern Language Review*, 53 (1958), 92-7, and "Numbers in Otfrid's *Evangelienbuch*", *ibid.* 52 (1957), 195-200.

are no translations of these passages. There are, however, some interesting motifs in this portion of the work. Seymour's résumé may be cited here:

> When Eve had eaten half the apple, her form changed, and her raiment fell off her. In fear she calls for Adam, who comes, and is perplexed at seeing her naked. He asks the reason, but she says she will not tell him until he eats his half of the apple. He does so and becomes naked.[77]

Eve's persuasion seems to rest then upon a deceit of some kind. It does not, however, seem to be bound up with the oath to the serpent that is seen in the *Apocalypse of Moses*. Eve's fear of the change that has come over her contrasts with the attitude taken by the woman in Avitus, for example, where she behaves in a manner not unlike Lady Macbeth: "Crede libens, mentem scelus est dubitasse virilem,/quod mulier potui ..."[78] It differs too from *Genesis B* and the *Mystère d'Adam*, in both of which Eve remains taken in. Various motives are ascribed to Eve in theological writings — there is a Jewish notion, for example, that she tempts Adam, out of the malicious fear that if he remains in Paradise without her, God will provide him with a replacement wife.[79] The Latin Fathers stress her methods but not her motives — Augustine and those who follow his exegesis speaks of how Eve persuaded the man "cum verbo suasorio, quod scriptura tacens intellegendum relinquit."[80]

Eve's fear in *Saltair na Rann* is linked closely with another motif, however: with her physical change — specifically with the loss of her paradisical garments. This is what causes her fear — the immediate effect of the Fall is an unpleasant one — and the loss of the garments is the first thing that Adam notices. The idea that Adam and Eve were clothed *before* the Fall is an extremely widespread one. It is of ancient provenance, and is found in the Targums, in Rabbinic writings, and throughout medieval Christian theological works. There is a fairly clear East/West division in the treatment of the motif, however: the Rabbis and the oriental Christian exegetes, and indeed many of the Adam-books, see the garments as literal robes. The Western Church tended to allegorise them into "garments of immortality." In the West, the point is made not usually in Genesis commentaries as such, but as an allegorical exposition of Luke 15.22: "Cito proferte stolam primam et induite illum ..." The robe given to the prodigal son is the typological counterpart of the robes supposed to have been lost by Adam and Eve.

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[77] "Book of Adam", p. 122. See the Irish text in Stokes, IX, 1293-1304, p. 19.

[78] Peiper, p. 218 (Avitus II, 247).

[79] See Ginzberg, *Legends* I, 74 and V, 95.

[80] *De Genesi ad litteram* xi, 30 (CSEL 28/iii/2, 363, 23ff.), cited by Bede (PL 91. 54) and Rabanus (PL 107. 488).

By the ninth century the idea comes into the Western liturgy, and it is still present in the Roman rite.[81]

Whence then the idea in *Saltair na Rann?* The motif is in itself a strange one, and Seymour does not mention it at all. The *Apocalypse of Moses* and the *Vita Adae et Evae* both have Eve regret in retrospect her lost garments. But there is an exact parallel for this passage later on in *Saltair na Rann*,[82] and it seems unlikely that the poet would have used the same source on two separate occasions. The first allusion to the garments seems to have an independent source, and that source would again appear to be originally oriental. There is nothing here of the Western allegorization. The version in the *Lebor brec* (which we may take as close enough to that of *Saltair na Rann*) reads:

> there fell off after that the beauteous garb that was round her ... [Adam's] raiment fell off him.[83]

While there is no hint here of the allegorical interpretation of the point, as there is in certain of the German versions of the motif, the idea is too generally expressed for us to be able to point with any confidence to a direct source. As a further argument for an oriental provenance, however, we may consider once again the *Discourse on Abbaton*, which couples the motif with Adam's reaction. Unless the motif is expressed in a concrete form, Adam's surprise at Eve's nakedness will not be possible. Since the Western Fathers are preoccupied with allegory, this is rarely the case in their expositions, and it is absent too from the Adambooks. Timothy, however, says:

> And straightway Eve became naked ... And she went to Adam and when Adam saw her, and saw that she was naked, he was exceedingly grieved ...[84]

It seems possible, further, that the concrete form of this motif, with its conceivably oriental source, was fairly generally known in the medieval Celtic world. The same motif is preserved independently in a Welsh poem found in the late eleventh or early twelfth century *Black Book of Carmarthen*:

> A wondrous kind of garment of flint was the dress
> she wore about her;
> the Lord of Heaven made her
> bare within her own domain.[85]

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[81] See Murdoch, "Garments of Paradise" on this motif.

[82] See Hull, *Poem-Book*, p. 34.

[83] MacCarthy, *Codex Palatino-Vaticanus*, p. 55. Cf. p. 57. The Irish text (p. 54, romanized) reads: "... rocloecla a delb ocus a cruí ocus dorocair iar sin in tlaċt bui impe di".

[84] Budge, *Martyrdoms*, p. 485.

[85] All the information regarding the Welsh materials was provided for me by Mr. Donald

That it should be a garment of *flint* is of course odd: but although the reading of the *Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin* is corrupt at this point, the *flint* is borne out by a more clear reading in a later medieval Welsh poem.

Uncomfortable though it sounds, the notion of a dress of flint resembles some of the Jewish versions of the legend. In one set of legends, Adam and Eve are seen as having had skins of shining nail, of which the fingernails are the only remnant. The Rabbinic *Yal'kut Shimoni* too speaks of "sapphire" as the material.[86] Whatever the origin of the notion, the fact that it appears both in Irish and in Welsh might point to a relationship between the two literatures with regard to specifically haggadic motifs.[87]

The question of source is rather more clear with sections XI and XII of *Saltair na Rann*. Seymour comments, rightly, that the former, dealing with the expulsion and life of Adam and Eve after the Fall, is based on the *Vita*. He was of the opinion, however, that XII was based primarily upon the *Apocalypse of Moses*, and this section of the Irish poem certainly does have ideas that are in the Greek work and not in the *Vita*. But this section seems not to follow either work as closely as does section XI.[88]

After the Fall and the expulsion, Eve reproaches herself, and desires death from Adam. This is found in the *Vita*. Her state of mind suggests that in *Genesis B*, in the Old Irish poem known usually as *Eve's Lament*, or in the *Ludus Coventriae*.[89] But Adam rejects the plea, and suggests instead a penance. Both will stand in the river and fast — Eve in the

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"Ryv duted edmic o gyllestic guisc
    A guiscvis imdeni;
Periw new a peris idi,
Im peruet y chiwoeth, y noethi". (Poem VIII, 49-52)

See further Lewis' notes on the emendations, p. 147. For connexions between Wales and the Adam-legends as a whole, see the study by John Evans, "Medieval Welsh Scriptures, Religious Legends and Midrash", *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion* 1919/20, pp. 129-31.

[86] For the Jewish legends in general, see Ginzberg, *Legends* I, 74 and V, 97 and 121. For the *Yal'kut Shimoni,* see the German translation by August Wünsche, "Schöpfung und Sündenfall des ersten Menschenpaares", in *Ex oriente lux*, ed. Hugo Winckler, 2 (Leipzig, 1905-6), 223. This is, however, a fairly late text.

[87] For general comments on the connexion between Ireland and Wales in the Middle Ages, see Cecile O'Rahilly, *Ireland and Wales, their Historical and Literary Relations* (London, 1924).

[88] "Book of Adam", p. 125f.

[89] *Eve's Lament* is found in many of the anthologies of Irish verse: see Early Irish Lyrics, ed. Gerard Murphy (Oxford, 1956), pp. 50-3 for the English and Irish texts. On the attitude of Eve in the English mystery play, see the comments of J. M. R. Margeson, *The Origins of English Tragedy* (Oxford, 1967), p. 9f. Margeson's comments on the specifically literary value of the misery of Eve are of great interest.

Tigris, Adam in the Jordan. The idea is in the Adambooks, and is well-
known elsewhere in Jewish and Eastern Christian writings, although the
rivers involved may differ. In the Ethiopian Adambook it is the sea. The
Vita has the Tigris and the Jordan, but it differs from *Saltair na Rann* in
the length of the prospective penances. In the Irish work, Adam's
penance is to last forty-seven days, Eve's thirty-three. The numbers are
the same in the prose versions of the *Lebor brec* and the *Pennaid Adaim* of
the Edinburgh MS.[90] There is, however no consensus in the various
MSS. of the *Vita*: medieval number-symbolism does not seem to have
any settling effect, although it may have influenced individual variants.
Thus Meyer's text of the *Vita* mentions a penance of forty days for
Adam, but *varia* in the MSS. give Eve's penance as thirty, thirty-four of
thirty-seven days. In Mozley's English MSS the figure of forty-seven days
for Adam is found, but Eve's penance again varies. All this is reflected
in the Middle English versions. In view of all this, it is reasonable to
assume that the poet of *Saltair na Rann* knew a version of the *Vita* in
which the numbers are as he describes. This version may have been lost,
or it may still be waiting for collation.

   The desire of certain critics to find Irishness in the details is
illustrated in the question of the penance. While standing in the Jordan,
Adam calls upon the river to fast with him, and this the river does, by
standing still:

> Then Adam sought a mighty boon
> upon the River Jordan;
> that it would "fast" with him upon dear God,
> with its multitude of creatures.

> The stream stood still
> in its course, in its onward motion;
> the kingly stream paused from its flow
> that He might give forgiveness to Adam

> Then the stream gathered together
> every living creature that was in its womb,
> until the whole number of the living creatures
> were round Adam.

> All of them prayed ...[91]

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[90] See MacCarthy, *Codex Palatino-Vaticanus*, p. 65, and Anderson, *"Pennaid Adaim"*, p. 245.
[91] Hull, *Poem-Book*, p. 37f.

> Rogaid Adam hitgi thren
> iar*um* forsruth n-Iordanén,
> cotroisced lais forDia ńdil
> conahuilib hilmilaib.

> Tarrasair insruth 'nathoss
> diaremim, diaanforos,

Eleanor Hull saw this as a stroke of the poet's imagination, and Douglas Hyde connected the fasting upon God with a medieval Irish legal custom, that of "fasting upon a debtor." Seymour too saw the fast at least as an Irish motif.[92] So too, in the 1959-60 Thomas Davis Lectures on Radio Éireann, David Greene commented:

> what is certainly Irish is the passage where Adam, after his expulsion from Paradise, fasts against God to forgive him, for you will remember that ceremonial fasting against a person was a recognised legal procedure in early Ireland. Not only did Adam fast himself, but he persuaded the river Jordan to fast too, which it did by ceasing to flow ...[93]

It is easy to gain the impression that the entire notion is the poet's own. Everything is, however, in the *Vita*: the fasting — "ego enim [sc. Adam] faciam quadraginta diebus ieiunians"; the fact that they are doing it before God — "sed iuste et digne plangimus ante conspectu Dei"; the plea to the river — "tibi dico, aqua Jordanis, condole mihi et segrega mihi omnia natantia, quae in te sunt, et circumdent me ac lugeant pariter mecum ... Statim omnia animantia venerunt et circumdederunt eum et aqua Jordanis stetit ab illa hora non agens cursum suum."[94] All the ideas are found in the vernacular versions based on the *Vita*, and they appear before this, even, in the *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer*, the Armenian Adambooks, and so on.[95] It may well be that the legal custom of fasting — of which Seymour gives a number of literary examples — occurred to the poet at this point. But we need hardly cite it as a direct source in view of the *Vita*. Nor is the passage by any means the product of a

inrigsruth diarith roan,
cotarddad dilgud d'Adam.

IArsin targlammair insruth
cechmil beo bái 'nacrisluch,
lín acuiri cruth rosgab
combatar huili imAdam.

Rogadatar diblinaib ... (XI, 1629ff., Stokes, p. 24).

[92] Hull, *Textbook*, I, 162f. Hyde, *Literary History*, p. 417f., and p. 587. Seymour, "Book of Adam", p. 128f.

[93] "Religious Epic", p. 81.

[94] Meyer, *"Vita"*, p. 222f. (in the Paris Ms., p. 245) — this is *Vita* iv-vi. See Mazley, *"Vita"*, p. 129f.

[95] See Ginzberg, *Legends* I, 86-9 and V, 114-6; *Pirkê de Rabbi Eliezer*, ed. Friendlander, p. 147, with references (n. 5) to other versions. For some details of the English texts see the introduction to *The Wheatley Manuscript*, ed. Mabel Day (London, 1921). There are some texts in C. Horstmann, *Sammlung altenglischer Legenden* (Heilbronn, 1878), pp. 125f., 141, 223. Of curiosity value only in the comment by Robert Graves and Raphael Patai in their *Hebrew Myths, the Book of Genesis* (London, 1964), p. 81, where the version of the story in *Saltair na Rann* is supposed, without scholarly justification, to derive from "an earlier Syrian *Life of Adam and Eve* evidently drawn from Hebrew sources".

specifically *Irish* imagination. If anyone shows originality here it is the anonymous thirteenth century German whose version of the penance is sometimes interpolated in MSS of the *Weltchronik* of Rudolf of Ems. Here Adam's plea is rather more extensive:

> zû dem wazzer sprach er sân:
> "ich bite dich, sûzer Jordân,
> und die vische, die hinne sîn,
> und in den luften iuch vogelîn
> und iuch tier al gemeine
> daz ir mir helfet weine ...[96]

One might be tempted to see Germanic thoroughness in the extension of the passage to all the animals, but even here the same point is made in the Slavonic version of the *Vita Adae*.

The rest of the section follows the *Vita* fairly closely in most respects. Eve is tempted out of the river by the devil, who then tells of his own fall, due to his refusal to worship Adam. What is not in the *Vita*, however, is the overt promise made to Adam of an ultimate pardon for his sins:

> God gave to His grades
> full pardon for the sins of Adam,
> and the habitation of earth at all times
> with heaven, holily noble, all-pure.
>
> And he pardoned after that
> their descendants and their peoples,
> save him alone who acts unrighteously
> and transgresses the will of God unlawfully.[97]

The moralising in the last two lines is atypical. That Adam should be given explicit word of the Redemption fits in well with the medieval view of a Divine Order, embracing the Fall and the Redemption as necessary parts of the cycle Such hints are not unknown elsewhere in medieval writing — similar passages occur in the mysteries, and also in

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[96] H. Fischer, "Die Busse Adams und Evas", *Germania*, 22 (1877), 318 (lines 87-92). There are other versions of this text.

[97] Hull, *Poem-Book*, p. 38.

> Dorgni Dia aragradaib
> slandilgud cinad Adaim,
> con-attreib thalman cechthan
> connem nallglan noebúasal.
>
> Ocus rodilig iarsain
> diachlannaib, diachinedaib,
> acht inthé natibri cert,
> téis darreir ńDe in-anrecht. (XI, 1653ff., Stokes, p. 24).

the German *Vorau Genesis*.[98] There is a Messianic prophecy in the *Vita*, but it does not occur at this point. It is given to Seth and Eve on their quest for the oil of mercy.[99]

The twelfth section of *Saltair na Rann* deals with the death of Adam, and it has been mentioned that Seymour saw it as resting very largely upon the *Apocalypse of Moses*. Many of the points found here are also present in the *Vita*, however — the details of the burial of Adam, for example. What is most interesting is what is not found in the Irish work, namely the quest of Seth for the oil of mercy: Eve and Seth return to Paradise for this, and it is at this point in the story that elements are introduced, in later version of the *Vita* of the separate set of legends of the Holy Rood. This linking of two sets of legends is again typical of the cyclic view of world history in the Middle Ages, and it has been worked out in detail by Wilhelm Meyer in the nineteenth century, and in recent years in Esther Quinn's monograph *The Quest of Seth*, reference to which has already been made.[100]

In the Irish poem, Seth is omitted entirely. But one gains the impression that a version af the *Vita*, and more explicitly, a version with the Holy Rood interpolations, was known to the poet in some form. This may be gained from one or two smaller allusions to elements of the Seth legends. Thus *Saltair na Rann* does refer to an oil of mercy:

> Let the oil of mercy
> and the herb "ornamentum" be bestowed
> about the body of Adam
> to cleanse it from its vileness.[101]

In the *Vita* and in the *Apocalypse of Moses* the body of the dead Adam is indeed annointed with oil, but it is not the oil of mercy, which is referred to much earlier.[102] The herb "ornamentum" is a remnant of the quest of Eve and Seth too, however, and this, as Seymour points out, is a

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[98] This is not the case with all the mysteries: see Margeson, *Origins of English Tragedy*, p. 9; on the *Vorau Genesis*, see Murdoch, *Fall of Man in Early Middle High German*, pp. 198-200. The passage in question in the German work, which is at this point based on the protevangelical verse Genesis III, 15, is *Vorau Genesis* 10, 3-15, in *Deutsche Gedichte des XI. und XII. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Joseph Diemer (Vienna, 1849), p. 10.

[99] Quinn, *Quest of Seth*, p. 9.

[100] Wilhelm Meyer, "Die Geschichte des Kreuzholzes vor Christus", *Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, philos.-philol. Cl. 16/ii (Munich, 1882), 101-66.

[101] Hull, *Poem-Book*, p. 49.
> Ola thrócaire duib sunn
> isindluib ornamentum,
> tabartar imchorp n-Adaim
> diaglanad diadualchaib. (XII, 2217ff., Stokes, p. 32).

[102] See Charles, *Apocrypha* II, 144 and 152 (*Apocalypse* xiii, 1 and xl. 7).

corruption of the notion that Eve and Seth brought back with them from Paradise sweet herbs:

>   ac tulerunt secum odoramenta (in some versions: odoramentum)[103].

The passage points to a version of the *Vita* as a conceivably imperfectly remembered source here. Upon whom we are to blame the reading of *odoramentum* as *ornamentum* we cannot, of course, say.

Even if the *Apocalypse of Moses* has had an influence on this portion of the work, then it was in a Latin text. This is apparent from the following verse:

>   ... they took the soul of Adam without pain
>   so that it was bathed
>   in the unpassable (?) river of the ever-living host
>   "indatinum ciriasu."[104]

There is no parallel for this in the *Vita*, and it would appear to be based on the *Apocalypse of Moses*:

>   one of the seraphim with six wings ... snatched up Adam and carried him
>   off to the Acherusian lake, and washed him thrice, in the presence of God.

But the parallelism is by no means exact. In his notes to the passage, Charles gives various readings from different versions:[105] it is by no means certain that our poet is taking the idea from the *Apocalypse of Moses* at all. All that can be said is that his source is a Latin one, perhaps even a version of the *Vita* which is not extant, and which *does* have this idea. On the actual form, Seymour sees *ciriasu* as a form of *Acherusian*, which seems likely. But presumably in order to tie the Irish poem in more firmly with the Greek apocalypse, he sees *indatinum* as a possible corruption of *in lacu*. That it is a corruption of *inundatio* 'a flowing' would seem far more plausible, especially in the light of the rest of the quatrain.[106]

Perhaps the most convincing argument against the *Apocalypse of Moses* as a primary source for *Saltair na Rann* XII is, however, the inclusion in the final quatrains of a version of the legend of the Holy Rood. These may indicate once again that the Irish poet knew a version of the *Vita* in which the Holy Rood interpolations had already been made, but the legend as it appears in *Saltair na Rann* is very briefly stated, and source study is correspondingly difficult.

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[103] Meyer, "*Vita*" p. 236 (*Vita* xliii).
[104] Hull, *Poem-Book*, p. 48.
>   Coragaib anmain cenches
>   Adaim coroda bades,
>   isruth nasirdrung nasnau
>   indatinum ciriasu. (XII, 2181ff., Stokes, p. 32).
[105] Charles, *Apocrypha* II, 150 (*Apocalypse* xxxvii, 3).
[106] Seymour, "Book of Adam", p. 130 (*Saltair na Rann* XII, 2185-8, Stokes, p. 32).

The body of our fore-father Adam

...

...

was buried in Hebron.

...

The flood of the deluge over every land,
many countries did it upturn,
it carried his head from Adam
and brought it to Jerusalem.

There the head remained
before Jerusalem;
without grief the cross of Christ afterwards
was planted in the flesh of Adam.

Eleanor Hull adds a gloss to the last line to the effect that "in the flesh" means "in his skull."[107]

A number of different ideas are represented here. Adam's burial in Hebron is known, as is the idea that the skull alluded to in the name 'Golgotha' is Adam's. The closest parallel to this set of ideas is found, interestingly enough, in the Ethiopian Adambook, in which Adams's body is taken by Noah in the Ark, and buried later at Golgotha, "for in that self-same place shall God work salvation for the whole world." The same story is found in the Syriac *Book of the Cave of Treasures*.[108] There is an early Irish parallel to the whole passage in an interpolation in the *Lebor Gabála Érenn* in the second text in the *Book of Lecan*:

> And he [Adam] was buried in the city which is called Hebron so that his body was in that place till the Flood came over the world: and the waves of the Flood sundered his body and his head each from the other, and the waves carried the head with them from Hebron to Golgotha. It abode in Golgotha till the Crucifixion of Christ. And it was through the

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[107] Hull, *Poem-Book*, p. 50. Cf. n. 3.

Corp arsenathar Adaim

....

....

coroadnacht in-Ebrón. (XII, 2225, 2228, Stokes, p. 32).

Trethan dilenn oscachmaig
ismor n-írenn rocechlaid,
dothuc doAdaum achenn
coruc coHierusalem.

IArsain tarrasair incenn
indorus Hierusalem:
centrist roclannad iartain
croch Crist icolaind Adaim. (XII, 2233-9, Stokes, p. 32).

[108] Malan, *Book of Adam and Eve*, p. 161 (iii, 13); Budge, *Cave of Treasures*, pp. 105-110 and 126f.

head of Adam that the end of the Cross came: and the blood of the Lord fell over the face of Adam ...[109]

The translator of the edition cited, R. A. Stewart Macalister, refers in the notes to Peter Comestor's *Historia Scholastica*, that repository of twelfth-century learning, and also to the Comestor's comments on the views of his predecessors at this point. Macalister does not mention *Saltair na Rann* here, although the similarity appears to be great.

One interesting feature of the description in *Saltair na Rann* is that the Cross is said to *grow* from Adam. This element is close to the Sethite legends of the Holy Rood, in which Seth is given three saplings (or seeds) to plant in Adam's mouth.[110] The concept of the 'blooming Cross' as a living tree, a typological counterpart to the Tree of Knowledge, is also well-known in written theology and especially in iconography from an early stage.[111] In all this, *Saltair na Rann* provides yet again an early vernacular instance of what became extremely widespread idea.

A study of this nature is of necessity inconclusive. It is hoped, however, that it may convey some impression of *Saltair na Rann*, and that it may stimulate further study. One or two conclusions may, however, be drawn about the poem. On the question of the sources, the most that may be said is that the poet knew the *Vita* in some form, and may have known the *Apocalypse of Moses*. R. Thurneysen's hypothesis that the poet had before him a MS. containing both texts we may reject with Seymour.[112] And there is no reason why the poet should not have had some acquaintance with both works. There are too a variety of other motifs in the work that seem to have oriental-apocryphal analogues at least. That the poet should have known the *Vita* is not surprising. Nor in fact is it particularly so that he should have had some knowledge of other apocrypha. In a series of articles, St John Seymour has documented the influence on Irish writings of many such apocryphal works, and in some cases, such as that of *The Evernew*

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[109] *Lebor Gabála Érenn, the Book of the Taking of Ireland*, ed., trans. by R. A. Stewart Macalister (Dublin, 1938ff.) I, 97 and 239. The Irish text is on p. 96: "Ocus ro hadnaiced sin chathraid díanad ainm Sbrén, co roibi a chorp sa baili sin co tá nic in díñ tar in domum: cor scarsad tonna na díñenn a chorp 7 a cheand re chéle, co rucsad leo na tonna in cenn o Sabrón co Golgotha, cor thoiris an Golgotha co crochad Crist. Co rob tré chend Adaim tarla cend na croichi: co ndeachaid fuil in Choimdead fo agaid Adaim ..." See also the same point in a quatrain by Blathmac in the later eighth century: *The Poems of Blathmac, Son of Cú Brettan*, ed. James Carney (Dublin, 1964), p. 2of., quatrain 57.

[110] Quinn, *Quest of Seth*, pp. 87-101. For a later text see the *Geschiedenis van het heylighe Cruys* ed. J. Ph. Berjeau (London, 1863), pp. 2-4.

[111] Hellmuth Bethe, "Astkreuz", in: Otto Schmitt, *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, (Stuttgart, 1937ff.), 1152-61. The skull beneath the cross is also a common iconographical motif: see Oswald Erich, "Adam-Christus", in *ibid.*, I, 157-67. For an Irish iconographical example of the point, see J. Romilly Allen, *Early Christian Symbolism in Great Britain and Ireland* (London, 1887), p. 148.

[112] "Book of Adam", p. 131.

Tongue, it seems that relatively obscure apocrypha were known in Ireland and not elsewhere in Europe.[113]

We can rarely judge, however, what a poet's precise sources were, especially in a theme as ramified as the Fall. Seymour himself comments that "the student cannot always expect to discover the pure uninterpolated text of an apocryphon; rather he will find that it has incorporated extraneous elements, or else that portions of it have been worked up into another piece ..."[114] A greater pessimist might excise the word *always*. Plainly there remains much to be done in the study of MSS in Ireland alone — Seymour was aware of this in the nineteen-twenties.

It is, however, possible to speculate on the way in which these essentially haggadic ideas made their way to South West Cork in the tenth century. The Irish monks were for many centuries known for their *consuetudo peregrinandi*, particularly after the Viking invasion in the ninth century. The poet, or someone known to him, or some traveller, might have got the legends at first hand in the Middle East and brought them to Ireland. The Irish monks in Europe too were known for their learning, especially in the matter of Greek — John Scotus Eriugena is probably the best example. Thus the *Apocalypse of Moses* may have been known or translated by one such as him.[115] And if we speculate further, we may even imagine Ireland as a point of dissemination for these apocryphal ideas in England or on the continent: Seymour's study of the *Vision of Tundal* has given us one well-documented case of an apocryphon written down in Regensburg by an Irish monk in the mid-twelfth century.[116]

One further example of oriental notions reaching Ireland and being spread by Irish monks may be of interest in the present context. This is not an apocryphon, but the exegetical writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia. The Psalm commentary of the third century Syrian heretic appears to have been known in Ireland at a very early stage. Columban, founder of the monastery of Bobbio, seems to have known these writings, and their Irish-Latin transmission is important to later thought. The history of these ideas has been investigated in two lengthy articles by R. L. Ramsay and one of the points he makes is worthy of special mention. One of the early Irish writers whose works contain

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[113] In addition to those works already cited, see Seymour's articles "Notes on Apocrypha in Ireland", *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 37 (1924/7) C, 107-117; "The Vision of Adamnan", *ibid.*, pp. 304-12; "Irish Versions of the *Transitus Mariae*, "*Journal of Theological Studies*, 23 (1922), 36-43; "Irish Versions of the Vision of St Paul", *ibid.* 24 (1923), 54-9.

[114] "Apocrypha in Ireland", p. 116.

[115] There is a considerable amount of literature on these matters: see for example, *The Cambridge Medieval History*, 2 (Cambridge, 1911-36), 504-6 and 3, 501ff.

[116] "Studies in the Vision of Tundal," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 37 (1924/7), C, 87-106.

ideas originally from Theodore of Mopsuestia is Airbertach Mac Cosse, possible author of *Saltair na Rann*. If the influence of the third-century Syrian may be found in Roscarberry, why not the Adam-legends?[117]

Much might be said regarding the literary value of the Fall-narrative in *Saltair na Rann*. Notwithstanding the fact that the poem is the product of an age in which every verse of Genesis 3 might be interpreted in a Christological sense, the Irish narrative remains consistently literal. As such, the work has much in common with *Genesis B*, although the narrative in the latter is less extensive. Several of Evans' literary conclusions regarding the Anglo-Saxon/ Old Saxon poem might be reapplied to the Irish work. Evans points out, for example, that the poet of *Genesis B* was not content "to overlay the original text with a veneer of heroic diction and imagery," but rather "imitated the more fundamental literary devices characteristic of the Saga."[118] Evans points to W. P. Ker's distinction between the Aristotelean concept of plot — men in action — in the Classical Epic, and the Germanic emphasis on situation, typified by *Beowulf*, or the Old High German *Hildebrandslied*, where, as Evans indicates, the interest lies not in the battle itself, but in the fact that a father is forced by Fate to a battle with his son.[119] *Saltair na Rann* may also, in the sections dealing with the Fall, be thought of as "situational", giving us a series of pictures of conflicts of tension, rather than of action. This is the case with *Genesis B*, and the Irish work, which covers of course the devil's attempts to ensnare Adam and Eve after the Fall, has even more scope for such tensions. There are differences of emphasis between the Irish poem and the Saxon one, — the rôle of the devil is quite different in the two works — but the techniques of *Genesis B* are in many cases used in *Saltair na Rann*. The continual asking of the question "why?" in the recounting of the events of the Fall would seem not to be restricted exclusively to the Germanic world. However, *Saltair na Rann* stands as isolated in Irish writings as *Genesis B* is in Old English.[120] As far as the overall view of the Fall is concerned, *Saltair na Rann* differs from *Genesis B* in certain respects. The treatment of the devil is a case in point, but the outcome of the devil's

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[117] Robert L. Ramsay, "Theodore of Mopsuestia and St Columban on the Psalms", and "Theodore of Mopsuestia in England and Ireland", *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, 8 (1912), 421-51 and 452-97. See pp. 474-6 on Airbertach.

[118] *Paradise Lost*, p. 156.

[119] *Ibid.*, p. 155.

[120] On possible connexions between *Genesis B* and the *Apocalypse of Moses* etc., see Seymour, "Book of Adam", p. 132, n. 1. Of interest too in this context are Rosemary Woolf's articles: "The Devil in Old English Poetry", *Review of English Studies*, NS 4 (1953), 1-12, and "The Fall of Man in *Genesis B* and the *Mystère d'Adam*", in: *Studies in Old English Literature in Honor of Arthur G. Brodeur*, ed. Stanley B. Greenfield (Oregon, 1963), pp. 187-99.

tempting of Eve might also be cited. Evans sees the temptation in *Genesis B* as tragedy, if not necessarily good theology. There are mitigating factors in Eve's fall, for example; Adam is out-manœuvred.[121] In the Irish poem, the theology is perhaps more orthodox, and there are no mitigating factors, no references to the woman's weaker mind. In this, *Saltair na Rann* demonstrates a realism which brings it closer to the *Mystère d'Adam*. Certainly the Irish poem deserves to be placed in the same class as both *Genesis B* and the *Mystère*.

But it might be stressed once more that the poet's originality does not lie in detail, as some critics have tried to show. Their attempts to do so warn against the dangers of national pride in the criticism of literature from an age in which national borders were very indistinct as regards literary (and especially theological-literary) material. The examples mentioned are not serious — this is national pride, not national prejudice,[122] but they are there. Originality of motif is no criterion in any case, and we do not find this. We do find interesting characterization, and we do find originality of *choice* in the poet's narrative of the Fall. C. S. Lewis reminds us "how entirely it depends on individual genius whether a *locus communis* shall or shall not be what we call 'common-place."[123] This is what matters in a treatment of a theme as well-known as that of the Fall.

An investigation of this nature could, of course be extended; there are many motifs present in *Saltair na Rann* which might be viewed against the wider canvas of the Genesis tradition as a whole — one thinks perhaps of the devil's envy of man. The comparativist is restricted in his researches, however, until there appears a new edition and full translation of what would appear to be a major medieval treatment of a theme central to theological thought in the Middle Ages.[124]

University of Stirling.

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[121] *Paradise Lost*, pp. 159 and 165.

[122] Some examples of the latter are mentioned by Eric Partridge, *The Gentle Art of Lexicography* (London, 1963), p. 20.

[123] *The Discarded Image* (Cambridge, 1964), p. 82.

[124] Professor David Greene of the School of Celtic Studies at the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, has been kind enough to let me know that he is preparing a text and translation of the work, based on a seminar which he has been holding at the Institute. He has also let me see draft texts and translations for the first 800-odd lines, and for this I wish to record my gratitude here. He tells me that his aim has been "to establish a text with a minimum of emendation". Publication is, however, "far in the future" (as of March, 1971): but records of the work done are in Professor Greene's hands. The scholar may look forward, then, to a new edition at some stage. Professor Greene informs me, finally, that an *index verborum* was also made in the course of his seminar.

THE FALSE ATTRIBUTION OF AN EUCHARISTIC TRACT TO GERBERT OF AURILLAC

Charles R. Shrader

S CHOLARS have rather consistently ignored the tenth century when discussing medieval intellectual and theological developments. This has been especially true in examinations of medieval attitudes toward the Eucharist. Even in supposedly thorough studies the ninth century eucharistic controversy provoked by Paschasius Radbertus is immediately followed by consideration of the mid-eleventh century disputes and Berengar of Tours, thus ignoring the several important contributions to eucharistic thought made in the course of the tenth century. An examination of the personalities, issues, and writings of the tenth century indicates, however, that the eucharistic problem was not dormant, but rather that the issue was alive and received due attention from the important figures of the age.

While it is true that the Church in the tenth century was mainly concerned with questions of organization and administration rather than with great theological or theoretical problems, this in no way inhibited the production of a number of profound treatises on the Eucharist by leading intellectual figures. Symbolist defenders of 'orthodoxy' such as Atto II of Vercelli and Aelfric Grammaticus applied themselves in a futile effort to defend their position against the ever increasing acceptance of Paschasian realism promoted by such important ecclesiastics as Remi of Auxerre, Odo of Cluny, Gezo of Tortona, and Ratherius of Verona.[1] The ninth century arguments were augmented and refined by the unique approaches attempted during the tenth century and were thus passed on to Berengar and his opponents. Indeed, Berengar's rejection resulted from his refusal to accept the basic shift in the 'orthodox' view from a symbolic to a realistic interpretation of the

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[1] The symbolist views of Atto are contained in his *expositio* on I *Corinthians* 11 and those of Aelfric in his *Sermon on the Sacrifice on Easter Day*. Ratherius' eucharistic position is set forth in his *Expositio ex dialogo confessionali*. The contributions of Remi, Odo, and Gezo are discussed below.

Eucharist, a shift which took place during the course of the tenth century.

The tract known as the *Liber de corpore et sanguine Domini* or *Dicta Herigeri* is in many ways a synthesis of the best materials of the tenth century eucharistic controversies. Paschasian realism and Ratramnan symbolism, augmented by the opinions of the tenth century writers, were combined with the aid of the dialectic technique to produce perhaps the most important and influential work written during the tenth century in support of the realist position in the eucharistic controversy. The doctrines of both sides in the first dispute, as well as the views of the tenth century authors, were thus preserved for Berengar and his opponents. A detailed discussion of this important treatise, which retained its usefulness well beyond the Berengarian controversy, permits several interesting observations regarding the nature of the eucharistic debates in the tenth century, the relationships of several important tenth century figures, and the still little-known 'heresy' of Stercoranism.

MANUSCRIPTS, AIMS, AND SOURCES

The extant manuscripts of the tenth century eucharistic treatise entitled *De corpore et sanguine Domini* which begins "*Sicut ante nos dixit quidam sapiens ...*" are widely dispersed and mostly in twelfth century copies.[2] The tract was first noted in modern times by Louis Cellot in the appendix to his *Historia Gotteschalci* published in 1655.[3] Cellot considered the tract the work of an unknown author; however, a short time later Jean Mabillon attributed it to Heriger of Lobbes. Mabillon's opinion was based in part on a twelfth century manuscript entitled *Dicta domini abbatis Herigeri de corpore et sanguine Domini* from the abbey of Gembloux in Belgium.[4] In 1721 Bernard Pez opposed Mabillon's attribution with another twelfth century manuscript from the monastery of Göttweig in

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[2] I have chosen to refer henceforth to this tract by an arbitrary abbreviation (*SAN*) derived from its incipit, "*Sicut ante nos ...*," in order to avoid confusion with the many other works entitled *De corpore et sanguine Domini* and because of the disputed authorship of the tract.

[3] Louis Cellot, *Historia Gotteschalci praedestinationae* (Paris, 1655), pp. 541-548 with a commentary on 548-580. I have been unable to examine this work and thus have followed the citations to it given by Dom G. Morin in his article, "Les *Dicta* d'Hériger sur l'Eucharistie," *Revue Bénédictine*, 24 (1908), 1-18.

[4] Jean Mabillon, *Acta sanctorum ordinis sancti Benedicti*, 9 vols. (Paris, 1668-1701), 4, part 2, preface, 22 sqq. Also 6, preface, notes 47-48. I have also been unable to obtain access to the *Acta*. Citations to this work conform therefore to those of Morin. The Gembloux MS is now Bruxelles, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, MS 5576-5604. The *Dicta Herigeri* occur at ff. 121-129. Cf. J. Van den Gheyn, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique* (Bruxelles, 1901), 194-199.

Lower Austria.[5] In the Göttweig manuscript the work was entitled *Gerbertus de sacramento corporis et sanguinis Domini* and Pez thus identified it as the work of Gerbert of Aurillac (later Pope Sylvester II). The following year (1722) Casimir Oudin signaled two additional manuscripts which contained the tract.[6] He claimed to have seen one in the Cistercian abbey at Signy near Reims, the other in the library of the canons regular of St. Martin in Louvain. One further continental manuscript of the tract has been noted by Dom G. Morin in a manuscript from Liège.[7] At least three twelfth century copies of *SAN* are extant in libraries in Great Britain. The manuscripts from Durham Cathedral (now at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge)[8] and Salisbury Cathedral contain the tract in its entirety.[9] A manuscript of continental provenance now at the University of Aberdeen in Scotland contains significant portions of the tract, some of which are introduced by the statement "*Johannes Scottus in libro de corpore domini dicit ...*"[10] The only printed texts of the complete tract are the edition by Cellot in 1655, that done by Pez in 1721 from the Göttweig manuscript, and the edition which Migne reproduced from Pez's edition.[11]

The aims, theological aspects, and sources of this tract on the Eucharist have been analyzed by several highly qualified scholars.[12] A

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[5] Bernard Pez, *Thesaurus anecdotorum novissimus* (Augsbourg, 1721), p. 69. Pez edited the text from the transcript of his brother, Jerome, in *Thesaurus*, I, part 2, 131-146. The MS is now Göttweig Stiftsbibliothek MS 54 (58). The *Gerbertus de sacramento corporis et sanguinis Domini* is at ff. 16-21.

[6] Casimir Oudin, *Commentarius de scriptoribus ecclesiasticis*, 2 (Leipzig, 1722), p. 486. I have thus far been unable to identify either of the two MSS cited by Oudin in any modern catalogue. It is possible they are no longer extant.

[7] Morin, 8, note 2. This MS is now MS 6.F.30. Liège.

[8] Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College MS *Δ* .3.6., ff. 17-27; described in M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1895), pp. 36-37. The manuscript is from Durham Cathedral and is listed in the 1391 catalogue of 'Le Spendment'. Cf. *Catalogi veteres librorum ecclesiae cathedralis Dunelmensis*, vol. 7 of *The Publications of the Surtees Society* (London, 1838), p. 24. The same MS is probably the one referred to as "*epistolae Hildeberti, iv paria*" in the oldest of the Durham catalogues, 12th century Durham MS B.iv.24. Cf. *Catalogi veteres*, 4.

[9] Salisbury Cathedral MS 61, ff. 31-35; described in E. M. Thompson and S. M. Lakin, *A Catalogue of the Library of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury* (London, 1880), p. 14.

[10] The *Johannes Scottus* portions are at ff. 81-86ᵛ of Aberdeen (Marischal College) MS 161 which is described by M. R. James, *A Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts in the University Library Aberdeen* (Cambridge, 1932), pp. 53-54. Further portions of the same manuscript appear to be derived directly from *SAN*: the Basil excerpt at f. 44ᵛ, the Fulgentius excerpt at f. 45, and the Eusebius (Pseudo-Eusebius of Emesa) excerpt at f. 4.

[11] PL 139. 179-188.

[12] Of primary importance for the theological aspects are: Josef Geiselmann, *Die Eucharistielehre der Vorscholastik*, vol. 15, Heft 3 of *Forschungen zur christlichen Literatur- und Dogmengeschichte*, ed. A. Ehrhard and J. Kirch (Paderborn, 1926), 267-218, and Joseph Lebon, "Sur la doctrine eucharistique d'Hériger de Lobbes," in *Studia Mediaevalia in Honor of R. J. Martin* (Bruges, 1948), 61-84.

brief survey of their findings is a useful preface for a discussion of the intriguing and important problem of the disputed authorship of the tract.

SAN was clearly an attempt to synthesize divergent views of the Eucharist in favor of the realist interpretation and to refute the Stercoranist error.[13] The tract was thus divided by its author into two distinct sections which corresponded with his two motives in writing the treatise.[14] In the first part he sought to identify, as had Paschasius Radbertus, the historical Body of Christ with the Eucharistic Body. To this end he employed excerpts from the writings of the Church Fathers and later theologians combined with mathematical 'proofs' derived from geometry, arithmetic, and dialectic to show that there was no real difference between the positions of Paschasius and Ratramnus since both used texts from the Fathers which were harmonious if read correctly and which supported the concept of the Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist.[15] The second portion of the tract was ultimately of more lasting value. Here the author applied a knowledge of the digestive processes as well as the writings of the Fathers to explain the fate of the 'Flesh' after being eaten by the communicant and to refute the 'imaginary' error of the Stercoranists. He concluded that the eucharistic Body was a nourishment for the interior, or spiritual, man and that it was thus absurd that such spiritual food be subject to the digestive processes as the Stercoranists maintained.[16]

In general, the author of *SAN* followed the theological arguments of his predecessors; however, he did introduce several innovations of importance. In attempting to reconcile the eucharistic views of Paschasius Radbertus and Ratramnus he made use of dialectic techniques and in this can be seen his most striking innovation.[17] Although he clearly placed himself in the realist camp, the author also expressed the idea that the Eucharist was created through a unifying process of the bread

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[13] Symbolic interpretations of the Eucharist received strong, but perhaps unwelcome, support from the heretical views of the Stercoranists, who emphasized the subjection of the Host to the full digestive processes of man and thus found it absurd that the actual body of Christ should be ingested, digested, and expelled in such crude fashion. Stercoranism was apparently well received in some areas and prompted the writings of several anti-Stercoranist works in the 10th century. Stercoranism and the contemporary revival of Neomanicheaism in Western Europe in the 10th century may thus have been factors in bringing the symbolist position into disrepute among orthodox Christians.

[14] Cf. Lebon, 65. The first portion extends from chapter 1 to chapter 8. The second part comprises chapters 9 and 10.

[15] Lebon, 65.

[16] Chapter 10. (PL 139. 188D).

[17] Geiselmann, 277.

with the Body rather than through a change of essence.[18] This concept, which went against the Pachasian doctrine of a change of essence, eventually led to the doctrine of impanation.[19] The author of *SAN* was also apparently the first medieval scholar to quote the opinion of St. Augustine that Christ changed Himself into flesh and gave the flesh to use as food for man's salvation.[20]

The author of *SAN* followed the common pattern in preparing his tract by drawing extensively upon Scripture, the Church Fathers, and the works of other ecclesiastical writers to support his arguments. Pagan writers or secular works were apparently not used save for a possible allusion to the *Timaeus*.[21] The Old and New Testaments are quoted liberally in the tract, both separately and in passages taken from other ecclesiastical writers. Proverbs is quoted twice and Genesis, Kings, the Wisdom of Solomon, and Psalms are also used. The Gospels are represented by Matthew and John.[22] As might be expected the epistolary scripture citations are mostly from St. Paul's letters to the Romans, I Corinthians, and Ephesians. The Acts of the Apostles and St. Peter are also cited. SS. Hilary, Augustine, and Ambrose are the most often quoted of the Church Fathers and are represented by extensive citations.[23] SS. Eusebius[24] and Jerome and Popes Leo I and Gregory I are also cited. The author also introduced several authorities less well known in the West in the tenth century: SS. Basil, Cyril, Fulgentius, and Andreas.[25]

The author of *SAN* demonstrated a thorough familiarity with the writings of the major figures of the ninth century eucharistic con-

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[18] *Ibid.*, 271: "*Heriger ist demnach Realist.*" Cf. Chapter I (PL 139. 179) and chapter 8 (PL 139. 187).

[19] A. J. Macdonald, *Berengar and the Reform of Sacramental Doctrine* (New York, 1930), p. 265. Cf. Geiselmann, 237 and 302.

[20] Geiselmann, 269. Cf. PL 139. 180D: "Augustinus: 'Suscepit Christus de terra terram (quia caro de terra est) et de carne Mariae carnem suscepit; et quia in ipsa carne ambulavit, ipsam carnem nobis manducandam ad salutem dedit.'"

[21] François Picavet, "Gerbert, un pape philosophe d'après l'histoire et d'après la légende," vol. 9 in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études (Sciences religieuses)*, (Paris, 1897), 110. The *Timaeus* was known at this time almost exclusively from the Latin translation of Calcidius.

[22] *Matthew* 15. 17, "Omne quod intrat in os, in ventrem vadit, et in secessum emittetur," is quoted, in part, in four different places in the tract. This quotation is especially pertinent in view of the anti-Stercoranist aims of the author of *SAN*.

[23] Book 8 of St. Hilary's *De Trinitate* is cited three times *in extenso*. St. Augustine is represented by five quotations and St. Ambrose's *De sacramento* is quoted twice directly and once indirectly.

[24] Actually Pseudo-Eusebius of Emesa or Faustus of Riez (d. ca. 490/500). Born in Britain, he was a monk and then abbot at Lérins ca. 433 and became Bishop of Riez in Provence ca. 458. An opponent of Arianism and Macedonianism, he was a proponent with John Cassian of Semipelagianism. Cf. A. Neuwirth, in *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (hence *NCE*) 5, 861.

[25] St. Fulgentius of Ruspe (d. 533) was an African bishop and theologian who wrote against the Arians and the Pelagians. He was, in general, a follower of St. Augustine. Cf. A. Neuwirth, *NCE* 6, 220.

troversy. He accurately reproduced the arguments of both Paschasius Radbertus and Ratramnus and quoted extensively from both.[26] He clearly regarded Rabanus Maurus and Heribald of Auxerre, both of whom he mentioned by name, as proponents of the foul Stercoranist error.[27] Since he applied the techniques of dialectics to the eucharistic problem the author of SAN is often linked to John Scotus Erigena. In fact Erigena's De divisione naturae is cited once in the tract at 185 B/C with the addition of a quote from Genesis.[28] Although the author most certainly attempted to use the dialectic technique to resolve the conflicts of Augustinian symbolism and Ambrosian realism there appears to be insufficient grounds to assume for him a thorough knowledge of the dialectical writings and thought of John Scotus Erigena.[29] The author of the tract also made use of the Dicta cuiusdam sapientis de corpore et sanguine Domini.[30] This symbolist work is often confused with the missing letter of Rabanus Maurus to Abbot Egil of Prüm on the Eucharist, but has actually been shown to have been the work of Gottschalk of Orbais.[31] The author of SAN substantially changed the sense of Gottschalk's work to agree with his own realist views.[32]

The author of SAN also employed the work of three tenth century writers, each of which he introduced as quidam sapiens. These three have been identified as the anonymous tenth century author of the Responsio cuiusdam, Remi of Auxerre, and Gezo of Tortona.

The Responsio cuiusdam de corpore et sanguine Domini is cited at three separate places in SAN[33] The Responsio was the work of an as yet uniden-

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[26] Cf. PL 139. 179, 181, 182, 187. A. Hauck (Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, 3 (Leipzig, 1896), p. 320, n. 3) states concerning the author of SAN that "... von Ratramnus weiss er selbst nichts; er ist ihm quidam." Hauck was quite wrong.

[27] Chapter I (PL 139: 179). In Göttweig MS 54 (58) Heribald and Rabanus are identified in a marginal note (f. 16) as heretici. Mabillon (Acta, 4, part 2, section 3; as quoted by Pez, I, 69) felt that the author of SAN taught that Heribald was a Stercoranist and that there was a revival of this error about the time the tract was written (last quarter of the 10th Century).

[28] Geiselmann, 277. The corresponding passage from the De divisione naturae is at PL 122. 749A. The quotation is used to defend and exalt the use of dialectic.

[29] Dom Maïeul Cappuyns, Jean Scot Érigène: sa vie, son œuvre, sa pensée (Bruxelles, 1933), p. 242.

[30] Lebon, 63, and Geiselmann, 279.

[31] The Dicta cuiusdam sapientis is edited in PL 112. 1518-1530. It is included as a separate piece in the Gembloux MS at ff. 115-120. Morin initially identified the Dicta cuiusdam sapientis with the lost letter of Rabanus Maurus to Egil of Prüm ("Les Dicta ...," 18) but has since correctly identified it as the work of Gottschalk of Orbais ("Gottschalk retrouvé," (Revue Bénédictine, 43 (1931), 310).

[32] Geiselmann, 279. Cf. Lebon, 80.

[33] PL 139. 179A-B, 182C-D, 188C-D. In vol. I of his Spicilegium (Paris, 1675), 39-42, Luc d'Achéry edited the Responsio as anonymous thus rejecting the contention of Etienne Baluze who had previously attributed this work to Amalarius of Metz, a contemporary of Radbertus and Ratramnus. Morin has supported d'Achéry by showing that neither the style nor the doctrine came from Amalarius and that the author should be considered a 10th century person. Cf. Morin, "Les

tified tenth century writer and was apparently directed against the Ster-
coranists and their severely symbolic interpretation of the Eucharist.
This tract presented elements of both Ambrosian metabolism and
Augustinian symbolism, but seems to have been most influenced by the
symbolic interpretation. The *Responsio* does not, however, present a
strong, coherent defense of the symbolist view. The distribution and im-
pact of this work appear to have been limited and its main value,
especially for the author of *SAN*, seems to have been its anti-
Stercoranist materials. Given the anti-Stercoranist aim of both works it
is significant that the author of *SAN* saw fit to begin his tract with the
opening passage from the *Responsio*: *"Intuentes sententiam Apostoli ..."*
Passages from the *Responsio* have also been identified by Dom. G. Morin
with the *quidam sapiens moderno tempore* cited at 182 C/D and the *quidam
sapiens* cited at 188 C/D.[34]

Remi of Auxerre (d. 908), a Benedictine of St. Germain d'Auxerre
who also taught at Reims and Paris, provided a direct connection of
ninth with tenth century knowledge. Remi was the premier intellectual
figure of the early tenth century and exerted a seminal influence on ac-
ceptance of the realist interpretation of the Eucharist. He apparently
rejected the symbolist enthusiasm of his academic antecedents and his
eucharistic thought, which is contained in his *Expositio de celebratione
missae*, reflected both Augustinian and Ambrosian eucharistic doctrines
but with a decided leaning toward the realist, Ambrosian position.[35]
Although Remi himself expressed only a moderately realist opinion, his
numerous students were extremely influential as active supporters of
the Paschasian doctrines and began the spread of realism which led to
its acceptance as the 'orthodox' position. Indeed, the turning point in
the eucharistic controversy seems to have occured by the death of Remi
in 908. Thenceforth, the realist interpretation was the one most often
accepted and supported by major intellectual and ecclesiastical figures
with few exceptions. Josef Geiselmann has conclusively identified the
quidam sapiens cited at 187 A/B with Remi of Auxerre.[36] He shows that

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Dicta ...," 9 and 11-12. In MS 6.F.30. Liège cited by Morin the *Responsio* is included beginning at f.
161ᵛ immediately after *SAN*. The *Responsio* is also found at ff. 113-115 of the Gembloux MS in which
SAN is contained at ff. 121-129ᵛ. Cf. Van den Gheyn, I, 196-197.

[34] Morin, "Les *Dicta* ...," 11-12. The column/line references are to PL 139.

[35] The *Expositio de celebratione missae* is edited in PL 131. 845 sqq. For a thorough discussion of
Remi's eucharistic thought cf. Geiselmann, *Die Eucharistielehre der Vorscholastik* and article "Der Ein-
fluss des Remigius von Auxerre auf die Eucharistielehre des Heriger von Lobbes," *Theologische Quar-
talschrift*, 114 (1933), 222-244.

[36] Geiselmann, "Der Einfluss ...," 223-224. Morin ("Les *Dicta* ...," 11) was unable to identify this
quidam sapiens except to note that the quoted passage also appeared at the end of Gezo of Tortona's
tract. Cf. PL 137. 406B-C.

the portion cited comes from Remi's *De celebratione missae* and from his commentary on the *Letter to the Hebrews*.[37]

The author of *SAN* cited Remi through the *Liber de corpore et sanguine Domini* of Gezo of Tortona and many of the changes between Remi and the author of *SAN* were due to the modifications of Gezo.[38] Chosen by Bishop Giselprand of Tortona from the priesthood to head the newly founded abbey of SS. Peter and Martian at Tortona in Lombardy shortly before 950, Gezo composed, ca. 981, a short treatise on the Eucharist, his *Liber de corpore et sanguine Domini*, for the edification of the monks of his abbey.[39] Gezo introduced his tract with Odo of Cluny's hymn on the Eucharist and drew material for his 70 chapters from the Church Fathers and especially from the work of Paschasius Radbertus, from which he took 23 chapters almost in their entirety, and from Remi of Auxerre.[40]

The author of *SAN* is thus linked with both the premier intellectual figure of the early tenth century and with the author of the most thorough of the other tenth century eucharistic tracts. The realist and anti-Stercoranist synthesis which he produced from these sources thus ordered, combined, and preserved the arguments of the eucharistic and anti-Stercoranist writers of both the ninth and tenth centuries for use in the eleventh century disputes and beyond.

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[37] *Ibid.*, 243.

[38] Lebon, 64, note 1. Cf. Geiselmann, "Der Einfluss ...," 243.

[39] The date of Gezo's work is frequently given incorrectly. In his article, "Gézon," *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, 6, 1340-1341), E . Mangenot, wrongly I believe, states the work was composed during the "pontificate" of Giselprand ca. 950. Macdonald (*Berengar ...*, 244) and Vernet (*DTC* 5. 1217) follow Mangenot in error. P. Magnoaldo Ziegelbauer gives what I believe to be the correct datings in his *Historia rei literariae ordinis S. Benedicti*, 4 (Paris, 1754), p. 71. Mabillon related in his *Museum Italicum* (Paris, 1687), p. 207, that the monastery of which Gezo was made the first head by Giselprand was built shortly before the middle of the 10th century. Mabillon also reproduced the preface and table of contents of the tract from the two MSS which he knew. L. Muratori found yet another MS of the tract at the Ambrosiana in Milan which he edited in his *Anecdota quae ex Ambrosianae bibliothecae codicibus nunc primum eruit*, 3 (Milan, 1712), p. 239. Migne reproduced the Muratori edition in PL 137. 371-406. Gezo related the doctrine of the Eucharist with the fundamental dogmas of Christian theology and foreshadowed the theological methods of the 12th century writers when he perceived that the basis of the union of the believer with Christ was in the consumption of the Body and Blood (Macdonald, 245, n. 2). That the abbot of an established monastery fairly close to Rome was so assured of the validity of the realist, Paschasian interpretation that he would propose it as a didactic text for his monks indicates the extent to which the realist viewpoint had been accepted by the last quarter of the 10th century.

[40] Odo's hymn, *De sacramento corporis et sanguinis Domini*, is edited in PL 133. 513. Odo also praised Pachasius and referred to the "... corpus autem Domini quod sacerdos dare videbatur redire ad altare ...," in his *Collationum Libri Tres*, Book II, c. xxxii, edited in PL 133. 577. Gezo's version of Odo's hymn occurs in PL 137. 375-376. Mabillon (*Museum Italicum*, 207) noted 71 chapters. The PL (Muratori) edition has only 70. Cf. Lebon, 64, note 1, and Geiselmann, "Der Einfluss ...," 242-244.

AUTHORSHIP

The most critical and disputed question concerning *SAN* is author-
ship. The two main contenders for the title have been Heriger of Lob-
bes and Gerbert of Aurillac. Jean Mabillon was the first to propose
Heriger as the author, on the basis of internal evidence and the in-
scription of the work in the Gembloux manuscript: *Dicta domini Herigeri
de corpore et sanguine Domini.*[41] Mabillon's view was unchallenged until
the publication of Bernard Pez's *Thesaurus anecdotorum novissimus* in 1721,
in which Pez, on the basis of the style and title of the Göttweig
manuscript, attributed the work to Gerbert of Aurillac.[42] Pez's work
received widespread acceptance and was maintained until the early
twentieth century.[43] In 1901 the researches of Ernst Dümmler and in
1908 those of Dom G. Morin once again named Heriger as the author.[44]
Subsequent opinion has tended to regard the Dümmler/Morin at-
tribution as conclusive despite the later reservations of Morin himself.[45]
From time to time other authors, notably John Scotus Erigena, have
been proposed, but without serious evidence to support them against
the almost certain authorship of Heriger.

All of the authorship arguments have not yet been considered
together. Such a consideration is still needed since, despite considerable
work on the Belgian manuscripts, a reasonable explanation of Pez's
Göttweig manuscript, which indeed bears a Gerbert inscription and
from which the main printed edition of the tract was made, has never
been undertaken. The explication of the Göttweig codex removes the
only remaining, serious bar to acceptance of Heriger as the author of
SAN and provides interesting information regarding the transmission
and usefulness of *SAN* and the course of the eucharistic controversy af-
ter Berengar.

Attributions of the tract to John Scotus Erigena or to a German
author may readily be discarded. Of the two, the former seems to have

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[41] Mabillon, *Acta,* 4, part 2, preface, 22 sqq.

[42] Pez, I, 68-69.

[43] Morin, "Les *Dicta* ...," 1-2. Supporters of the Gerbert attribution have included M.
Ziegelbauer, the Benedictine authors of the *Histoire littéraire de la France*, R. Cellier, D. Mansi, and R.
Koepke. Casimir Oudin in his *Commentarius* (2, 486) retained the Mabillon attribution of the tract to
Heriger.

[44] Ernst Dümmler, "Zum Heriger von Lobbes," *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche
Geschichtskunde*, 26 (1901), 755-759, and Morin, "Les *Dicta* ...," 1-18.

[45] In a 1933 review of M. Cappuyn's *Jean Scot Érigène...* in *Bulletin de théologie ancienne et médiévale*,
2, I 322, Morin expressed some doubt about his previous attribution of the tract to Heriger saying,
"Tout bien considéré j'ai l'impression que le problème demande à être de nouveau examiné, dû le
résultat être contraire de l'attribution proposée jadis par moi." Geiselmann has since shown
Morin's doubts to be groundless ("Der Einfluss ...," 243).

received the most attention; however, R. Astier's arguments for John
Scotus Erigena are unconvincing.[46] Astier identified the tract previously
attributed to Gerbert by Pez with the work condemned at the Council
of Vercelli and burned in 1059 after the Council of Rome by Berengar
of Tours. He based his attribution on the style, numerous citations of
Greek Church Fathers, and the 'principles' of the tract: critical ap-
proach, tempered idealism, and a blind confidence in reason, which he
saw as all characteristic of the *philosophe irlandais*. Astier also felt many
passages in *SAN* were taken from Erigena's other works and he thus
concluded that Gerbert copied but did not compose the tract, that
Erigena was the author, and that the treatise was the key to Erigena's
philosophy on the Eucharist.

In the light of the later work of Dümmler, Morin, Cappuyns, and
Geiselmann there is little doubt that Astier was in serious error.
Geiselmann has pointed out that Astier's opinion is almost certainly
based on University of Aberdeen MS 161, a twelfth century
manuscript.[47] Among other sacramental writings this manuscript con-
tains at ff. 81-86ᵛ what appear to be considerable portions of *SAN*
prefaced by the words "*Johannes Scottus in libro de corpore domini dicit....*"
Apparently Astier took this attribution at face value. This *inscriptio* of
the Aberdeen manuscript was also the cause of Morin's hesitation over
his attribution of the tract to Heriger of Lobbes.[48] Geiselmann and Cap-
puyns, however, have demonstrated that despite the indication of the
Aberdeen manuscript the author is most certainly not Erigena. The for-
mer has satisfactorily proven that the author of the tract made use of
Remi of Auxerre's writtings; and thus it is clear that composition of
SAN took place long after the death of John Scotus Erigena.[49]

Astier also apparently did not realize that the work attributed to
John Scotus Erigena, used by Berengar, condemned, and burned in
1059 was in fact Ratramnus' *Liber de corpore et sanguine Domini*. M. Cap-
puyns has carefully studied the writings of Erigena and has pointed out
that the *Liber Joannis Scoti* from which Berengar supposedly took both
his symbolist doctrine and disgust for Paschasian realism, and which
was the book examined and condemned by the Fathers at Vercelli in
1050, was not *SAN* but rather Ratramnus' work on the Eucharist.[50] Cap-

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[46] In a communication reported in *Bulletin historique et philologique* of the Comité des travaux
historiques et scientifiques (1902), 154-155, R. Astier proposed John Scotus Erigena as the author.
Hauck (III, 320, n. 3) proposed an anonymous German author.

[47] Geiselmann, "Der Einfluss ...," 243. Cf. above, p. oo.

[48] Cf. above, note 45.

[49] Geiselmann, "Der Einfluss ...," 243.

[50] Cappuyns, 88-89. Ratramnus' work frequently appears together with *SAN* in many collections
of eucharistic works (e.g.-Ratramnus' work follows immediately after *SAN* in both Göttweig MS 54

puyns is furthermore of the opinion that Erigena played only a spectator's role in the ninth century controversy and that he composed no work specifically on the eucharistic question.[51] However, no alternate explanation has been offerred for the *Johannes Scottus* referred to in the Aberdeen manuscript. I believe this *Johannes Scottus* may be identical with the incluse Johannes Scotus of Göttweig mentioned in the *Vita Altmanni*.[52] This identification is chronologically reasonable and is suggested by other evidence which will be discussed when considering the Göttweig codex.[53] In any event John Scotus Erigena was clearly not the author of *SAN* and Astier was in error on all points except perhaps in his suspicion that Gerbert copied rather than composed the tract.

The only other serious attempt to propose an author other than Heriger or Gerbert for the tract is that of A. Hauck who stated that the attribution of Pez to Gerbert was incorrect and that of Mabillon to Heriger was unlikely.[54] Hauck believed the author should be sought in Germany but offered no suggestion of place or person. He doubted the identity of style Pez saw between *SAN* and other Gerbert works and he also criticized Pez's reliance on the Göttweig manuscript since it was not contemporary with Gerbert. He further pointed out that Gerbert was not the only user of dialectics in his time. Against Mabillon's attribution Hauck raised the argument that the allusions of Sigebert of Gembloux and Gerald of Silva Maior to a Heriger work on the Eucharist on which Mabillon had relied were not applicable to *SAN*.[55] He also felt *SAN* was not unboundedly favorable to Paschasius Radbertus as Gerald has suggested and was most certainly not *contra Radbertum* as related by Sigebert. Hauck's discard of both Heriger and Gerbert as authors of the tract has been accepted by E´. Amann and paralleled by P. Glorieux.[56]

Hauck's arguments against Pez's attribution of the tract to Gerbert are cogent but his arguments against the authorship of Heriger of Lobbes are less convincing. G. Morin has pointed out that Hauck's attempt to find a German author for the tract is unlikely to succeed since most

(58) and MS 6.F.30 Liège. Both works are also included in Bruxelles, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique MS 5576-5604).

[51] *Ibid.*, 91.

[52] *Vita Altmanni*, c. xxxviii (*MGHSS*, 12, 240-241).

[53] Cf. below.

[54] Hauck, 3, 320, n. 3.

[55] The allusion of Sigebert of Gembloux and Gerald of Silva Maior to an eucharistic work of Heriger of Lobbes are discussed below.

[56] E. Amann (*DTC* 11.809) accepts Hauck's arguments against both Heriger and Gerbert. In an article in *NCE* 6.1071, P. Glorieux stated baldly that the tract in question was written by neither Heriger nor Sylvester II (Gerbert). In response to a query by the author, Father Glorieux stated (17 Mar. 70) that when he prepared his article he was unaware of the Hauck arguments and is now unable to recall what evidence he had for his statement.

of the manuscripts of the tract are focused near Lobbes in Belgium.[57] The evidence for Heriger compiled by Dümmler and Morin is sufficient to overcome Hauck's objections and the references of Sigebert of Gembloux and Gerald of Silva Maior have been explained satisfactorily. Since Hauck's objections to Heriger have been answered adequately by Dümmler and Morin and neither Amann nor Glorieux have been able to add additional support to his view we may safely discard Hauck's anonymous German author and proceed to determine how well the Mabillon-Dümmler-Morin attribution stands up against Pez's attribution of the tract to Gerbert, an attribution already damaged by Hauck's criticism.

Although well known and extremely influential among his contemporaries, Heriger of Lobbes remains largely unnoticed by recent historians.[58] This is unfortunate since by virtue of his teaching, his mathematical works, and his connection with the tenth century eucharistic questions he deserves closer attention. If the *Vita sanctae Berlendis* is accepted as Heriger's work then his birthplace may be tentatively identified as Moerbeke in Brabant.[59] The date of his birth is unknown but was likely in the 940s since he was still quite young when he entered the abbey of Lobbes around 955 where he was later given direction of the monastery school by abbot Folquin.[60] With the death of Folquin, Heriger was made abbot of Lobbes on 21 December 990 and remained in that position until his death on 31 October 1007.[61] Heriger was a younger contemporary of the eucharistic realist, Ratherius, who contended with Folquin for the abbatial office ca. 968.[62] He was also a contemporary and acquaintance of Gerbert of Aurillac and probably of Fulbert of Chartres as well. More immediately important, however, is his close connection with Bishop Notker of Liège.[63] The two were very closely associated both as friends and as collaborators in the revival of

[57] Morin, "Les *Dicta* ...," 7-8.

[58] Curiously perhaps, a revival of scholarly interest in Heriger coincided with the revival of interest in Berengar of Tours and the 11th century eucharistic dispute. Scholarly production on both subjects increased significantly between 1880 and 1910. For a brief résumé of late 19th century interest in the Berengarian controversy cf. Macdonald, vii-viii. Dümmler's article on Heriger appeared in 1901 and that of Morin in 1908.

[59] *Histoire littéraire de la France,* ed. Congrégation de S. Maur, 7 (Paris, 1746), 194. For a full account of Heriger's biography cf. G. Kurth, "Heriger," in *Biographie nationale de Belgique,* 9 (Bruxelles, 1886-1887), 245-251.

[60] Kurth, 245. Lobbes was a Benedictine house on the Sambre River 12 km from Charleroi in Belgian Flanders, founded ca. 636/654 by St. Landelin in honor of St. Peter. The abbey always maintained close connections with Liège and from 885 until 960 the abbatial office was held by the Bishops of Liège.

[61] Continuator of the *Gesta abbatum Lobbiensium,* c. 2 (MGH SS, 21: 309).

[62] Cf. Garvin, NCE 12: 88. Ratherius died in 974.

[63] Their connection is discussed by Kurth, 245-246.

the cathedral school at Liège. Heriger spent long periods in the episcopal palace at Liège, undertook literary and delicate administrative tasks for Notker, and frequently accompanied the bishop on journies, notably a trip to Italy in 989.[64] Through Notker Heriger had access to the highest ecclesiastical and scholarly circles in western Christendom.

Heriger's work has not received a comprehensive study or edition although the majority of his known writings have been printed. Apparently Heriger's close contact with Notker of Liège extended to his writings. He composed a history, several hagiographical pieces, and a number of mathematical treatises in addition to his eucharistic writings. His historical work, the *Gesta episcoporum Tungrensium et Leodiensium*, was continued after 1030 by Anselm, a canon of Liège, and is important as the first major work on the history of the diocese of Liège.[65] Heriger, perhaps with the collaboration of Notker, composed lives of SS. Remacle, Landoald, Ursmer, and Landelin as well as other hagiographies.[66] He also wrote an *Epistola ad quemdam Hugonem monachum* in which he made important adjustments in the chronological calculations of Dionysius Exiguus and Bede.[67] His letter to Bem, Abbot of Reichenau, concerning the number of Sundays in Advent is now lost along with several hymns and anthems he is reported to have composed.[68] Heriger was also interested in pure mathematics and wrote at least two mathematical texts, the *Ratio numerorum abaci secundum Herigerum* and the *Regulae de numerorum abaci rationibus*. Nicolaus Bubnov has shown that these works, previously attributed to Gerbert of Aurillac, are in fact the work of Heriger.[69]

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[64] Kurth, 246, and K. Platelle, article "Hériger de Lobbes," *Catholicisme*, 5 (Paris, 1963), 653. The trip is referred to by Gerbert of Aurillac in a letter to Notker. Cf. below, note 115.

[65] The *Gesta episcoporum Tungrensium et Leodiensium* has been most recently edited by Rudolf Koepke in MGHSS, 7 (Hanover, 1846), pp. 161-189. In a second version of his own history, dedicated to Archbishop Anno of Cologne ca. 1056, Anselm of Liège (d. ca. 1056) substituted the work of Heriger for his own first volume. The resulting work is known as the *Gesta episcoporum Tungrensium, Trajectensium, et Leodiensium*. Anselm's second volume is edited by Koepke in MGHSS, 7, 189-234.

[66] Heriger's hagiographical writings are numerous and most appear to have been written at the request of Bishop Notker who not infrequently contributed to them himself.

[67] Edited in Edmund Martène and Ursinus Durand, *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*, 1 (Paris, 1717), pp. 112-118, and reproduced in PL 139. 1129-1136. For a further discussion of Heriger's dating work cf. A. Cordoliani, "Abbon de Fleury, Hériger de Lobbes, et Gerland de Besançon sur l'ère de l'Incarnation de Denys le Petit," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 44 (1949), 463-487. Heriger's contributions are considered significant by Cordoliani.

[68] Kurth, 250. Heriger supposedly maintained that Advent ought not to be more than four Sundays in length.

[69] Nicolaus Bubnov, *Gerberti postea Silvestri II papae opera mathematica* (Berlin, 1899), p. 205. Bubnov edited the text of Heriger's two mathematical works on 205-225. The *Regulae de numerorum abaci rationibus* is also known as the *Regulae numerorum super abacum Gerberti* and this connection of Heriger and Gerbert is highly important.

Heriger formed a number of students who later became distinguished men. Among his most famous pupils were Hugh, later abbot of Lobbes,[70] and Olbert, who was also a student of Fulbert at Chartres and who was a collaborator with Burchard of Worms on the latter's *Decretum*, a canon law text.[71] Olbert later became the abbot of Gembloux. Perhaps Heriger's most renowned student was Wazo of Liège who became a leading theoretician of the eleventh century reform movement.[72]

Both through his teaching and his writing Heriger of Lobbes demonstrated himself to be a leading intellectual figure of the late tenth century on a par with Gerbert of Aurillac, Fulbert of Chartres, and Abbo of Fleury.[73] That the cathedral school at Liège, which he revived with Notker, attracted many students from distant parts and competed favorably with Reims, Tours, and Chartres is indicative of Heriger's influence. In addition to his many other activities, Heriger was a significant contributor to the tenth century eucharistic debates as we shall now see.

The first indications that Heriger of Lobbes wrote on the eucharistic question come from an early time. The earliest seems to be an entry in the 1049 catalogue of Lobbes manuscripts edited by Henri Omont.[74] The catalogue was probably prepared at Lobbes under the direction of Heriger's former student, Abbot Hugh, and Entry 116 is identified as:

"116. Herigeri abbatis exaggeratio plurimorum auctorum de corpore et sanguine Domini, vol. I ...."[75]

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[70] Platelle, 652-653.

[71] Olbert, who died in 1048, was the fourth abbot of Gembloux and deserves study in his own right. Sigebert of Gembloux relates of Olbert's education (*Gesta abbatum Gemblacensium*, c. 26, edited in MGHSS, 8. 536) that he studied with Heriger; at S. Germain-des-Prés in Paris; at Troyes; and with Fulbert at Chartres. Sigebert characterizes Olbert quaintly: "At postquam ut apes prudentissima per florea rura exercitus, liquido doctrinae nectare est distentus, ad alvearium coenobii sui est regressus, ibique vivebat religiose studiosus, et studiose religiosus." Olbert's connection with Burchard of Worms and the composition of the *Decretum* is noted by Sigebert in his *De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis*, c. 142 (edited in PL 160. 579).

[72] D.S. Buczek, NCE 14: 836-837, and P. Glorieux, NCE 6: 1070. Wazo studied at Lobbes under Heriger, at the cathedral school in Liège, and with Fulbert at Chartres. He became Bishop of Liège in 1042.

[73] Heriger's great reputation for learning is reflected by Sigebert of Gembloux in his *Chronicon* (MGHSS 6. 353) when, under the year 994, he writes: "Florebant hoc tempore in scientia litterarum in Lotharingia Herigerus abbas Lobbiensis, Adelboldus episcopus Vultrajectensis; in Francia Fulbertus episcopus Carnotensis, Abbo abbas Floriacensis, qui super calculum Victorii commentatus est. (995) Gerbertus, qui et Silvester, Romanae ecclesiae 140us presidet, qui et ipse inter scientia litterarum claros egregie clavit."

[74] Henri Omont, "Catalogue des manuscrits de l'abbaye de Lobbes," *Revue des bibliothèques*, I (18 91), 3-14. The catalogue was placed at the back of a collection of the works of St. Fulgentius and is now BM. Royal MS 6.A.V. at ff. 120^v-124.

[75] *Ibid.*, 11.

Sigebert of Gembloux also noted a Heriger eucharistic work in chapter 137 of his *De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis,* written ca. 1060:

> "Herigerus abbas Lobiensis, litterali scientia clarus ... congessit etiam contra Ratbertum multa catholicorum patrum scripta de corpore et sanguine Domini".[76]

A further indication is provided by Gerald of Silva Maior in the prologue to his *Vita Sancti Adalardi* when, after discussing Paschasius Radbertus' work on the Eucharist, he adds:

> "His autem qualis fuerit et quantus, in quadam epistola testatur abbas Lobiensis Herigerus, qui eo tempore inter sapientes habebatur sapientissimus. Quamquam longum est hic interponere".[77]

We have also noted that Heriger's name is connected with the eucharistic tract *SAN* in a number of twelfth century manuscripts, notably the Gembloux manuscript and the manuscripts from Signy and Louvain cited by Casimir Oudin.[78] Thus, from a very early date Heriger was associated with some sort of eucharistic tract.

Mabillon was convinced that Heriger was the author of the tract published as anonymous by Louis Cellot in 1655 because of the style of the tract, the inscription of the Gembloux manuscript, and the notices of Sigebert and Gerald.[79] It has already been pointed out that the objections raised by Hauck against Mabillon's attribution have been vitiated by later scholarship.[80] On the question of style Heriger was as well prepared as anyone of his time to make use of mathematical proofs and dialectic argument. R. Koepke, the editor of the *Gesta* of the bishops of Liège in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica,* who is well qualified to judge the style of Heriger, has confirmed Mabillon's opinion.[81] Koepke argued that certain Scripture quotes from *SAN* and Heriger's *Gesta episcoporum Tungrensium et Leodiensium* are the same and that Heriger habitually copied parts of his work into others.[82] Morin has effectively dispelled the objections arising from Sigebert's *contra Ratbertum* comment and has pointed out that the chroniclers may have another, earlier eucharistic work of Heriger in mind.[83] Thus, with the exception of the

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[76] PL 160. 577 and note 828.

[77] PL 147. 1047.

[78] Cf. Van den Gheyn, I, 197, for the Gembloux MS; and Oudin, II, 486, for the Signy and Louvain MSS.

[79] Mabillon, *Acta,* IV, part 2, preface, 22 sqq.

[80] Hauck, III, 320, note 3. Cf. above, p. 00.

[81] Morin, "Les *Dicta* ...," 2. Cf. MGHSS, 7. 146 sqq.

[82] *Ibid.,* 7. Morin points out that any plagarist would do the same.

[83] *Ibid.,* 12-13.

contrary evidence posed by Pez, which we shall consider later, Mabillon's arguments seem very convincing.

Pez's attribution of the tract to Gerbert prevailed from 1721 until early in this century. In 1901 Ernst Dümmler reopened the argument in favor of Heriger's authorship with the uncovering of an authentic Heriger eucharistic collection at the University of Ghent.[84] The manuscript noted by Dümmler consists of 109 unmarked 4° sheets and its origin is determined from an entry on the last sheet: "*Liber sancti Petri Lobiensis ecclesiae*". The manuscript contains at ff. 1-15 a short, rough collection of patristic texts relating to the question of the Eucharist. The remainder of the codex (ff. 16-109^v) contains two works of Ratramnus, in different hands, from the beginning of the tenth century. Dümmler identified this Ghent manuscript as the work described at Entry 116 in the 1049 catalogue of manuscripts from the abbey of Lobbes published by Omont a short time before. He also felt this was the Heriger work mentioned by Sigebert of Gembloux, since ff. 1-15 of the Ghent manuscript were identified as *Herigeri abbatis exaggeratio plurimorum de corpore et sanguine Domini*.[85]

Dümmler's work was but a first step in the firm identification of Heriger as the author of *SAN*. Dom G. Morin completed the identification and firmly sought to resolve the arguments in favor of Heriger's authorship in his 1908 article in the *Revue Bénédictine*.[86] Morin brought forward an eleventh century manuscript from Liège which at ff. 137^v-152 contains yet another, even older, example of the brief *Exaggeratio* of Heriger.[87] Morin noted that the *Exaggeratio* was followed in the Liège manuscript immediately and without title by the *Dicta Herigeri (SAN)*. Morin further pointed out that both the *Exaggeratio* (at ff. 95-113) and the *Dicta* (at ff. 121-129^v) were contained in the Gembloux manuscript utilized by Mabillon.[88] Fourteen of the seventeen patristic citations from the *Dicta* were faithful reproductions of those of the *Exaggeratio* and the remaining three were taken from three treatises which traveled with the *Exaggeratio*.[89] In short, Morin concluded that Heriger had indeed composed two separate eucharistic works: first, the *Exaggeratio*, a short, impersonal collection of patristic quotations which could be identified as the work noted by the 1049 catalogue of Lobbes manuscripts and by Sigebert of Gembloux; and second, the *Dicta* which

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[84] Dümmler, *art. cit.* above, note 44. The MS is now Ghent University MS 909.

[85] *Ibid.*, 755.

[86] Morin, "Les *Dicta* ...," 1-18.

[87] *Ibid.*, 3.

[88] *Ibid.*

[89] *Ibid.*, 12. The three other tracts are the work of Ratramnus, the *Responsio cuiusdam*, and the *Dicta cuiusdam sapientis*.

was a longer, better prepared and written eucharistic tract closely
following the *Exaggeratio* and which was identical with the tract
published anonymously by Cellot, previously identified by Mabillon as
the work of Heriger, and included in the Göttweig manuscript under
the name of Gerbert. Indeed, Morin rightly saw the *Exaggeratio* as a
draft of sorts for the more thorough *Dicta*.[90]

To date Morin's conclusions, despite his own second thoughts, appear
decisive. The close relationship of the *Exaggeratio* and the *Dicta* leave lit-
tle doubt that they were composed by the same author. The attribution
to Heriger made by near contemporaries, Sigebert and Gerald, as well
as the 1049 catalogue from Lobbes, are strong proof of Heriger's
authorship since they well fit the surviving texts of either the *Exaggeratio*
or the *Dicta*. Additionally, the geographical evidence of the manuscripts
points to an origin near Lobbes since, setting aside for the moment the
errant Göttweig and British copies, the nearly contemporary
manuscripts are from Gembloux, Liège, Signy, and Louvain; all of
which form a rough circle around Lobbes. Thus, the only remaining,
serious evidence against Heriger as the author of *SAN* is that put for-
ward by Pez on the basis of the Göttweig codex.

There has never been any satisfactory attempt to explain why the
Göttweig manuscript bears the Gerbert inscription and how it came to
be where it is. Considering the rather conclusive evidence presented for
Heriger of Lobbes, what explanation can then be given for the
manuscript published by Bernard Pez in 1721 in which Gerbert is iden-
tified as the author? The answer appears to lie in Gerbert of Aurillac's
lack of interest in the eucharistic controversies of his time, his interest
in collecting books, his connection with Heriger of Lobbes, the course
of events at the abbey of Göttweig in 1094, and, above all, the anti-
Stercoranist nature of *SAN*.

During a 1719 trip through Lower Austria Jerome Pez examined a
manuscript at the abbey of Göttweig in which the *De corpore et sanguine
Domini* of Cellot's Anonymous was given under the name of Gerbert.[91]
Bernard Pez maintained that this manuscript was of the same age as the
Gembloux manuscript used by Mabillon to attribute the tract to
Heriger.[92] Pez's analysis of this manuscript led him to opt for the

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[90] *Ibid.* "Rien n'empêche — au contraire, il est tout naturel — que le docte abbé de Lobbes,
après avoir formé sa petite *Exaggeratio* de textes sur l'Eucharistie, l'ait ensuite utilisée lui-même dans
ce travail plus personnel que constituent les *Dicta*."

[91] Jerome Pez (1685-1763) was the younger brother of Bernard Pez (1683-1735). Both were
librarians at the abbey of Melk. Cf. H. Rempler, *NCE* 11: 248. Bernard was the author of the
Thesaurus and indicates (I, part 2, 131) that it was his brother, Jerome, who discovered the Göttweig
MS in 1719.

[92] Pez, I, 69.

authorship of Gerbert on the basis of both the title, which was of same twelfth century hand as the text, and the close stylistic affinity of this tract with known works of Gerbert, particularly with Gerbert's *De rationali et ratione uti*.[93] Picavet, who seems to have made the most concerted effort to support Pez's work, dates the composition of the tract perhaps while Gerbert was Archbishop of Ravenna, shortly before he became Pope.[94] He has augmented Pez's comparison of this tract with known Gerbert works by showing that certain phrases correspond to authentic Gerbert material, specifically material in Gerbert's *Geometry* and certain references to dialectic.[95] Picavet also noted a diagram in the tract analogous to those used by Gerbert in his mathematical works.[96]

Pez never denied the indications of Sigebert of Gembloux and Gerald of Silva Maior that Heriger had written on the eucharistic question but only maintained that *SAN* was not the Heriger work. As was mentioned, Pez's opinion held the field until the early twentieth century when it was seriously undermined. With the collapse of Pez's argument on stylistic grounds there remains only the inscription of the Göttweig codex to support its authorship by Gerbert. The manuscript utilized by Pez is now contained in Göttweig Codex 54 (58) at ff. 16-21 under the title, *Gerbertus de sacramento corporis et sanguinis Domini*.[97] The parchment codex consists of a total of 59 folio sheets and according to the nineteenth century compiler of the Göttweig manuscript catalogue, the entire codex was written in the Göttweig scriptorium by two Göttweig hands of the early twelfth century.[98] In addition to the *"Gerbertus"* work the codex also includes the *Liber contra eos qui repugnant infidelibus beati patris Benedicti* of Rabanus Maurus; Cuthbert's *Obitus S. Bedae venerabilis*; the *Lamentum* of Origen; Ratramnus' *Liber ad Karolum regem de corpore et sanguine Domini*; and parts of John Cassian's *Collationes patrum*.[99] The

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[93] *Ibid*. Pez especially noted the use of mathematical examples.

[94] Picavet, 108-109.

[95] *Ibid*., 109-110.

[96] *Ibid*., 110. The figure discussed by Picavet does not occur in the Göttweig MS but is included in the Gembloux and Liège MSS. The figure is reproduced by Morin ("Les *Dicta* ...," 17) and is indeed vaguely similar to one used by Gerbert in a 978/980 (?) letter to Constantine of Fleury. Cf. Harriet P. Lattin, *The Letters of Gerbert* (New York, 1961), p. 43 (Letter 5).

[97] I have used an excellent facsimile of the MS produced by the Monastic Manuscript Microfilm Project of St. John's University, Collegeville, Minnesota (Project 3342).

[98] V. Werl, "Manuscripten-Catalog der Stifts-Bibliothek zu Göttweig," 1 (1844), 186. This is a handwritten catalogue prepared by Werl at Göttweig. A Xerox copy of pp. 186-188 was obtained through the kind offices of Prof. Julian Plante, Curator, Monastic Manuscript Microfilm Library, St. John's University, Collegeville, Minnesota. Werl's note, "2 Göttweiger Hände vom Anfange des 12 Jahrh.", also appears on f. 1 of Göttweig MS 54 (58). The hand is clearly Carolingian minuscule and exhibits the characteristics of that hand at the late 11th or very early 12th century: i.e.-uncial 'a' with straight back, closed lower loop of 'g', always minuscule 'n', etc.

[99] *Ibid*. The *Gerbertus de sacramento corporis et sanguinis Domini* at ff. 16-21 is immediately preceded

codex is supplied with a fifteenth century index pasted in before f.1 which also maintains the Gerbert attribution.

The title, *De sacramento corporis et sanguinis Domini*, is unique in that all other examples of *SAN* are identified as *De corpore et sanguine Domini*. Interestingly, Odo of Cluny's hymn on the Eucharist is also entitled *De sacramento corporis et sanguinis Domini* while virtually every other tenth century eucharistic work follows the *De corpore et sanguine Domini* formula. There appears to be no significant deviation between the actual Göttweig manuscript and the text as printed by Migne which includes the corrections made by Pez. The Göttweig manuscript does, however, have marginal notes in the same hand as the text which accurately identify the texts cited. On f. 16 a marginal notes gives *"heretici Heribaldus Rabanus"*, with the obvious intention of indicating their Stercoranist outlook as heresy. Ratramnus is identified in a marginal note on f. 16.

The isolated appearance of this manuscript far from the locus of the other manuscripts of *SAN* and the unique attribution to Gerbert do have a reasonable explanation which, when added to the evidence in favor of Heriger and the personal information about Gerbert, denies the latter's authorship but not his knowledge and connection with the tract.

The life and intellectual influence of Gerbert of Aurillac have received in-depth study by numerous scholars.[100] Only a brief review of his career and a consideration of those aspects which bear directly on his connection with the eucharistic controversies and teachings of his time is necessary here.

The best evidence places Gerbert's birth of humble parents in the Auvergne sometime between 945 and 950, probably in 946.[101] In his early, formative years Gerbert came under the influence of three strains which were to mark his work and thought: the Christian Cluniac enthusiasm for monastic reform, the good life of the moral pagan philosophers as reflected in the Latin classics, and the Moslem influenced scholarship of tenth century Spain.[102] Gerbert long maintained

by the *Lamentum* of Origen (ff. 13-16) and is immediately followed by the Ratramnus work (ff. 21-27). Geiselmann (*Die Eucharistielehre* ..., 178) noted an 11th century Göttweig MS of Ratramnus' *Liber ad Karolum regem* which I believe is intended to be Göttweig MS 54 (58).

[100] There are several excellent books and articles on Gerbert's life, notably the article by Roland Allen, "Gerbert, Pope Silvester II," *English Historical Review*, 28 (October, 1892), 625-668, and the article by Oscar G. Darlington, "Gerbert, the Teacher," *American Historical Review*, 52, no. 3 (April, 1947), 456-476. The previously mentioned work of F. Picavet is good, with reservations regarding Gerbert's eucharistic work. Harriet P. Lattin's collection of Gerbert's letters is the most recent and thorough. For Gerbert's mathematical works cf. N. Bubnov (cited above note 69).

[101] Darlington, 456, note 2.

[102] *Ibid.*, 457.

his close connection with the Cluniacs, particularly with the Abbot Majeul, as is evidenced by his later letters.[103] He also established a lasting liaison with the royal house of Germany and served each of the three Ottos in turn as teacher and advisor. Perhaps as a result of Ottonian influence, Gerbert was consecrated as Pope on 2 April 999, taking the name of Sylvester II with its suggestion of Constantine and the first Sylvester. His short tenure in the papal see passed uneventfully and he died on 12 May 1003 shortly after his friend and protector, Otto III.

Gerbert later became an almost legendary figure, due no doubt to his Spanish education and great learning in the mysterious arts of mathematics and astronomy.[104] The legends associated with Gerbert reflect his immense intellectual impact on his time. Although deeply involved in the great political struggles of his era Gerbert is best remembered for his teaching and great erudition. He is especially noted as an avid copier and collector of books. His student, Richer, records many of Gerbert's book collecting episodes and others can clearly be seen from his letters requesting books from various persons and places to enlarge his library. Gerbert frequently traded one of the astronomical instruments of his manufacture for books for his library and seems to have been very interested in preserving the vanishing fragments of Latin secular literature.[105] It is significant to note that not once did Gerbert seem to request religious writings or to express any desire to possess current literature on religious subjects.[106] Perhaps this was due to an already adequate supply of such items or his requests may have been made in person or in letters which have not survived. Gerbert probably had little trouble in obtaining religious writings since his wide travels constantly brought him into contact with the most active libraries and scriptoria of the time.

Gerbert was not known as a great theological controversialist and, indeed, his only interest in theological questions concerning the Eucharist seems to have been connected with the question of the reception of the Sacrament by the unworthy or the dying.[107] There is no evidence that

[103] Cf. Lattin. Gerbert maintained a frequent correspondance with Cluny and especially with Abbot Majeul.

[104] For an interesting account of the legendary Gerbert cf. Allen, 663-668. William of Malmesbury in particular repeats all the apocryphal tales regarding Gerbert.

[105] E. R. Chamberlin, "Pope Silvester II," *History Today*, 19, no. 2 (February, 1969), 117, notes that an early clock at Magdeburg was of Gerbert's manufacture in return for books.

[106] Darlington, 466, expresses this opinion. It is confirmed by a review of the extant Gerbert letters in Lattin. Richer (*Histoire de France*, ed. and transl. R. Latouche; 2 vols., Paris, 1930) is also silent on the question of religious works of then current interest.

[107] Cf. Lattin, Letter 212: from Reims, 25 Feb. 997, to Queen Adelaide; and Letter 214, 15 Mar. 997, to Archbishop Siguin of Sens (pp. 273 and 275 respectively).

Gerbert taught on the subject of the Eucharist, that he wrote anything on the matter himself, or even that he was actively interested in the question of the Real Presence. The only clear statement of his doctrinal position is contained in the profession of faith which he made at the Council of Verzy prior to his consecration as Archbishop of Reims.[108] It has been suggested, but without apparent basis, that this profession was extracted due to a suspicion of Manicheanism on Gerbert's part.[109] Picavet correctly states that the dogma of the Real Presence in the Eucharist was already implicitly admitted by all in Gerbert's time and believes that *SAN* joins and completes the profession of faith. Indeed, Picavet sees in the tract the same beliefs on the Trinity, Incarnation, and Resurrection which were signaled in the *professio fidei* at Verzy.[110] This, however, should not be very surprising since Gerbert would obviously have wanted to adopt an 'orthodox' profession on that occasion. In any event the elements present in the profession are not at all unusual and H. Lattin has even identified the oath taken by Gerbert at Verzy with one found in the Pseudo-Isidorian collections, supposedly from the Fourth Council of Carthage.[111]

Gerbert stands at the turn of the tenth century as perhaps the greatest intellect and teacher of the time. His mathematical and logical teachings were preeminent but apparently theology was not his interest. How then did he come to be associated with the most important eucharistic work of the tenth century? For the explanation of this we must now direct our attention to his connections with the author of that work.

Gerbert's connections with Heriger of Lobbes and thus possibly with the latter's eucharistic writings were both indirect and direct. The extremely intimate connection of Heriger and Notker of Liège has already been noted. Notker was also closely connected with Gerbert. He was a frequent recipient of communications from Gerbert sent both officially, in the name of Archbishop Adalbero, and privately. Lattin publishes at least nine letters from Gerbert to Notker on various subjects, most of which deal with the political situation in France and Germany.[112] In

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[108] The text of this profession is Letter 192 in Lattin (pp. 224-225). Cf. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, 19 (new ed., Venice, 1774), p. 107.

[109] Allen, 662. Cf. Steven Runciman, *The Medieval Manichee* (Cambridge, England, 1955), p. 117. Runciman states that the profession of faith showed Gerbert to be suspected of decidedly Manicheo-Gnostic doctrines, including Dualism and the rejection of the Old Testament. The wording of the profession is clearly realist in tone.

[110] Picavet, 109, 168, 172.

[111] Lattin, note on p. 225.

[112] Lattin, Letters = 24; 38; 48; 56; 72; 73; 167; 168; and 202, ranging from January, 984, to January, 996.

Letter 202, written from Reims on 2 January 996, Gerbert asked Notker to reconsider his ill opinion of him and thereby indicated a more than routine or official relationship.[113] It is quite reasonable to assume that Gerbert and Heriger knew of each other through this common relationship with Notker. Gerbert also had frequent face to face contact with Notker and thus, perhaps, with Heriger. At the end of February, 984, Gerbert and Notker reportedly met, along with Kings Lothaire and Louis, Duke Charles, Count Godfrey, and Archbishop Adalbero of Reims and other clerics, at the monastery of St. John in Liège where they all made oath to support Otto III's rights of succession.[114] This was well after Heriger's initial connection with Notker and Liège and he too was no doubt present. In Letter 168, written from Reims on 25 October 989, Gerbert informed Notker that he was prohibited by Archbishop Arnulf from joining him (and Heriger) on a trip to Rome.[115] Notker, and perhaps Heriger also, was present on 2 June 995, at the Synod of Mouzon where Gerbert defended himself against the papal legate, Leo.[116] There is thus sufficient reason to believe that Gerbert and Heriger were well acquainted and had ample opportunity to discuss mutual interests, such as mathematics, and to exchange views and possibly written materials.

We should also keep in mind Gerbert's preoccupation, even in the midst of his most serious political problems, with collecting manuscripts on various subjects. Heriger, as the master of an important and rather substantial school at Liège, certainly provided Gerbert with a lucrative source for filling out his library. Heriger no doubt sought Gerbert's expert advice on mathematical problems in which he was interested. He was certainly familiar with Gerbert's mathematical writings.[117] Indeed, a nonextant Gerbert letter from January-February 1000(?) to an unknown (French cleric?), suggesting a council of Toledo as the precedent for celebrating the Feast of the Annunciation on 18 December, is known only through a letter of Heriger.[118] Since Heriger clearly knew Gerbert's work there is no reason to suppose the converse was not also true.

Heriger and Gerbert also were connected through their students, many of whom studied under both men. Adalbold, a cleric of Liège un-

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[113] *Ibid.*, 263-264.

[114] *Ibid.*, 78, note 4.

[115] *Ibid.*, 197-198 and note 2. The addressee of Letter 168 is in doubt but is probably Notker, especially in view of the Notker-Heriger trip to Rome in 989, when they secured a papal privilege for the abbey of Lobbes.

[116] Richer, 2.312-313.

[117] Cf. Bubnov, 205-225.

[118] Lattin, 382 (Letter 23). Heriger's letter is edited in PL 139. 1134A.

der Bishop Notker and a student of Heriger and later himself a teacher at Lobbes, was a correspondent of Gerbert after the latter became Pope and requested Gerbert's help in finding the volume of a sphere.[119] Gerbert's usual exaction for such services was a copy of some manuscript he did not already possess.

Thus, Gerbert had ample opportunity to acquire a copy of Heriger's eucharistic tract, even from the author himself. This appears to be the most logical explanation of how Gerbert could have initially become connected with *SAN*. It is in no way inconsistent with Gerbert's known lack of interest in theological problems and especially fits his penchant for collecting manuscripts from every source. What would be more natural than that he should adopt for his own library and use what he considered to be an excellent work on the problems of the Real Presence in the Eucharist and Stercoranism composed by an acquaintance?

The reason that Heriger's realist and anti-Stercoranist tract appears at the isolated monastery of Göttweig inscribed with the name of Gerbert becomes clearer still when the early history of the Göttweig manstery is examined.

The abbey of Göttweig in the diocese of St. Polten near Krems in Lower Austria was founded in 1083 in honor of the Holy Virgin for Augustinian canons by St. Altmann of Passau.[120] In 1094 Bishop Ulrich I of Passau resettled the monastery with Benedictines from Sankt Blasien.[121] The abbey was on a mountain in a secluded area and soon became very large and rich. Only the church and tower, and evidently the greater part of the library, survived a disastrous fire in 1718 shortly before Jerome Pez's visit.[122] The abbey was rebuilt the following year with Charles VI placing the first stone. The monastery survives to the present day with a large library comprising some 1111 manuscripts, 1100 incunabula, and 60.000 other printed volumes including extensive music archives.[123]

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[119] *Ibid.*, 301 (Letter 223).

[120] Altmann of Passau (d. 1091) was a canon and teacher at Paderborn and provost of the canons at Aachen ca. 1051. He was also chaplain to the Empress Agnes and made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. He became Bishop of Passau in 1065. Altmann exhibited great zeal for the *vita communis* of Augustine and founded St. Nikola near Passau ca. 1070 and reformed several other communities. A member of the anti-Imperial party, Altmann was Gregory VII's legate in Germany and was the first to announce the excommunication of Henri IV in Germany in 1076. A *Vita Altmanni* by a Göttweig monk of the early 12th century is edited in *MGHSS*, 12. Cf. A. Schacher, *NCE* 1. 353.

[121] K. Veilhaber, in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, 4. 1145-1146, incorrectly prints the date as 1194. Cf. *Vita Altmanni*, c. xxxviii (*MGHSS*, XII, 241) and Bernold of Constance, *Chronicon*, under the date of "3 Idus Septembris 1094" (edited in *MGHSS*, V, 460, lines 4-13).

[122] O'Donnell, *NCE* 6. 649.

[123] *Ibid.*

The events surrounding the introduction of the Benedictine Rule from Sankt Blasien in 1094 provide a possible explanation of how a manuscript of *SAN* attributed to Gerbert came to be found at remote Göttweig. The events of 1094 are described by a Göttweig monk in chapter 38 of his *Vita Altmanni* which dates from the early twelfth century.[124] Shortly after the death of St. Altmann a certain religious named Johannes Scotus appeared at Göttweig and was sealed up as an incluse in the church of the Virgin. The author of the *Vita* relates that Johannes Scotus (who is identified as a former companion of Marianus Scotus of Regensburg)[125] inspired many others by his works and example. He then goes on the relate that an unfriendly person began to sow tares among the good wheat of St. Altmann[126] and the good name of Göttweig was lost as shameless men, expelled or fugitives from their own places, gathered at Göttweig. These persons were received into the monastery on the pretext of the religion which they should have displayed. However, due to their abominable actions, the place began to be infamous and its previous good repute was lost. Their infamy spread far and wide and both religious and laity avoided the mountain. At this point St. Altmann appeared to the incluse Johannes in a dream and warned him that he should purge the place of its "filth" and that he should wipe out from the mountain the stench of "manure".[127]

Johannes Scotus, understanding his vision, consulted with the trustworthy brothers and ordered the evil ones to be thrown out and those who had been deceived by their teaching to be subjected to penance. To offset their ill reputation Johannes suggested that the canons would do well to change their habit. Since all were in agreement they decided to follow the profession of monks. One of them, Conrad, was then sent to Rome to obtain from the Pope (then Urban II) a license for the changeover. Returning with papal approval for the plan he reported the same to Bishop Ulrich I of Passau, who proposed that the monastery should receive as abbot Hartmann of Sankt Blasien, a holy man of great reputation. Hartmann was also the recipient of a nocturnal visit from St. Altmann's ghost in which the defunct bishop gave to him the pastoral baton and commended Göttweig to him. Hartmann was accepted, introduced the Benedictine Rule from Sankt Blasien with some of his companions from that place, and thenceforth the monastery flourished.[128]

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[124] *MGHSS*, XII, 240-241. I have paraphrased the text.

[125] *Ibid.*, 241, note 37. Cf. C. McGrath, NCE 9: 217.

[126] Cf. Jesus' parable in Matthew 13:24.

[127] *MGHSS*, 12, 241 (*Vita Altmanni*, c. xxxviii): "... eidem Johanni incluso Altmannus episcopus in somnis infulatus apparvit, ut locum de coeno purgaret, et ut foetorem stercoris de monte extergeret admonuit".

[128] Cf. above, n. 121. Bernold also relates the departure of Hartmann and his companions from Sankt Blasien for Göttweig ca. 12 Sept. 1094.

These events are listed under the date of 1094; and from the language used by the author of the *Vita Altmanni* to describe the conduct of the evildoers and the situation requiring remedy there is good reason to believe that the Stercoranist error was involved. The reference to *coenum* and to *foetor stercoris* in particular reinforce this premise.[129] Undoubtedly the fledgling monastery underwent in early 1094 a period of Stercoranist influence which was extirpated only by Johannes Scotus and the changeover to the Benedictine Rule. At this time *SAN* would have lost its value with respect to the question of eucharistic realism with the appearance of the works associated with the revival of open eucharistic controversy at mid-eleventh century, but would have been well suited to efforts to counteract Stercoranist influences since it was probably the only significant anti-Stercoranist work of the immediate preceding period.[130]

In my opinion it is at this time that a copy of *SAN*, made by or for Gerbert of Aurillac, was transmitted from Italy to Göttweig, possibly along with the papal permission for the change of habit obtained by Conrad.[131] It is unlikely that Conrad would not have taken advantage of his trip to the "book market of the medieval world" to obtain books for the still new monastery, especially books relating to the still fresh problem of Stercoranism. In view of the destruction of the papal archives by the Normans in 1084 it is unlikely, but not impossible, that Conrad obtained a copy of *SAN* from that source. However his journey from Göttweig to Rome and return no doubt took him through Ravenna and possibly Bobbio, likely repositories of Gerbert's books, as well as Verona which had possibly the richest library in Italy at that time, a see once occupied by Heriger's contemporary at Lobbes, Ratherius.

On Conrad's return to Göttweig the book, which probably bore a statement refering to its origins in Gerbert materials, was recopied in the Göttweig scriptorium where the copyists, wishing to capitalize on

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[129] I believe the text supports a reading of *stercus, -oris* as "Stercoranist" quite as well as "dung" which makes little sense in context. The word *stercorista* ("Stercoranist") first appeared when used by Cardinal Humbert of Silva Candida referring to Berenger of Tours in a letter to Bishop Eusebius Bruno of Angers (edited by K. Francke in "Zur Charakteristik des Cardinals Humbert von Silva Candida," *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, 7 (1882), 164-169). Humbert also used the word in c. 22 of his response to the *Libellus contra Latinos* of Nicetas Stethatos (edited in PL 143. 993). There is, however, no reason to assume a monk at remote Göttweig would be familiar with this relatively new term.

[130] The works of Lanfranc or Guitmond of Aversa would have been much more valuable with regard to the question of the Real Presence in the Eucharist ca. 1094. I have been unable to locate any other anti-Stercoranist work subsequent to *SAN* and prior to 1094.

[131] The original papal (Urban II) permission for a change of habit appears to be no longer extant. Cf. A. Brackmann, *Germania Pontificia*, 1 (Berlin, 1911), p. 235.

Gerbert's prestige, may have falsely inscribed their copy to Gerbert's authorship. The age of Gerbert's copy (100 years old) would probably have demanded such a recopying and the dating of the Göttweig manuscript clearly supports this hypothesis as to time.[132]

I believe this to be a reasonable explanation of how Heriger's eucharistic treatise came to be found at Göttweig under Gerbert's name. Naturally one would be pleased to have more certain evidence, such as a record of its presence in Gerbert's library (the disposition of which is still unknown). Lacking this, the circumstances surrounding the 1094 Stercoranist problem at Göttweig offer at least a tentative explanation for the presence of SAN at the isolated Austrian monastery.

The account given in the Vita Altmanni also opens new possibilities regarding Aberdeen University MS 161 in which significant portions of. SAN are included and some of which are prefaced with the introductory, "Johannes Scottus in libro de corpore et sanguine Domini dicit ..."[133] The Göttweig incluse, Johannes, is certainly a better fit for the Aberdeen MS 161 Scottus than anyone heretofore proposed. The Göttweig incluse was the companion of Marianus Scotus of Regensburg who was renowned for his copying of Scripture and works of devotion, not only for other monasteries, but as an act of charity for anyone who wished them.[134] Marianus Scotus died in 1082/3, but the foundations made by him at Regensburg continued to flourish for some time. During the eleventh and twelfth centuries there were many "Scottish" monks traversing Germany.[135] One such could possibly have been introduced to the tract while visiting Göttweig and could have returned it to Regensburg with an appropriate, but again erroneous, attribution to his "countryman", Johannes Scotus, who had played so pronounced a role in the Göttweig events. The Aberdeen manuscript is of continental provenance (perhaps from Regensburg?) and the connection of Johannes Scotus of Göttweig with the SAN passages of that manuscript is very likely, both chronologically and with regard to possible knowledge of the text; much more likely in fact than their connection with John Scotus Erigena, a relationship which has already been shown to be in error.[136]

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[132] Werl, I, 186. Werl dated the Göttweig MS at early 12th century.
[133] James, 53-54.
[134] C. McGrath, NCE, 9. 217.
[135] Ibid.
[136] Geiselmann, "Der Einfluss ...", 243-244, and Cappuyns, 88-89.

Conclusion

The eruption of the so-called Second Eucharistic Controversy with Berengar of Tours at mid-eleventh century brought to an end the current of eucharistic thought which had been so well preserved and expanded over the preceding 150 years. Thenceforth, the Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist would no longer be the central question at issue. Instead, the debate would shift to questions about the method of transformation of the eucharistic elements and the question of the application of the dialectic method to theological problems of all sorts.

The eucharistic controversy begun in the ninth century had been pursued with vigor and discernment throughout the tenth century by some of the greatest minds of the age and thus had laid the base from which the Berengarian controversy was to proceed. The issue of the nature of the Eucharist had not been dead, or even dormant, but had evoked widespread interest and dissemination of the doctrines evolved. The realist position had attracted the support of the major figures and the symbolic interpretation had experienced a severe decline in acceptance and adherents in the tenth century. The result was common approval of the realist interpretation of the Eucharist beginning very early in the tenth century. As a consequence of this change in the orthodox doctrine, Berengar stood almost a defender of the symbolist view in the eleventh century and thus found himself condemned for proposing what had been the orthodox view only a century and a half before.

The *Dicta Herigeri* (*SAN*) composed near the end of the tenth century reflected the development of the eucharistic arguments which had gone before. With the aid of the dialectic technique the author sought to reconcile all the previous arguments into a whole which reflected the predominant, realist outlook of his time. The anti-Stercoranist arguments advanced by the author of *SAN* insured its usefulness for more than 100 years beyond its composition and long after its synthesis of realism and symbolism had been superceded by more developed arguments devised in response to the Berengarian heresy.

With the possible resolution of the problems posed by the errant Göttweig manuscript and by the *Johannes Scottus* allusion of the Aberdeen manuscript the final outstanding obstacles to the acceptance of Heriger of Lobbes as the author of *SAN* are removed and the way is open for a more comprehensive investigation of the impact of Heriger and his eucharistic writings on the eucharistic thought of the age. These researches should form but a part of a more detailed, scholarly inquiry into the important theological developments of that "Dark Age", the tenth century.

U.S.M.A., West Point

THE COLLECTION FORM AND THE ART OF MEMORY IN THE *LIBELLUS SUPER LUDO SCHACHORUM* OF JACOBUS DE CESSOLIS

Raymond D. Di Lorenzo

V ERY little is known about Jacobus de Cessolis, the author of the *Libellus super Ludo Schachorum* or, as it is entitled in some manuscripts, *Libellus de Moribus Hominum et Officiis Nobilium ac Popularium*. Until recently the only sure information was that, as he says in his prologue, he was a Dominican: *Hunc autem libellum ad honorem et solatium nobilium et maxime ludum sciendum, ego frater Jacobus de Cessolis ordinis praedicatorum composui.*[1] It is possible, however, that he is the Jacobus de Cessolis, Dominican, who is named in some texts from 1317-1322 discovered by Fr. Thomas Kaeppeli in a cartulary of a Genoese notary named Ugolino Cerrino.[2] In one of these texts, dated January 9, 1318, we learn that Jacobus was vicar of the Inquisitor of Lombardy and the March of Genoa, Jacobus de Levanto. This means that by 1318 Jacobus de Cessolis was a man of some experience and maturity. None of the texts, unfortunately, gives any hint of his age; but his name appears at one point as Jacobus de Cessora (a rhotacism of Cessola) de Ast, suggesting at least that his birthplace was the town of Cessola, which is to be found near Asti and some forty-five miles north-west of Genoa. At the time Jacobus figures in these cartulary texts, he was a member of the Dominican house of San Domenico at Genoa, a literary center that had housed such distinguished writers as Jacobus de Voragine, author of the famous *Legenda Aurea* (1260-1267), and Johannes de Balbi, author of the influential moral dictionary *Catholicon* (about 1280). If the Jacobus of the cartulary texts is the same as the author of the *Libellus super Ludo Schachorum*, then it is not at all unlikely that it was at San Domenico in Genoa that he did his work.

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[1] I have used as my text a fourteenth century manuscript from the Vatican Library, MS. Vat. lat. 1042. All quotations from the manuscript are edited by me, and they are cited as to section (*tractatus*), chapter (*capitulum*), and folio number.

[2] Thomas Kaeppeli, "Pour la biographie de Jacques de Cessole," *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 30 (1960), 149-162.

Composed aroud the year 1300[3], the *Libellus* proved to be an ex-
tremely popular work in the late Middle Ages. Originally written in
Latin, it was translated into a great many of the vernacular languages of
Europe, English (by William Caxton), French, Italian, Catalan, Spanish,
German, Dutch, Swedish, and Czech. The number of extant manuscripts
and printed editions is well over two hundred.[4]

So popular a work could hardly fail to attract the attention of an oc-
casional scholar. About a century ago Félix Lajard devoted an article to
Jacobus and his *Libellus* in the *Histoire littéraire de la France*.[5] He went little
beyond summary and paraphrase. Since Lajard, only a small number of
studies have dealt with the *Libellus*, and only one of these represents a
contribution to our understanding of it as literature.[6] Lester K. Born
touched briefly upon the *Libellus* in an article about the notion of the
ideal prince in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[7] More than what
he says, the general subject to which he found the *Libellus* relevant is im-
portant. The *Libellus* properly belongs to that type of medieval didactic
literature known as *regimen principum*.

No study has directed attention to the make-up of the *Libellus*, to the
literary procedures of the author, and to the assumptions which lie
behind them. This is what I attempt to do here.

In form, the *Libellus* is a collection of *exempla* and *sententiae*. This fact
gains significance when set next to another. The collection is a very old
literary form, and collecting texts or, as it is sometimes expressed,
working *per modum excerptorum* is a very old literary procedure. Fur-
thermore, the collection is one of the chief literary forms of ancient
oratorical culture. Such a culture is deeply conditioned by the
requirements and processes of memory. The collection is then a deposit
of a body of materials which cannot be easily kept in the memory.

At bottom most medieval handbooks, whatever special purpose they
serve, and most medieval encyclopedias, are collections of texts, for

[3] Kaeppeli, pp. 156-157.

[4] Thus M. A. Burt; see note 6 below.

[5] Félix Lajard, "Jacques de Cessole, Dominicain," *Histoire littéraire de la France*, ed. B. Hauréau 25
(Paris, 1869), 9-41.

[6] See H. J. R. Murray, *A History of Chess* (Oxford, 1913), pp. 537-549; J.-Th. Welter, *L'exemplum
dans la littérature religieuse et didactique du moyen âge* (Paris, 1927), pp. 351-354; Frederick Tupper, *Types
of Society in Medieval Literature* (New York, 1926), pp. 18-52; Marie Anita Burt O. P. ed., "Libellus de
Moribus Hominum et Officiis Nobilium ac Popularium Super Ludo Scachorum, by Jacobus de
Cessolis" (Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Texas, 1957, based on four of the extant
MSS). Resumé in *Dissertation Abstracts*, 17 (1957), 2603. David Antin, "Caxton's The Game and Playe
of the Chesse," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 29 (1968), 269-278.

[7] Lester K. Born, "The Perfect Prince: A Study in Thirteenth-and Fourteenth-Century Ideals,"
Speculum, 3 (1928), 470-504.

example Isidore's *Etymologiae* or Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum Majus*. Many highly sophisticated medieval poems are collections. Well known examples are Dante's *Vita Nuova* (a collection of poems excerpted from the book of his own memory), John Gower's *Confessio Amantis* (like the *Libellus*, a collection of *exempla* and *sententiae*), and Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women*, not to mention that famous incomplete collection of his, the *Canterbury Tales*.

Any collection represents the result of selection and integration. The integration of the collected materials is an author's most important and most challenging area of work. One of the more remarkable features of Jacobus's collection is his use of mnemonic techniques as integrating techniques. The *ars memoriae*,[8] traditionally one of the five *partes* of rhetoric, and an *ars* intended to help the orator keep in mind what he wished to say, functions in the *Libellus* as a rhetorical procedure. This is an interesting fact: a technique for remembering is used as a technique for presenting or communicating ideas to an audience. As one remembers, so he may communicate, so he may insure that others will remember what he says. This is the assumption which underlies Jacobus's use of the art of memory in the *Libellus*.

I

The *Libellus* is made up of a brief prologue, four major sections (*tractatus*) subdivided into chapters (*capitula*), and an epilogue. As Jacobus explains in the prologue, his treatise has a moral purpose, and it was the result of his preaching on the game of chess:

> Multorum fratrum ordinis nostri et diversorum saecularium precibus persuasus, dudum munus requisitum negavi, ut transcriberem solacii ludum scachorum, videlicet, regiminis morum ac belli humani generis documentum. Sane cum illum ad populum declamatorie praedicassem multisque nobilibus placuisset materia, honori eorum ac dignitati curavi ascribere, monens eos ut si formam ipsorum menti impresserint, bellum ipsum et ludi virtutem corde poterunt faciliter optinere. Hunc autem libellum de moribus hominum et de officiis nobilium, si placet, intitulari decrevi... (Prologue, fol. 70r).

In the first section Jacobus presents a fictional account of the origin of the chess game. He says that the original inventor made the game as a symbol of a kingdom and its members. This game the inventor used to correct a tyrannical king. In the second section Jacobus explains that

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[8] Principal scholarly treatments of the *ars memoriae* are Frances A. Yates, *The Art of Memory* (London, 1966), and Helga Hajdu, *Das mnemotechnische Schrifttum des Mittelalters* (Amsterdam, 1967). Reprint of the first edition, Leipzig, 1936.

each piece in the first rank on the chess board represents some member of the class of nobles, and in the third section, that the pieces in the second rank represent members of the class of commoners. For each piece described, Jacobus lists a number of pertinent moral precepts and illustrates them by numerous *exempla* and *sententiae*. These *exempla* and *sententiae* comprise the bulk of the *Libellus*. In the fourth section Jacobus explains the significance of the movements which the pieces can make. The work ends with a short epilogue which recapitulates the second, third, and fourth sections in terms of the fiction of the first. (I should add here that throughout the *Libellus* Jacobus speaks only of the black pieces. He assumes that what is said of the black pieces will be understood to apply as well to the white pieces. Also, Jacobus views the black pieces from the opposite side of the chess board.)

Those who have called the *Libellus* a sermon or a handbook of *exempla* have not looked closely at the first section. In it Jacobus gives us a "history" of the chess game. He tells us when it was invented, who invented it, and why. Be it noted that this "history" is a fiction. It is the author's own creation. It is not an historical account of the origin of chess.

The fiction has a purpose, to pose a theoretical problem that was widely discussed in medieval political speculations. The problem is how to correct a tyrannical king, or if he cannot be corrected, whether tyrannicide is justifiable. The fiction places the *Libellus* among those medieval didactic tracts known as *regimen principum*.

Jacobus tells us that the chess game was invented by a philosopher named Xerses or Philometron during the reign of the tyrannical and patricidal king Evilmerodach. Like his father, Nabuchadnezzar, Evilmerodach hated correction and often persecuted or killed wise men who were his counsellors.

The people of the realm knew this and were disturbed. They thought the king must mend his evil ways and decided to ask the philosopher Philometron ("lover of justice") if he would correct the king. Knowing he might be killed, the philosopher hesitated in granting their request, but finally he did. The people had persuaded him by saying that he should prefer to die rather than have it known that the king remained a tyrant because Philometron dared not correct him.

Obviously, the philosopher was in a dilemma. To correct the king was to risk death. Not to correct the king was to risk his reputation. After much agonizing thought, he decided to make a game-board of sixty-four squares and to fashion gamepieces in human form. By means of the game he would correct the king.

At court the philosopher played the game with many nobles. Evilmerodach noticed their play; and attracted to the beauty and

novelty of the game, he ordered the philosopher to play this game with him. Philometron began to instruct the king in the play and, as he did so, spoke of the virtues and vices pertaining to each chess-piece on the board. (These instructions, says Jacobus, he will recount in the following section.)

When the king heard of his own correction, he threatened to decapitate the philosopher if he did not at once reveal his reasons for making such a game. Fearing for his life, Philometron told the king that he had three reasons in mind. The first was to correct the kings's evil ways. The second was to help wealthy nobles avoid idleness by playing a game both pleasant and instructive. And lastly, he wanted to satisfy the human desire for something novel.

The king was pacified, even pleased. He said that the game was a noble means of correction and amended his life according to the rules of the game. This king, says Jacobus, formerly one of inordinate and impious life, became virtuous.

In this fictional account of the origin of chess, there is no question of tyrannicide. Perhaps Jacobus thought it unjustifiable. Anyhow, he by-passes the question [of tyrannicide] by making the method of kingly correction pleasant as well as corrective. Jacobus had opened the *Libellus* by noting that one of the symptoms of evil in men is their hatred of correction. Clearly, this psychological fact determines the character of the chess game as a moral corrective. To better the kingdom, better the king; and better him in a way that pleases and instructs. Whether this is a serious solution to a serious theoretical problem is hard to say. However, the posing of the problem is enough to indicate what sort of treatise Jacobus is writing and what audience he had in mind. The *Libellus* is a regimen of the prince; its audience is aristocratic. Not surprisingly, chess playing was a mark of nobility in the Middle Ages.[9]

In the second section Jacobus describes the pieces of the first rank: *rex, regina,* two *milites,* two *alphiles* (judges — our bishops), and two *rochi* (royal legates or vicars). In the third section he describes the eight pawns of the second rank: *agricolae* (farmers, KRP), *fabri* (metal workers, wood cutters, and masons, KKtP), *lanifices* (notaries, weavers, tailors, barbers, cobblers, skinners, butchers, KBP), *mercatores* (money lenders, sellers of cloth, keepers of money and rent, KP), *medici* (physicians, apothecaries, and surgeons, QP), *tabernarii* (innkeepers, taverners, and

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[9] According to Petrus Alphonsus, the seven *probitates* of a noble were *equitare, natare, sagitare, cestibus certare, aucupare, scacis ludere, versificare.* Petrus Alphonsus, *Disciplina Clericalis,* eds. A. Hilka and W. Söderhjelm (Heidelberg, 1911), p. 210.

hosts generally, QBP), *custodes civitatis* (city guards and civil officials, QKtP), and *ribaldi* (wasters, gamblers, ribalds, and messengers, QRP). See diagram of the chess board below.

Black

Rochus	Miles	Alphilis	Regina	Rex	Alphilis	Miles	Rochus
Ribaldi QRP	Custodes Civitatis QKtP	Tabernarii QBP	Medici QP	Meratores KP	Lanifices KBP	Fabri KKtP	Agricolae KRP

White

These two sections contain all the numerous *exempla* and *sententiae* in the *Libellus*. After naming, describing and locating each piece, Jacobus lists a number of moral precepts. Under each precept, a number of *exempla* and *sententiae* are grouped. In the fourth section, the initial and general movements of each piece are described. As expected, the movements have some moral or military significance. There are no *exempla* in this short last section.

So numerous are the *exempla* that the *Libellus* has been called, and justly so, a collection of them. But we are liable to misjudge the *Libellus* if we do not realize that the collection is a very old didactic literary form, much used in both classical antiquity and the Middle Ages.[10] It usually appears as a collection of texts excerpted from various written

[10] For bibliography on the collection see notes to H.-M. Rochais "Contribution à l'histoire des florilèges ascétiques du haut moyen âge latin: le 'Liber Scintillarum,' "*Revue bénédictine*, 63 (1953), 246-250.

sources and given some sort of organization, say, under headings or topics.

A typical mediaeval example of the collection is the monastic *florilegium* or collection of "flowers". "The monk would copy out texts he had enjoyed so as to savor them at leisure and use them anew as subjects for private meditation».[11] The *florilegium* had other than private uses. Vincent of Beauvais composed a *florilegium* that is a treatise on the education of royal children. His words in the prologue epitomize the method and purpose of his collection.

> Nuper si bene recolitis, vestra sublimitas meam parvitatem rogare dignata est, ut de scripturis divinis flosculos conpetentes excerperem, ex quibus conpendiosum aliquid ad liberorum erudicionem salutarem conficerem, quo videlicet eorum tenera infancia salubriter imbui posset et quasi vas novum recenter infusum odorem sapientiae suavissimum eorum memoria perpetua retineret.[12]

The collection of texts takes numerous theological and philosophical literary forms.[13] *Summae, Distinctiones, Catenae, Libri Sententiarum* are basically collections of texts. They served as repositories of *auctoritates* (texts of authors). To assess the transmission of texts from classical antiquity, the evolution of doctrine, and the development of technical terms, the historian of medieval speculation can ill-afford to overlook these collections.

Collections of *exempla* also appear. A noteworthy one from the reign of Tiberius is the *Factorum et Dictorum Memorabilium Libri Novem* by Valerius Maximus.

> Urbis Romae exterarumque gentium facta simul ac dicta memoratu digna, quae apud alios latius diffusa sunt quam ut breuiter cognosci possint, ab inlustribus electa auctoribus digerere constitui, ut documenta sumere uolentibus longae inquisitionis labor absit. nec mihi cuncta conplectendi cupido incessit: quis enim omnis aeui gesta modico uoluminum numero comprehenderit, aut quis compos mentis domesticae peregrinaeque historiae seriem, felici superiorum stilo conditam, uel adtentiore cura uel praestantiore facundia traditurum se sperauerit?[14]

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[11] Jean Leclercq, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God*, trans. Catherine Misrahi (Mentor Omega Book; New York, 1926), p. 186.

[12] Vincent of Beauvais, *De Eruditione Filiorum Nobilium*, ed. Arpad Steiner (Cambridge, Mass., 1938), p. 3. Below he adds that he collected excerpts *non solum ex divinis scripturis verum etiam ex doctorum catholicorum sententiis insuper etiam philosophicis et poeticis* (p. 3).

[13] P. Glorieux, "Sommes théologiques, " *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, XIV, 2 (1941), 2342-2363.

[14] Valerius Maximus, *Factorum et Dictorum Memorabilium Libri Novem*, ed. K. Kempf (Leipzig, 1888), p. 1.

Valerius's method and purpose do not differ from those of any collection maker. The special feature of his collection is the kind of *exempla* collected. They are historical *facta* and *dicta* and these of two kinds, "domestic" and "foreign", that is Roman and non-Roman.

In making any sort of collection, once the texts are collected, the maker must organize them. Usually, this is done by grouping texts under headings or topics, as Valerius does with his *exempla* collection Such a method of organization makes the collection rather like a handbook for reference. But not all collections are like handbooks.

Vincent of Beauvais organizes his collection by integrating texts syntactically, thus making the collection read like continuous discourse. Some theological collections are structured by dialectics, as Abelard's *Sic et Non* or Gratian's *Concordia Discordantium Canonum*. So organized, such collections are not far from being *summae* (in the technical sense). The method of organization can radically alter the appearance and nature of a collection of texts.

<div align="center">II</div>

In form, the *Libellus* is a collection of *exempla*, but it is not handbook. It is a thoroughly structured regimen of the prince. Jacobus employs two methods of structure. The first is a simple stylistic formula, precepts plus examples and maxims. The formula is an old one commonly used among the Latins to teach an *ars*, for instance, an art of rhetoric, as in the *De Inventione* or in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*. Ovid uses it to teach his *Ars Amatoria*. Wherever the subject of a work in an *ars* and the author-audience relationship is that between teacher and pupil, one will likely find the formula used. The following text shows how the formula is used in the *Libellus*. First comes a precept; then an illustrative *exemplum* and finally *sententiae*:

> Ideo in eo [the king of the chess game] omne verbum verum sit, ut quod promittit omnimodo attendat. Et ideo dicit Valerius Maximus quod cum Alexander cum suo exercitu ita permotus iret cum magno impetu ad quamdam civitatem nomine Lapsatum diruendam et evertendam, civis autem illius civitatis esset Anaximanes philosophus, qui fuerat magister Alexandri, audiens Alexandrum sic venire civtatem, exivit ut regi preces porrigeret pro salute civitatis. Quod cum rex hoc cerneret, ne postulare volentem materiam audiendi haberet, rex in loquendo philosophum praevenit juramento dicens, "Juro, per deum, quod nichil horum quae pecieris faciam." Tunc philosophus sapienter attendens regis juramentum respondit, "Peto ergo, domine, ut Lapsatum civitatem nativitatis meae diruas et disperdas." Quam postulationem attendens, Alexander salutem urbi concessit. Maluit enim iram et voluntatem quam habebat contra

civitatem dimittere quam contra juramentum venire. Et ita salus urbis
unius jaramenti beneficio obtenta est.

Quintillianus dicit quod jurare nisi ubi necesse est gravat viro, id est,
nobili et famoso parum convenit.

Verbum enim satis simplex in rege vel principe firmius sit quam
juramentum in mercatore. (II, 1, fol. 74r)

As I said, this formula is often used to teach an *ars*. I think it quite
likely that Jacobus uses it not only because it is a simple and systematic
way to group his collected *exempla* but also because he sees his subject,
the regimen of the prince, as an *ars* to be taught.[15] However, he
disguises his role as teacher and the art itself by the fiction in which
Philometron teaches Evilmerodach how to play chess:

Circa primum sciendum est quod praedictus rex Evilmerodach, cujus
memoriam fecimus in primo capitulo, cum vidisset hunc ludum et multos
barones et milites ac duces cum dicto philosopho [Philometron] bellicose
ludere, miratus ludi pulcritudine ac insueti solacii novitatem, interesse
voluit, ludum discere desideravit, ac cum philosopho ludendo bellare
decrevit. Quod cum philosophus respondisset regem hoc non posse facere
nisi prius formam discentis assumeret, respondit rex hoc esse congruum,
et discere cupiens, formam discipuli in se omnimode suscepit. Tunc
philosophus, formam tabulerii et scachorum ac mores regis, nobilium ac
popularium et officiourm eorum describens (ut in sequentibus capitulis
declarabimus), eum ad correctionem et morum ac virtutum in-
formationem atrahit. (I, 3 fol. 71v)

Philometron the philosopher is Jacobus the teacher, and his pupil is
Evilmerodach the king. This is the sort of author-audience relationship
we find in treatises which teach an *ars*.

Thus the first method of structure in the *Libellus* is the stylistic for-
mula in which examples amd maxims illustrate and define precepts.
The precepts are also structured by the chess game, its pieces, their
location, movements, and apparel. The chess game, as a symbol of
society and its members, is the second method of structure.[16]

This symbolic game is a rather interesting aspect of the *Libellus*. It is, I
think, an example of how what the rhetoricians called *memoria*, one of
the "parts" of rhetoric, is used by the writer of a didactic treatise.

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[15] For Aegidius Romanus, instruction of the prince was an art. See his *De Regimine Principum*, I, 1,
ed. O. Servius (Rome, 1842), p. 9.

[16] There are two notable examples of symbolic chess games which apparently precede that of
the *Libellus*. The first is the "Innocent Morality," as Murray calls it, because it was sometimes at-
tributed to Pope Innocent III. See Murray, *A History of Chess*, pp. 530-534, 559-561 (for text). The
second is found in Alexander Neckham, *De Naturis Rerum*, II, 184 (De scacis); ed. Thomas Wright
("Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland During the Middle Ages,"), vol. 34 (Lon-
don, 1863), pp. 324-326.

Needless to say, any writer wants his teachings to be remembered. How better to insure remembrance than to communicate them in the way that makes remembrance easy; and that "way", that *ars memoriae*, is in the very make-up and procedures, "moves" of the game itself, known to all who play it.

Memory is a part of rhetoric; and in as much as natural memory may be assisted and perfected by rules, it is an art. We may assume (Jacobus undoubtedly did) that one who learns the art of rhetoric would learn too the appropriate art of memory. In the Middle Ages the principal and, practically, the sole source for the art of memory is the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*.[17] Let us look briefly at its rules for memorizing so that we may see how perfect a realization of them the chess game is.

The art of memory is basically a method for mentally visualizing a mnemonic construction. It consists of two techniques: (1) making images (*imagines*) of the things to be remembered and (2) systematically placing those images in a setting or background (*locus*). A setting is a place, like a house, an intercolumnar space, a recess, or an arch, which is suitable for the orderly placement of images. An image is a likeness (*simulacrum*), mark (*nota*), or figuration (*forma*) of the thing to be remembered.

> Constat igitur artificiosa memoria ex locis et imaginibus. Locos appellamus eos qui breviter, perfecte, insignite aut natura aut manu sunt absoluti, ut eos facile naturali memoria conprehendere et amplecti queamus: ut aedes, intercolumnium, angulum fornicem, et alia quae his similia sunt. Imagines sunt formae quaedam et notae et simulacra ejus rei quam et meminisse volumus; quod genus equi, leonis, aquilae memoriam si volemus habere, imagines eorum locis certis conlocare oportebit[18]

A *locus* need not be architectural. The author says that if common experience does not provide settings suitable for images, one may imagine any sort of setting that is helpful.[19] Images which are *notae*, marks, suggest any signs or symbols which will help one recall the thing to be remembered. In general, this art of memory allows for imagination and for symbolism. I think the key to the art is the *locus*. It must have a natural compartmental order, and it must naturally allow the placement of images. To remember something, then, one need only recall the setting to have the images, orderly and naturally placed, naturally and orderly arise.

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[17] Cicero (anon.), *Ad C. Herennium Libri IV de Ratione Dicendi*, ed. and trans. Harry Caplan (Loeb Classical Library; London/Cambridge, Mass., 1954).

[18] *Ad Herennium*, III. 16. 29 (Loeb, p. 208). See also Frances A. Yates, *The Art of Memory* (London, 1966), pp. 6-17.

[19] *Ad Herrennium*, III. 19. 32 (Loeb, p. 212).

The chess board, of course, is the mnemonic *locus*. Composed of squares, it is exactly the sort of compartmentalized *locus* suited for the orderly placement of *imagines*. They obviously are the chess pieces which signify, as we shall see, by *formae* and *notae*, the various members of a kingdom. Before I talk about these *imagines*, I want to point out that certain features of the chess board itself, the *locus*, are signs of things to be remembered. The chess board functions both as a mnemonic setting and as a mnemonic sign.

In chapter one of section four (fols. 109r-110r), Jacobus discusses the chess board. It has four noteworthy features. The first of them is that the board is a square composed of sixty-four smaller squares. The reason for this, says Jacobus, is that Philometron, the inventor of the game, wanted the board to represent the city of Babylon which, according to St. Jerome, was a square, each side sixteen miles long, sixty-four miles in all around the periphery.

> Primum, quare est [tabulerium] quadratum et sunt ibi sexagincta quatuor quadrata puncta? Circa primum sciendum est quod secundum dictum beati Jeronimi civitas babilonica fuit amplissima et fuit quadrata, quodlibet autem quadrum habuit sexdecim in quatuor ducta crescunt in sexagincta quàtor millearia more lombardico seu lencas more gallico. Ad representandum autem hanc mensuram, philosophus hujus ludi inventor tabulerium constituit continens lxiiii quadrata puncta.... (fol. 109r)

As this text shows, the chess board, signifying the dimensions of the city of Babylon, is an architectural *locus*, the very sort of *locus*, we will recall, recommended in the *Ad Herennium*. One will not be surprised, then, to learn that the second feature of the chess board, the raised edge or lip running all around, signifies the wall surrounding Babylon: "Circa secundum sciendum est quod labia tabularii repre<se>ntant murum dictae civitatis, et quia fuit altissima, ideo et labium in altum statuitur" (fol. 109r).

The third feature of the chess board is the disposition of the commonalty (pawns) in front of the nobility (*rex, regina, alphiles, milites*, and *rochi*). This feature has doctrinal significance: the work of commoners is indispensable to the life of nobles.

> Circa tertium sciendum est quod populares statuuntur ante nobiles juxta campum et ipsa quadra, primo quia populares quodam modo sunt corona nobilium. Nam dexter rochus, qui est regis vicarius, quid posset facere nisi ante eum situatus esset agricola, cui cura est temporalia ad victum ministrare? Quid miles faceret nisi ante se fabrum haberet, qui frena, calcaria, et cellas pararet? Quid valet sine equo miles aut sine hiis quae ad ornatum militis pertinent? Certe nihil! Quantum enim popularis et forte minus posset valere. Qualiter sine vestibus nobiles viverent, si deesset qui pannos aut merces venderet aut faceret? Quid reges aut reginae facerent

> aut ceteri sine medicis? Gloria ergo nobilium ac vita populares sunt. Ne
> ergo tu miles aut nobilis populares despicias. Ante nobiles in hoc ludo
> populares noveris situatos. (fol. 109v)

In a series of anaphoric rhetorical questions, the point is made that the
commoners are indispensable to the nobles. The rook or vicar cannot
do without the farmers, nor the knight without the craftsmen, and so
on. Jacobus wants his audience to remember the way in which the
chessmen are situated on the board in order to remember that nobles
depend on commoners. This is a very clear example of how a
mnemonic construction assists the remembrance of a doctrine.

The fourth feature of the chess board also has doctrinal significance.
Jacobus notes that, in the half of the board belonging to the black
chessmen, there are two occupied and two unoccupied ranks. This
signifies that a kingdom must have sufficient lands for its people to live
in and to cultivate.

> Circa quartum sciendum est quod tabulerio ostenso tantum est de vacuo
> sicut pleno, quod ideo est quia quicumque gentem occupat ad regendum
> conari debet ut civitates et castra et possessiones occupet quae sufficiant
> genti ad habitandum et ad excolendam. Regis sine regno nomen est
> vanum et inane (fol. 110r)

I hope these texts have shown how the chess board is used as a
mnemonic sign. But, of course, the board is primarily used as a *locus*,
not as a sign. As a *locus* it provides the places in which *imagines* may be
set. In other words it provides the squares in which the chessmen may
be set. For the chessmen in the *Libellus* are mnemonic *imagines*.

Each chapter of sections two and three in the *Libellus* is devoted to
one of the chessmen. Each chapter is made in the same way. First comes
a brief description of the chessman with regard to its board position
and items of apparel. Then, after the description, a number of pertinent
moral precepts are listed, and under each precept are grouped one or
more *exempla*. The descriptions are devised precisely as the *Ad Heren-
nium* would have mnemonic *imagines* devised, that is, by making a
simulacrum, *nota*, or *forma* of the thing to be remembered. But instead of
mentally making these *imagines* for himself, as an orator would do, the
author of the *Libellus* makes them with words in order to call up mental
imagines in the minds of readers or listeners. The orator's art of
memory, originally private, originally without effect on what he ac-
tually says, is for Jacobus de Cessolis an art of communication, now
public, now effecting the very words which he actually writes or speaks.

Allow me to exemplify these remarks with the text of the description
Jacobus makes of the pawn in the square before the king's *miles* or
knight (KKtP):

Fabrum sic formatum tenemus, quem ante militem in dextra regis situatum dicimus, et merito quia milites indigent habere frena, calcaria, sellas, et arma quae omnia per fabrum explentur. Nam factus fuit ipse faber in forma humana, habens in manu dextra malleum, dolabrum in leva, et scementarii trullam ad corrigiam. Ad hunc reducuntur omnes artifices ut sunt fabri, ferrarii, aurifices monetam cucientes, nauclerii, lignorumque cesores, cementarri domos, muros, et turres edificantes. Primi significantur in malleo, secundi dolabra, qua ligna planantur, tertii in trulla qua cementum inter lateres componitur. (III, 2 fols. 92v-93r)

This description is a good example of how Jacobus makes a mnemonic *imago*. Readers will notice that the pawn described is said to be "in forma humana." Does the word "forma" suggest that Jacobus is consciously making an *imago* by making a *forma* of the thing to be remembered, as the *Ad Herennium* advised? Whether or not the word "forma" reflects the technical word *forma* in the art of memory, one can readily see the identity between the way Jacobus describes the pawn and the way mnemonic *imagines* are to be made. Moreover, in pointing out the *malleus, dolabra*, and the *trulla*, Jacobus seems to be describing by making *notae*, marks—signs we might say—of other men in certain related occupations. Even the board position of the pawn seems to be a *nota*. Jacobus seems to be saying that one need only think of the pawn's position before the knight to remember that knights need *fabri* to fashion arms for them. I think it is very clear that Jacobus is using the techniques of the *ars memoriae* to make memorable, symbolic *imagines*.

For the information of the reader, I have made a schematic analysis of the descriptions which Jacobus makes of the chessmen. In one column I itemize the description of a given chessman. In the other column I cite what mnemonic significance, if any, the items of the description are actually said to have. I think it will be apparent that Jacobus writes with the art of memory in mind.

Rex

Image	Mnemonic Significance
1. The king is seated on a throne dressed in purple robes,	Purple robes are royal vestments. The king ought to excell all others; for as his body is clad with beautiful robes, so are his inner thoughts and soul to be clad with the moral virtues.
2. wears a crown on his head,	The king is above all others in dignity. All ought to be attentive to the king and obey his commands.
3. carries a *pila* in his left hand and	The administration of the kingdom is his duty.

4.a sceptre in his right hand. The king must with justice and firmness coerce those whom love does not constrain.

Regina

Image

1. The queen is a beautiful lady seated on a throne, wearing a crown, gilded vestments and a multicolored mantle.

Mnemonic Significance

None

2. She is positioned on the king's left. This benefits marital embraces. For it says in Canticles, *leva capite meo et dextra illius amplexabitur me*.

Alphiles

Image

1.The *alphiles* are judges or assessors sitting in chairs with open books before them.

Mnemonic Significance

None

2.One is positioned in a black space or square, the other is in a white space. This is so because there are two kinds of legal cases, one concerning criminals (black) and the other *res temporales* (white).

Milites

Image

The knight is seated on a horse and decorated with armaments: a helmet on his head, a lance in his right hand, a shield, short sword on his right side, cuirass and breastplate, shinguards, handguards, and a trained horse also fitted with armor.

Mnemonic Significance

As the body of the knight is girded with armaments, so should his soul be girded with the grace of God.

Rochi

Image

1. The rook is the vicar of the king. He is a horsed knight wearing a mantle and hood and carrying a long staff in his right hand.

Mnemonic Significance

Since the king cannot be present everywhere in the kingdom, his authority must be delegated to vicars who will go about the kingdom and manifest royal powers to all subjects.

2. There are two rooks or vicars in the kingdom, one on the king's right and one on his left. Because the kingdom is large, there must be two vicars to keep the king informed about events.

Agricola (KRP)

Image	Mnemonic Significance
1. The *agricola* is a man with a spade in his right hand, a staff for driving animals in his left hand, and an axe on his cincture for pruning vines and trees.	All of agriculture can be reduced to these three things. It is the *agricola*'s duty to drive animals to and from pasture, to graft, plant, and prune vines and trees.
2. He is positioned on the king's right before the rook or vicar.	It is through the *agricola* that the vicar provides the food necessary for the kingdom.

Fabri (KKtP)

Image	Mnemonic Significance
1. This pawn is a man who has a mallet in his right hand, a mattock in his left hand, and a mason's trowel in his cincture.	All *fabri* or craftsmen are reduced to these three things. The mallet signifies metal workers and goldsmiths who make money; the mattock signifies shipbuilders and woodcutters; the trowel signifies masons who build homes, walls, and turrets.
2. The pawn is positioned on the king's right before the knight.	Knights need bridles, spurs, saddles, and arrows, all of which are supplied by the *fabri*.

Lanifices (KBP)

Image	Mnemonic Significance
1. This pawn is a man who has scissors in his right hand, a large broad knife in his left hand, a writing tablet and pen-box on his cincture, and a reed pen above his right ear.	The reed pen and writing tablet signify notaries who put agreements into legally signed documents, assist judges, and read criminal sentences. The scissors signify those who cut, weave, shear, and dye cloth and those who shave beards. The knife signifies cobblers, curriers, tanners of hides, furriers, meat handlers, and butchers. All these men are called *lanifices* because they all have something to do with skins.
2. This pawn is positioned on the king's right before the *alphilis* or judge.	This is so because among those spoken of here suits and disputes often arise which the judge settles and the notary records in authentic documents.

Mercatores (KP)

Image	Mnemonic Significance
1. This pawn is a man who has a balance and weights in his right hand, a measuring stick in his left hand, and an open purse on his cincture.	The balance and weights signify money lenders and changers; the measuring stick signifies sellers of cloth and thread; the open purse signifies keepers of money and rent.
2. This pawn is positioned before the king.	These people are in charge of the royal treasures and are responsible for paying the knights their wages on behalf of the king.

Medici (QP)

Image	Mnemonic Significance
1. This pawn is a man who sits in a professor's chair with a book in his right hand,	These things signify physicians as well as grammarians, geometricians, dialecticians, rhetoricians, arithmeticians, muscicians, and astrologers; for the perfect medical physician has a knowledge of all these things. It is necessary that the physician be learned and expert in the branches of knowledge.
2. a mixing bowl in his left hand,	This signifies the apothecaries, the mixers of medicines, and the blenders of powders and aromatic spices.
3. and instruments for cutting wounds and ulcers on his cincture.	This signifies the medical surgeons.
4. This pawn is positioned before the queen.	This is so because the medical man has to treat the sickness of queens and other women and inspect their private parts.

Tabernarii (QBP)

Image	Mnemonic Significance
1. The pawn is a man who has his right hand extended in welcome, who carries a loaf of bread and a cup of wine in his left hand and who has a bunch of keys on his cincture.	The features of this pawn signify taverners, innkeepers, hosts and custodians of things.
2. This pawn is positioned before the *alphilis* or judge on the king's left.	This is so because much strife and contention arise among these people which the judge must settle.

Custodes Civitatis (QKtP)

Image	Mnemonic Significance
1. This pawn is a man who has large keys in his right hand,	This signifies the guards of the city and city officials.
2. an urn or pot in his left hand,	This signifies those in charge of weights and measures.
3. and an open purse on his cincture.	This signifies the toll-keepers, guards of the city treasury.
4. This pawn is positioned on the king's left before the knight.	The knights need city guards to watch over and protect the city.

Ribaldi (QRP)

Image	Mnemonic Significance
1. This pawn is a man with shaggy hair who has in his right hand a few coins,	This signifies those who waste their own goods.
2. who has three dice in his left hand,	This signifies those who gamble and take up with prostitutes.
3. and who has a cord for a cincture and a box full of letters hanging from it.	This signifies those who carry and run messages.
4. This pawn is positioned on the king's left before the rook or vicar.	The vicar has need of men who will spy in cities and places hostile to the king and of men who will carry the king's letters and decrees.

I think the above analysis is evidence enough to prove that the descriptions of the chessmen are made according to the techniques of the rhetorical art of memory. Perhaps much of what is offhandedly called allegorical in the *Libellus* is actually mnemonical. In saying this, I am thinking of section four, where Jacobus explains the significance of the movements of the chessmen. There, as in the case of the descriptions of the chessmen, their movements seem to be treated as mnemonical signs which facilitate remembrance of the author's teachings. Let us recall the author's words in the prologue to the *Libellus*, "ut si formam ipsorum menti impresserint (the nobles), bellum ipsum et ludi virtutem corde poterunt faciliter optinere."

University of Dallas

EDITH, QUEEN OF ENGLAND, 1045-1066

Kenneth E. Cutler

THE great power wielded by the Godwinist earls of England during the reign of Edward the Confessor is a factor essential to understanding the Norman Conquest. To students of the Conquest, most of the sources of Godwinist power are obvious. Even a casual glance at the Domesday returns, for example, shows the immense landed wealth of the family. Most are aware of earl Godwine's considerable experience in war and council gained under kings Canute, Harold Harefoot, and Harthacanute. And all who have read William of Malmesbury[1] know of Godwine's convincing eloquence. Generally overlooked and misunderstood is another source of Godwinist power: Godwine's daughter, and king Edward's queen, Edith.[2]

I

Edith was the eldest daughter of Godwine, earl of Wessex, and his Danish wife, Gytha. Although the date of Edith's birth went unrecorded, it seems certain she was born between 1020 and 1025. We know that her parents married in 1019, and that she had one older brother, Swegen. After Edith was born, her parents provided her with five younger brothers, Harold, Tostig, Leofwine, Gyrth, and Wulfnoth, and three younger sisters, Gunhild, Aelfgifu, and Edgifu. The older children of this large family grew to maturity during the reigns of Harold Harefoot (1035-1040) and Harthacanute (1040-1042).

When Edward the Confessor came to the throne of England in 1042, it was time for Godwine to make some arrangements for the future of his oldest offspring. As it turned out, Godwine had been instrumental in

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[1] *Chronicle of the Kings of England*, trans. J. A. Giles (London, 1847), p. 215 [Bk. II, ch. 13]. William said of Godwine: "He ... spoke fluently in the vernacular tongue; powerful in speech, powerful in bringing over the people to whatever he desired".

[2] In Anglo-Saxon her name appears as Eadgytha. In most modern works which refer to her, her name is modernized to Edith.

securing the accession of king Edward, and in consequence, he enjoyed considerable influence at court. Earl Godwine used his influence to gain the earldom of Hereford for his son Swegen in 1043. At the same time, it seems reasonable to presume, Godwine began to urge the marriage of the king to his daughter Edith. From Godwine's point of view such a marriage had much to recommend it. His daughter needed a husband; she was already at least seventeen, perhaps as old as twenty, in a society where brides were usually younger. What better husband than the king? For Godwine to become the king's father-in-law, and for Godwine's sons to become the king's brothers-in-law, promised to perpetuate the family's influence at court for years. In the future was the prospect of Godwine becoming grandfather, and his sons becoming uncles, of England's next king. A family descended from a traitor[3] could not hope to get closer to the throne than that. These bright prospects cannot have escaped Godwine. His position as earl gave him great landed wealth, and judicial and military authority, but he had no more security than he could create by amassing influence at court, because constitutionally, the office of earl was appointive.

For obvious reasons, however, Godwine had to advance other arguments to convince the king that the marriage was in his interest also. While we have no way of knowing what arguments were used, two that could have been used come readily to mind. It was a dynastic necessity that the king marry and produce a male offspring. King Edward's only brother, Alfred, had been murdered in 1036. Edward had a nephew living in exile in Hungary, but it is uncertain whether or not he knew about the nephew in 1043. Edward's sister Goda had a son, but the English throne had not passed through a female in living memory. It may have seemed the dynasty would cease unless Edward produced a son, and since he was nearing forty years of age, there was not much time to sire and raise a son before he died. To the argument of dynastic necessity could be added one based in politics. Most of Edward's life had been spent in exile in Normandy. When Edward came to England's throne in 1042 his habits were so Norman that he was a foreigner. A marriage to one of the families holding the greater English earldoms was one way to establish himself securely on the throne. The most powerful earls of England were Godwine of Wessex, Leofric of Mercia, and Siward of Northumbria. Of these, only Godwine had a daughter of marriageable age.

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[3] Godwine's father seems to have been the traitorous South Saxon thegn Wulfnoth Cild whose exploits are recorded in the Anglo-Saxon *Chronicle*, C. Plummer and J. Earle, eds., *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, rev. ed. (Oxford, 1952), MS. E., under the year 1009.

Whatever arguments may have been used by Godwine, king Edward waited before he married. If we wish to believe the encomiast hired in 1065 by queen Edith, the hesitation cannot be attributed to any shortcoming on her part, for she was endowed with all the virtues and ample beauty besides.[4] The king's relationship with his mother, queen Emma, probably accounts for the delayed wedding. Emma of Normandy, daughter of duke Richard I, was the second wife of the English king Aethelred II, the Ill-Counselled. Emma married Aethelred in 1002 and bore him two sons, Edward and Alfred, and a daughter, Goda. Queen Emma seems to have been a haughty and ambitious woman whose delight in being queen outweighed any sense of loyalty or duty she felt toward her offspring. After the death of king Aethelred, she abandoned their children to the care of her relatives in Normandy and returned to England to become the wife and queen of Aethelred's enemy, Canute. She bore her second husband a son, Harthacanute. While that son ruled England, during the years 1040-1042, queen Emma hired an encomiast to write about her career. The biography that resulted[5] dwelt so extensively upon Emma's second husband and their son that one gets the impression she wished to ignore her first family.

What king Edward thought about being abandoned, ignored, and written out of his mother's memoires is uncertain. Nor do we know what he thought when, at Harthacanute's death in 1042, his mother preferred a stranger, king Magnus of Norway, to her own son, as king of England.[6] The likelihood is that Edward disliked and feared his mother, and transferred his feelings toward her to other women. It is also significant, one suspects, that the marriage of Edward and Edith did not take place until queen Emma's influence at court had been dismantled, and that Godwine helped lead the attack upon her.[7]   In January of 1045 Edward and Edith married.

II

The relationship between Edith and her husband has caused much confusion. The sources give us two conflicting interpretations. One interpretation, based chiefly upon the anonymous life of her husband, the

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[4] *Vita Aeduuardi Regis qui apud Westmonasterium requiescit*, trans. F. Barlow (London, 1962), pp. 14-15 [Bk. I, ch. 2 as reconstructed by Barlow from William of Malmesbury and Osbert of Clare].

[5] *Encomium Emmae Reginae*, trans. A. Campbell, Camden Society (Third Series), 72 (London, 1949).

[6] F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1947), p. 420. See also F. Barlow, "Two Notes: Cnut's Second Pilgrimage and Queen Emma's Disgrace in 1043," *English Historical Review*, 73 (1958), 649-656.

[7] *ASChr*, E, 1042 [1043].

Vita Aedwardi Regis, and echoed by Norman authors like William of Poitiers, describes the queen as a dutiful wife. The other interpretations, scattered in brief notices in a variety of chronicles, suggests the queen was a wife who used her influence and office to advance the cause of her family, occasionally at the expense of her husband. E. A. Freeman, the nineteenth century English historian who pioneered the detailed study of the Norman Conquest, was puzzled by the contradictions and concluded "Her character thus becomes in some sort a riddle."[8] More recently, Frank Barlow chose between the conflicting interpretations by suggesting Edith idolized her father and transferred that feeling to her husband,[9] that she was a dutiful wife.

We are more apt to unravel the character of the queen Edith and make sense of our sources by viewing Edith as the dutiful daughter rather than as the dutiful wife, as a source of power for the Godwinist earls rather than as a source of strength for her husband— recognizing all the while that separating the queen's loyalties so distinctly must be false and that we are dealing in relative, not absolute, loyalties.

We can dismiss the view of Edith as a dutiful wife by noting that the sources upon which it rests are late and biased. The *Vita Aedwardi* is the earliest of these late sources. Queen Edith hired the anonymous author of the work to praise her by composing an account of her family and of her husband. The first book of the *Vita*, written in 1065[10] is a history of her family and of her husband's reign. It was written when king Edward's active leadership of the English government had ended, when his more than sixty years were showing, when his health may have been deteriorating. There was not much left for the queen, then in her early forties, but to prepare her reputation for posterity as her mother-in-law had done previously. What queen would eschew a reputation as a dutiful wife? The Northumbrian Revolt of 1065 and the bloody events of 1066 interrupted the author of the *Vita*, and nearly obliterated the queen's entire family. When it came time to resume the work, in 1067, the emphasis had shifted. Queen Edith's family was remembered with contempt in Norman England and the queen apparently decided her reputation would be more secure if the remainder of the work emphasized her husband. Book II of the *Vita* became a religious biography of king Edward and dwelt on miracles already being attributed to him. The queen is depicted in Book II in various postures of religious and

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[8] *The History of the Norman Conquest of England*, 3rd edn. 2 (Oxford, 1877) p. 47.

[9] *Vita Aedwardi*, p. lxxvi. In his recent biography, *Edward the Confessor* (Berkeley, 1970), Barlow modified his view—see especially pp. 189-190.

[10] For the dates of the *Vita* I follow Barlow, *Vita Aedwardi*, pp. xxv-xxx.

wifely devotion, once "sitting on the floor warming his [her husband's] feet in her lap."[11]

The saintly character of king Edward, first described in the *Vita*, fitted Norman political orthodoxy. Since king William got his claim to the English throne from king Edward, the Norman authors who described William's exploits treated Edward charitably. It enhanced the legitimacy of the Norman claim to the throne to promote king Edward as a potential saint. It detracted from king Edward's sanctity to assail the character of his wife and widow. In consequence, the Normans left intact queen Edith's reputation as a dutiful wife.[12]

The queen, for very human reasons, and the Normans, for political reasons, give us an Edith devoted to her husband. If, however, we attempt to apply Edith's reputation as a dutiful wife to the years before 1066, we run into some formidable obstacles. The weight of the evidence, which admittedly is sparse and sometimes circumstantial, suggests we should change our view of her relationship to her husband.

<div align="center">III</div>

The first year of marriage for Edith and Edward passed uneventfully. For those expecting news of the queen's pregnancy, the year held disappointment. So too would each subsequent year. Later authors attributed the barrenness of the royal couple to the king's monkish habits, or to the king's dislike for the queen's father.[13] These explanations cannot be taken seriously however; they come rather late, and they ignore the fact that it was in the interest of both king and queen to produce heirs. If it is correct that Edward disliked or feared women, that he married Edith for dynastic and political reasons primarily, then it is probable that his relationship to his queen was more correct and formal than relaxed and intimate. Still, even such conditions did not preclude the possibility of an heir, or prevent the queen from influencing her husband.

During 1046 came the first opportunity we know about for queen Edith to intervene with her husband on behalf of her family. The queen's older brother, Swegen Godwineson, was a violent and passionate young man who seems to have inherited a surfeit of the Viking blood that was part of his ancestry. It was appropriate that he

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[11] *Vita Aedwardi*, p. 76 [Bk. II].

[12] William of Poitiers, *Histoire de Guillaume le conquérant*, trans. R. Foreville (Paris, 1952), pp. 167-169 [Bk. II, ch. 8] went so far as to suggest Edith preferred William over her own brother as successor to king Edward in 1066. In this, presumably, she was honoring her husband's wishes.

[13] William of Malmesburry, *Chronicle*, p. 216.

had been entrusted with the earldom of Hereford, for that put him on the unsettled Welsh border and gave him ample opportunity to fight. As Swegen passed through the village of Leofminster while returning from a foray into Wales in 1046 he abducted the abbess of the local convent. King Edward ordered his brother-in-law to return the lady to the cloister but Swegen countered with an offer to marry the abbess. The impass thus created lasted for nearly one year, ending only when Swegen, advised by his father and sister perhaps, chose to flee the country rather than push the king to use force against him. That the confrontation lasted so long without the king deposing Swegen as earl and depriving him of his earldon, that Swegen's abandoned earldom went to his younger brother Harold, might be partially attributable to queen Edith's influence.

A few years later, the queen intervened again on behalf of her brother Swegen. After his flight from England in 1047, Swegen led a life of warfare and piracy in Denmark and Flanders. By 1049 Swegen grew eager to return to England. Earl Godwine secured a four-day safe-conduct enabling Swegen to appear before king Edward to explain why he should be reinstated as earl of Hereford. During the four days, Swegen quarrelled with his cousin, Beorn Estrithson, earl of East Anglia, and murdered him. The murder ruined Swegen's appeal before the king and won Swegen condemnation by the assembled English army as *nithing* ('nothing,' a status worse than outlaw). Swegen returned to exile of course. But only one year later, he returned to England and was reinstated as earl of Hereford! The sources offer no explanation for this remarkable reversal in Swegen's fortunes in 1050.[14] One suspects Swegen's family could have brought it off only by using on the king every source of influence and pressure it could muster. We cannot assume queen Edith sat through these events with passive unconcern, or tended to her needlework while others debated her brother's fate. In view of what happened to the queen the following year, there is every reason to suspect she had used her influence to help restore Swegen to power in 1050.

A sudden eclipse in the influence of the House of Godwine at court followed the in-lawing of earl Swegen. For the next two years the king's Norman advisers clearly had the king's ear. The shift in influence at

[14] Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, II, p. 108, note 3, read Florence of Worcester's statement that "Aldred, bishop of Worcester, brought him [Swegen] back and reconciled him with the king." (Florence of Worcester, *Chronicle*, sub anno 1049 [1050] as found in D. C. Douglas and G. A. Greenway, eds., *English Historical Documents, 1042-1189* (New York, 1953), pp. 205-206) to mean that Aldred was responsible for Swegen's restoration. It is more likely that Aldred was the court's emissary sent to inform Swegen of the court's decision and to accompany him back to England.

court might simply be coincidence. The king had occasionally ap-
pointed Norman prelates from his chapel to vacant English bishoprics
and their number, or organization, might have become sufficient in
1050 to make them powerful at court. It might also be the case that the
rise of the Norman faction at court is attributable to the in-lawing of
Swegen. Swegen's restoration certainly demonstrated the immense in-
fluence of the House of Godwine and may have been shock enough
either to shame the king away from reliance upon his relatives or to act
as catalyst inducing the Norman prelates to combine their influence
against the House of Godwine, or both. One wonders too if the shift of
influence at court marked a renaissance of power for the king's mother,
Emma, at the expense of the king's wife.[15]

Within a year of Swegen's in-lawing, the Norman prelate Robert was
appointed archbishop of Canterbury, and the decision was made to
name William of Normandy heir to king Edward's throne. Neither the
appointment of Robert nor the designation of William had Godwine's
approval, and both contributed to the confrontation between the king
and the Godwinist earls commonly called the 'Crisis of 1051.'[16]

In September of 1051 Godwine and his sons, the earls Swegen and
Harold, raised troops from their earldoms and attempted to reassert
their influence over the king. Skillful maneuvering by the king,
however, deprived the Godwinist earls of their armies and then secured
a sentence of outlawry against them. All of the king's in-laws fled the
realm. Some went into exile in Flanders, some in Ireland. Queen Edith
was the only member of the family who remained in England, and the
treatment meted out to her is one of the strongest pieces of evidence
that she was less than a dutiful wife. The queen was sent to a nunnery.

Treating the events of 1051 later in the *Vita Aedwardi* required special
care lest the queen's reputation be blemished. A careful reading of the
appropriate portion of the *Vita* is rewarding. We are prepared for the
queen's version of the crisis of 1051 with the information that it was
part of "the innate character ... [of her family to do] nothing hastily or
readily, but advisedly watch the onrush and usually wait for things to

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[15] Charter attestations, which indicate an individual's presence at court, are of little help.
Emma's attestations ceased soon after her son's marriage (T. G. Oleson, *The Witenagemmot in The
Reign of Edward the Confessor* (Oxford, 1955), p. 48). The evidence is inconclusive however since the
very few charters surviving the years 1050-1052 might not be truly representative. If queen Emma
was still in good health and interested in politics, she would have been a natural ally for the Nor-
man faction in 1050.

[16] For the view that the Crisis of 1051 was a conflict between opposing factions for influence at
court see B. Wilkinson, "Freeman and the Crisis of 1051," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, vol.
22, pp. 368-387. A diplomatic dimension is added to the crisis by F. Barlow, "Edward the Con-
fessor's Early Life, Character, and Attitudes," *English Historical Review*, 80 (1965), pp. 225-251.

subside or die of themselves."[17] If we believe this, then it is difficult to imagine her family could have initiated the crisis of 1051, and it becomes easier to accept archbishop Robert as the villain of the episode. Among Robert's alleged acts of villainy was advising that the queen be sent from court. "This plan the king, *although not opposing* (italics mine), yet did mitigate, giving out as reason for the separation this honourable pretext, that she was to await the subsidence of the storms over the kingdom ..."[18] By emphasizing the king's mitigation, the author of the *Vita* called attention to his mercy, and to Robert's harshness, rather than to the king's acquiescence to the queen's dismissal. Further, the pretext the king reportedly gave out is patently flimsy since, with the queen's family exiled from the realm, it must have seemed all the "storms" had passed. Shedding a barren wife to make way for one who could give a king heirs was common enough, but we cannot believe that that was intended here since the succession had already been determined by the designation of duke William as Edward's heir. Talk of separation or divorce in September of 1051 can only reflect the desire of the Norman faction to see Edith removed from court. The Normans seem to have considered her an apponent, and perhaps the king did too.

Nonetheless, the queen's removal from court, we are informed in the *Vita*, sorely grieved the courtiers (which ones we are not told) "for she was in all the royal counsels, as we might say, a governess and a font of all goodness, strongly preferring the king's interest to power and riches."[19] Perhaps this passage betrays a major argument used by the queen's enemies to secure her removal from court in 1051 — an argument the queen was still sensitive about when the *Vita* was composed. The evidence suggests Edith preferred power and riches to the king's interests. Power at court is ascribed to her more than once in the *Vita*,[20] and there is also the report in the chronicle of Ramsey Abbey that she accepted a bribe from abbot Aelfwine to influence a legal dispute which involved the abbey.[21] Abbot Aelfwine seems to have considered the queen's power real enough to merit securing. The

[17] *Vita Aedwardi*, p. 19 [Bk. I, ch. 3].

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 23 [Bk. I, ch. 3]. Barlow noted a change in punctuation in the passage cited could provide the alternate reading: "Although the king did not oppose this plan he moderated the divorce proceedings, giving this honourable pretext ..."

[19] *Vita Aedwardi*, p. 19 [Bk. I, ch. 3].

[20] In the passage just quoted; also *Vita Aedwardi*, p. 4, she is called "Profound, intelligent, prompt counselor, and p. 15 [Bk. I, ch. 2] suggests it is "By her advice peace wraps the kingdom round and keeps mankind from breaking pacts of peace."

[21] W. D. Macray, ed., *Chronicon Abbatiae Rameseieinsis*, Roll Series, no. 83 (London, 1866), p. 170: "... Aedthithae quippe reginae sedulitaten quinque marcam auri pretio exegit interponi ut pias ejus preces regiis auribus fideliter importaret." See also Barlow, *Edward the Confessor*, pp. 177-178 for a similar example of 'justice.'

Domesday returns tell of the queen's wealth, and so did the pro-Godwinist author of manuscript 'E' of the Anglo-Saxon *Chronicle* when he wrote that "the king forsook the lady who was consecrated as his queen and had taken from her all that she possessed of land and of golf and of silver and of all things .."[22]

The queen's confinement in the nunnery was relatively brief. One year after she had been sent there, her family returned to power and so did she. The inability of king Edward's Norman appointees to administer the kingdom, perhaps also the death of queen Emma, weakened the hold of the Norman faction at court and made possible the restoration of the Godwinist earls in September 1052. In an armed confrontation at London, the Godwinist forced the king to outlaw archbishop Robert and to dismantle the Norman court faction and blame it for causing the trouble between him and his relatives. The king also restored the Godwinist earls to their earldoms and the queen to court. The relationship between the king and queen, given the circumstances of the queen's return to court, probably became more strained than ever before—but not to the point where the queen ceased to be influential.

The nature of the settlement at London in 1052 doomed the Norman faction and made secure the House of Godwine in England for the remainder of king Edward's reign. The deaths of earl Swegen in 1052 and of earl Godwine in 1053 failed to upset this Godwinist calm. Those who might have taken advantage of these deaths (queen Emma and the Normans) were no longer at court, but queen Edith was. Partly as a result of her quiet efforts, one suspects, four of her younger brothers held earldoms by 1058. Of those four—Harold, Tostig, Leofwine, and Gyrth—the one closest in age to Edith, and the one who clearly directed the fortunes of the family after 1053 was earl Harold. Harold's brilliant career and immense power rested partly on the influence his sister had at court; Harold's trip across the sea to Flanders in 1056, and his invasion of Wales in 1063 both assumed there would be no serious challenges to his power at court while he was gone. These inferences about Edith's contribution of her family after 1052 seem reasonable and, in view of Florence of Worcester's report about the events of 1064, seem probable.

The trouble in 1064 began when Edith's brother Tostig became earl of Northumbria in 1055. Tostig taxed his earldom with such a heavy hand that he outraged some of the local thegns. In 1063 Tostig murdered two of the dissidents, Gamel and Ulf, but failed to stamp out discontent. Queen Edith reportedly lent her support to her threatened brother. At court during the Christmas celebration in 1064, a North-

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[22] *ASChr*, 1048 [1051].

umbrian thegn named Cospatric was killed by the queen's order.[23] The
murder of Cospatric contributed to a general revolt in Northumbria in
1065 which earl Harold stopped with difficulty, but which cost Tostig
control of the earldom and poisoned relations between Tostig and
Harold. The breech between the brothers contributed to the disaster
that was brewing for the family, and for England — a disaster which
Edith had unintentionally helped to provoke.

King Edward died on 5 January 1066 and the following day earl
Harold became king Harold II. One wonders if the coronation of her
brother contained some satisfaction for Edith. She had little else to her
credit; she had no children, and her husband, to judge from the treat-
ment accorded her in 1051, had little trust in her or affection for her.
Now, after twenty-one years of service to her family, her brother was
king, and soon after his coronation he took an English noblewoman as
his wife and queen. We do not know how these events affected queen
Edith's place at court or what plans the widowed queen made for the
years ahead, but whatever her plans, they were changed before the year
was out.

During the autumn of 1066 Edith's family lost everything it had
acquired over the previous two generations. Tostig, whom Edith had
tried to help in 1064, was killed in the Battle of Stamford Bridge on 25
September 1066. Three weeks later, on 14 October 1066, her brothers,
king Harold and earls Leofwine and Gyrth, died in battle near Hastings.
The only legitimate male member of the family to survive that October
was Edith's youngest brother Wulfnoth, and he was a captive in Nor-
mandy.[24]

Edith lived quietly in Norman England at Winchester. She died in
1075. The Normans buried her beside her husband at Westminster.
Thanks to Book II of the *Vita Aedwardi*, queen Edith's reputation was
tied securely to the memory of the husband she had served without
devotion rather than to the family she had been part of. Her encomiast
unwittingly composed the best epitaph for her, one which is revealing
in its order:

> Fit daughter for the earl
> Her sire, and also for her spouse, the king.[25]

Indiana University - Purdue University at Indianapolis, Indiana

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[23] Florence of Worcester, Chronicle, sub anno 1065 [1064] as found in *English Historical Documents*, *1042-1189*, pp. 211-212.

[24] See my article "The Godwinist Hostages: The Case of 1051," *Annuale Mediaevale*, 12 (1971), pp. 70-77.

[25] *Vita Aedwardi*, p. 15 [Bk. I, ch. 2].

THE MEANING OF *CLEANNESS*:
PARABLE AS EFFECTIVE SIGN

T. D. Kelly and John T. Irwin

THE Middle English poem *Cleanness* has both benefited and suffered from its context. As one of the four poems in MS. Cotton Nero A.x attributed to the *Gawain-* or *Pearl*-Poet, *Cleanness* has always received some scholarly attention, but as it has been unanimously judged the least interesting of these poems, most criticism has taken the form of unfocused commentary in which *Cleanness* is made to serve as ancilla to one or more of the other works. As Gollancz remarked in the preface to his edition (1921), "The present poem, more than three times the length of *Patience*, has been hitherto considered, in spite of its recognized merits, monotonous and discursive; and it is questionable whether it has ever been read in accordance with the poet's intention."[1] The scholarly work of the last twenty years has placed students of *Cleanness* in a better position to understand its rhetorical structure and homiletic significance.[2] Yet despite these advances, what Gollancz wrote more than fifty years ago is substantially true today. Central questions about the poem's theme, form, and genre have remained unanswered. It is our

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[1] Sir Israel Gollancz, ed., *Cleanness: An Alliterative Tripartite Poem on the Deluge, the Destruction of Sodom, and the Death of Belshazzar, by the Poet of* Pearl. Select Early English Poems, 7 (London, 1921), p. x.

[2] In chronological order, the studies are: E. D. Cuffe, *An Interpretation of Patience, Cleanness and The Pearl, from the Viewpoint of Imagery* (Diss., North Carolina, 1951); J. B. Zavadil, *A Study of Meaning in Patience and Cleanness* (Diss., Stanford, 1961); John Gardner, tr., *The Complete Works of the* Gawain-*Poet* (Chicago and London, 1965); O. G. Hill, *Patience: Style, Background, Meaning and Relationship to Cleanness* (Diss., Illinois, 1965); Margaret Williams, tr., *The* Pearl-*Poet: His Complete Works* (New York, 1967); Charles Moorman, *The* Pearl-*Poet* (New York, 1968); A. C. Spearing, *The Gawain-Poet: A Critical Study* (Cambridge, 1970); Charlotte C. Morse, "The Image of the Vessel in *Cleanness,*" *University of Toronto Quarterly,* 40 (1971), 202-216. *Cleanness* is referred to in passing by B. Ten Brink, *History of English Literature* (London, 1895), I. 350-351; Gollancz, *CHEL,* I (1908), 323-325; J. P. Oakden, *Alliterative Poetry in Middle English* (Manchester, 1935), II. 68; A. C. Baugh, *A Literary History of England* (New York, 1948), p. 235; D. Everett, *Essays on Middle English Literature,* ed. P. M. Kean (Oxford, 1955), pp. 68-74; and D. S. Brewer, "Courtesy and the *Gawain*-Poet," in J. Lawlor, ed., *Patterns of Love and Courtesy: Essays in Memory of C. S. Lewis* (London, 1966), pp. 58-62.

aim to open up new areas for criticism of *Cleanness* — i.e., its sacramental structure and parable form — and to advance new conclusions about its purpose and meaning.

Gollancz reads the major structural elements of *Cleanness* as an introduction and three Scriptural stories on the subject of purity:

> The three themes in question, in which the lesson is set forth, are derived from three great incidents of Scripture history, illustrating, according to the poet's belief, the Divine attitude towards sins of the flesh. These incidents are the Deluge, the Destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, and the Death of Belshazzar, the last being an inspiring homily on the defilement of the Holy Vessels.[3]

Taking these four major divisions (the introduction and the three stories) as the starting point of our analysis, we find in their arrangement a reverse or mirror-like symmetry: the poem begins and ends with a feast and between these two episodes are two destructions in which God saves a chosen few. Each of these episodes is parabolic. The introductory portion of the poem, the story of the wedding feast, is an explicated New Testament parable;[4] this is followed by a series of partially explicated parabolic stories from the Old Testament, all connected by motifs and image patterns which spring from the major theme of cleanness. The explicated New Testament parable of the marriage feast precedes the Old Testament episodes because in its eschatological dimension it functions as a timeless paradigm outside the historical time scheme of the Old Testament stories, which move chronologically from the fall of Lucifer to Belshazzar's feast. The New

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[3] Gollancz, *Cleanness,* p. xv. All quotations and line numbers refer to the edition of Robert J. Menner, *Purity: A Middle English Poem,* Yale Studies in English, 61 (New Haven and London, 1920). Biblical citations are from the Douay-Rheims version.

[4] Explication precedes and follows the parable of the wedding feast. A description of the court of the blessed in paradise (17-22), a promise of the Beatific Vision to the pure in heart, and a description of the "urþly haþel" and his court (35-48) precede the parable. An obvious point-for-point parallelism links the two courts (*ladde* = soul; *lyperly attyred* = in a state of sin; *sete ryche* = throne of glory; *dukez on dece* = souls in glory; *dayntys* = spiritual food, the bread of life; *table* = apocalyptic table of the Lamb at the eschatological meal; *boffet* = punishment; *forboden þat borze* = damned; *enprysonment* and *puttyng in stokkez* = torments of Hell). This simple allegory adumbrates not only the message, but also the imagery and form of the parable which follows: "And if unwelcum he were to a wordlich prynce, / Ʒet hym is þe hyʒe Kyng harder in heven" (49-50).

The explicatory passage which follows the parable is explicitly tropological as it notes symbolic details of clothing and warns against the principal vices: "Wich arn þenne þy wedez þou wrappez þe inne, . . . / Hit arn þy werkez, wyterly, þat þou wroʒt havez" (169, 171). Thus before the parable, the poem provides an eschatological context by means of an allegorical royal banquet; following the parable is a direct hortatory explication which turns around the idea of the faithful's perseverance in virtue to achieve that eschatological end. Criticism of *Cleanness* has long recognized the importance of the hortatory or homiletic dimension, but it has neglected to point out that the basic dimension of the poem remains eschatological (see section III below).

Testament parable is introduced by a reference to the present state of priests who celebrate the timeless sacrifice of the Mass, a reference that includes the Augustinian poles of the Christian moral universe, charity and cupidity, here subsumed under the names of courtesy and hypocrisy ("honest utwyth, and inwith alle fylþez", 14), cleanness and filth.[5]

I

IMAGES OF AUTHORITY: THE FATHERHOOD OF GOD

The concept of cleanness is at once positive and negative, simple and complex. It involves both praise of the virtue of purity, because as the beatitude points out, only the pure in heart shall see God (25-28), and condemnation of the opposing vice of *fylþe*; and though it is reducible ultimately to some form of the root Augustinian dualism, the concept covers a broad system of metaphors and images.

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[5] Gardner notes a "gradual narrowing of focus" in *Cleanness* and suggests that the poem proceeds in a three-stage progression from monstrous deformation of nature in the Flood episode, through the Sodomites' collective defilement of human nature, to individual self-defilement by Belshazzar. "And so the poem comes full circle ... Belshazzar is a type of the false priest mentioned in the opening lines" (*Complete Works of the* Gawain-*Poet*, p. 68). These progressions do not account for the placement of the opening parable, however, and they identify only the hortatory component of the poem's symmetry and circularity. If we understand the opening episode as everything up to and including the parable of the wedding feast, it is possible to expand Gardner's analysis in at least two ways. Temporally, the first episode begins in the present with sinful priests and ranges to the limits of the future (the apocalyptic feast of the Lamb) and the past (Lucifer's rebellion), providing temporal equivalents for the parable's hortatory and eschatological dimensions. Following Augustine's divisions (*De civ. Dei*, 22.30), we see that the poem enters human history with Adam at the start of the *prima aetas*; Noah ends the first age and begins the second; Abraham ends the second and begins the third. The Transmigration to Babylon ends the fourth age and begins the fifth; Belshazzar's feast takes place near the end of the fifth age; Christ's Incarnation initiates the sixth. Thus, with the exception of David (who ends the third age and inaugurates the fourth), the historical plan of *Cleanness* locates in order each Old Testament transitional stage leading to the redemption of humanity by Christ; it accomplishes what the sacramental framework suggests throughout — at once a return to and a development of the hortatory and eschatological implications of the opening New Testament parable.

The spatial frame of the opening episode parallels its time scheme, ranging from the fourteenth-century English locality of the audience and the sinful priests to cosmic universality ("fro heven to helle," 227). What follows in the historical episodes is a succession of narrowing spatial frames, first to the created world as a whole (Noah), then to the Five Cities of the Plain and environs (Abraham and Lot), and finally to two cities, Jerusalem and Babylon. This narrowing makes Belshazzar a type of the false priest, as Gardner says, but more important, the symbolic reduction of the world at the end of the poem to the two central types of the City of God and the City of the World, peace and confusion, charity and cupidity, eternality and temporality, parallels the situation which is established simultaneously in local and cosmic space at the beginning. In each case the Wedding Feast episode defines the vertical axis of a coordinate system whose horizontal axis is defined by the remainder of the poem.

For the poet the vice of filth is embodied in two major sins of the flesh — lust and gluttony. Christian approaches to two of the major image complexes in *Cleanness,* food and sex, dictate that when these drives are used in accordance with divine and natural law they serve the goals of sustaining and reproducing life. The desires for food and sex are guided by the virtue of temperance; the sexual drive is safeguarded and brought to its natural fulfillment in marriage. The vices of lust and gluttony in which the two natural desires are misused lead to a worship of the body, an idolatry on the personal level which results in an idolatry at once social and archetypal (Belshazzar's feast in the Worldly City of Babylon) with the substitution of the worship of brazen images for the worship of the one true God. Of the two sins of the flesh, lust is the more dangerous because it strikes at the very basis of man's relationship to God. The sexual drive, when properly channeled in marriage, produces the family unit which, in its relationship of a father to his children, symbolizes the relationship of God to man. We owe God love and obedience because He is the father of mankind, because He created the body and soul of the first man and woman and the souls of all subsequent men and women just as a natural father engenders the physical bodies of his children. To the mediaeval mind, one showed obedience to God the Father by showing obedience to one's lawful superiors — to the king who was the father of his people, to the priest who was wedded to his parish and was thus the spiritual father of his congregation, and to one's own natural father. All of these relationships are types of the relationship of God to man. But lust, by misusing the sexual drive outside of marriage, does not result in the production of the family unit and the father-child relationship which is the primary symbol of divine authority.

With this in mind, we can see why the first major incident in the poem is a parable in which a marriage feast is compared to the kingdom of heaven. The two natural desires of the flesh, the drives of food and sex considered under a divine sanction, are united in the symbol of a marriage feast which a father gives for his son (51-52) and which in turn symbolizes God's kingdom (161-162). Marriage produces the father-child relationship which symbolizes our relation to God on the level of obedience. But there is also another level on which the marriage feast is symbolic of the relation of man to God, for just as the love of man for God seeks consummation by ultimate union with God in heaven and as this union of lover and loved one is symbolized by the union of man and woman in marriage, so the union of man and God on earth is achieved in the feast of the Mass in which man is united to God by consuming the pure flesh of Christ in the Eucharist. Under the New Law the natural appetites of food and sex receive their supernatural

fulfillment in the sacraments of the Eucharist and Matrimony, and in
the symbol of the marriage feast these natural drives are combined and
transformed into motives for eternal life. The poet clearly establishes
the Mass as the context in which he wishes the parable of the marriage
feast to be understood when, at the opening of the poem, he exhorts
priests in particular to be pure because "Thay teen unto his temmple
and temen to hymselven, / Reken wyth reverence þay r[ec]hen his auter,
/ Þay hondel þer his aune body and usen hit boþe: / If þay in clannes
be clos, þay cleche gret mede" (9-12). And again, when he begins the
parable he introduces it not as a story which Matthew tells us in his
gospel (22. 1-14) but rather "As Maþew melez in his masse of þat man
ryche, / Þat made þe mukel mangerye to marie his here dere" (51-52).
But the Mass is a sacrifice as well as a feast, and the poet points out the
sacrificial aspect of the parable when, in telling of the choice animals
which the host has slain and prepared for his guests to consume, he ex-
pands Matthew's "my beeves and fatlings are killed, and all things are
ready" to

> 'For my boles and my borez arn bayted and slayne,
> And my fedde foulez fatted wyth sclaȝt,
> My polyle þat is penne-fed and partrykez boþe,
> Wyth scheldez of wylde swyn, swanez and cronez —
> Al is roþeled and rosted ryȝt to þe sete;
> Comez cof to my corte, er hit colde worþe.'
>
> (55-60)

At the sacrifice of the Mass the destruction of the victim (Christ) is ac-
complished by consuming his flesh in the Eucharist. In the parable, the
kingdom of heaven is said to be like a marriage feast, and with the
marriage feast understood in the context of the Mass the meaning
becomes apparent: in heaven we see God in the Beatific Vision and are
united with Him; at Mass we see God at the Elevation and are united
with Him at Communion. Further, as Matthew tells us, the parable of
the marriage feast is told by Christ while he is teaching in the temple in
Jerusalem. This conjunction of Christ's public ministry and the story of
a marriage feast reminds us that Christ began his public ministry at the
marriage feast in Cana (which is his institution of the sacrament of
Matrimony) when he changed water into wine so that the guests might
be served. But this in turn points forward to another feast, the Last
Supper, at which he instituted the Eucharist, for just as he changed
water into wine at Cana that the guests might be served, so at the Last
Supper he changed wine into his blood and bread into his body for the
guests at this spiritual feast.[6]

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[6] Matrimony in the orthodox mediaeval view had a twofold institution, by God the Father in
Eden when He joined Adam and Eve (*Quamobrem relinquet homo patrem suum et matrem, et adhaerebit*

As Menner notes in his edition, the parable of the marriage feast as it appears in *Cleanness* is a combination of the versions given in Matthew 22. 1-14 and in Luke 14. 16-24. Menner remarks:

> The excuses given by those invited (61-72), the lord's commanding his servants to gather in the wayfarers a second time (93 ff.), and the description of them (100 ff.), are given only in Luke; and the account of the maltreatment of the lord's messengers and his slaying of the guests first invited (Matt. 22.6-7) is omitted, as in Luke. But several details, for example line 84, and the whole passage (125-162) about the man without a wedding garment, are given only in Matthew.[7]

An examination of the way in which the poet combines the two versions of the parable gives a striking indication of the poem's intention. The author suppresses the account of the mistreatment of the lord's messengers and the lord's slaying of the first guests which appears in Matthew, and he substitutes for it the elaborate excuses of the guests which appear in Luke. Why? As the poem clearly states, one of the points to be made is that God's full wrath is reserved for those who commit sins of the flesh:

> Bot never ȝet in no boke breved I herde
> Þat ever he wrek so wyþerly on werk þat he made,
> Ne venged for no vilte of vice ne synne,
> Ne so hastyfly watz hot for hatel of his wylle,
> Ne never so sodenly soȝt unsoundely to weng|e|,
> As for fylþe of þe flesch þat foles han used.
> For, as I fynde, þer he forȝet alle his fre þewez,
> And wex wod to þe wrache for wrath at his hert.
> (197-204)

But in the parable of the marriage feast as it appears in Matthew, the main portion of the king's wrath falls upon the first guests, whose sin was not filth but the mistreatment of the lord's servants ("But when the king had heard of it, he was angry, and sending his armies, he destroyed those murderers and brunt their city" 22.7), while the man without a wedding garment (which is expanded in the poem to a man in a foul garment whose filth symbolizes spiritual corruption caused by sins of the flesh) is simply bound hand and foot and cast into the exterior darkness. Whatever the spiritual equivalence may be, the literal images

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uxori suae; et erunt duo in carne una, Gen. 2.24), and by Christ at Cana (*John* 2.1-11). So Peter Lombard: *Quod autem res bona sit conjugium, non modo ex eo probatur, quod Dominus legitur conjugium instituisse inter primos parentes, sed etiam quod in Cana Galilaeae nuptiis interfuit Christus, easque miraculo commendavit, aqua in vinum conversa ...*" (*Sent.,* IV. 26.5; *PL* 192. 909). The same points are made, together with the Eucharistic suggestion, by Hugh of St.-Victor, *De sacramentis,* II. 11.2; *PL* 176. 481.

[7] Menner, p. 70.

of destruction which the Matthaean parable presents run exactly coun-
ter to the point that the poet says he intends to make, that God's full
wrath is vented on sins of the flesh. Consequently, the poet changes the
parable, suppresses the destruction of the murderers, and substitutes
the elaborate excuses of the guests found in Luke. Thus, as the parable
stands in *Cleanness*, the full impact of the host's displeasure falls on the
man in the foul garment who has begrimed the vessel of his body by
fleshly sin.

Though the parable is a combination of the two versions, the poet
identifies it as being from Matthew rather than from Luke. He does this
first of all because the two major aspects of the parable which he in-
tends to use occur only in Matthew: 1) that it is a marriage feast given
by a father for a son which represents the kingdom of heaven; and 2)
the appearance of the guest without a wedding garment. In Luke it is
not a marriage feast but simply a supper given by a rich man, and the
incident of the guest without a wedding garment is omitted entirely.
But there are other important reasons why the poet identifies the
parable as Matthew's. It is "as Maþew melez in his masse" that the story
is introduced.[8]

We have already suggested that the poet's mention of the Mass was to
indicate the context in which one of the symbolic meanings of the
marriage feast was to be understood, i.e., the consuming of the
Eucharist. But there is another reason for this reference to the Mass: in
the liturgy, the parable of the marriage feast is the Gospel for the Mass
on the Nineteenth Sunday after Pentecost. In the context of that par-
ticular Mass, the symbolic meaning of the guest without a wedding gar-
ment is made clear, for the Epistle of that Mass, taken from Ephesians
4.23-28, begins "And be renewed in the spirit of your mind: And put on
the new man, who according to God is created in justice and holiness of
truth." In the Scriptural text this passage is directly preceded by the ad-
monition not to be like those "Who despairing, have given themselves
up to lasciviousness, unto the working of all uncleanness, unto co-
vetousness. But you have not so learned Christ; If so be that you have
heard him, and have been taught in him, as the truth is in Jesus: To put
off, according to the former conversation, the old man, who is corrup-
ted according to the desire of error."[9] The garment image suggested by

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[8] Menner glosses *masse* as "that portion of Matthew's gospel which [the poet] heard read at
'mass,' or simply as 'gospel'," (p. 70, note to line 51). Our interpretation of this line is that the poet
is referring to a specific portion of Matthew's gospel which was used as the Gospel lection on a par-
ticular Sunday — the nineteenth Sunday after Pentecost. Cf. *Patience*, lines 9-10: "I herde on a
halyday, at a hyʒe masse, / How Mathew melede ...", ed. J. J. Anderson (Manchester, 1969), p. 31.

[9] *Eph.* 4.19-22. As authority that the connection of this Epistle and Gospel on the nineteenth Sun-
day after Pentecost was in effect in the Middle Ages, see Joseph A. Jungmann, *The Mass of the
Roman Rite*, trans. F. A. Brunner, I (New York, 1950), pp. 399-401.

the idioms "to put on" and "to put off" in these passages was seen by
the liturgical imagination of the church as a further explanatory form
of the basic metaphor which produced the image of the man without a
wedding garment in the Matthaean parable, i.e., the metaphor of con-
tainer as emblem of contained. The liturgical imagination of the poet of
Cleanness carries this clarification of the guest's spiritual significance one
step further by making him a man in a foul garment.

There is one final and especially important reason why the poet at-
tributes the composite parable to Matthew rather than to Luke: he
wishes to evoke the context in which the Matthaean parable occurs.
The parable is spoken by Christ in a discussion of authority. In Mat-
thew, Chapter 21, Christ enters Jerusalem in triumph and casts the
money-changers out of the temple (21.12-13). Later, when he is teaching
in the temple, the chief priests and elders come and ask him by what
authority he does these things and who gave him this authority (21.23-
27). He in turn asks them whether the baptism of John was from heaven
or from men. When they say that they do not know, he refuses to tell
them his authority. But he immediately begins the first of three parables
dealing with a father-son relationship.[10] In the first parable a father tells
his two sons to go and work in the vineyard. The first son refuses but
later relents and goes to the vineyard, while the second son says that he
will go but in fact never does. Christ then asks which of the two sons
did the father's will (21.28-31). The second parable concerns a man
(*paterfamilias*) who owns a vineyard and who sends his servants to the
vinedressers to receive his fruits, but the vinedressers seize the servants
and kill them (as the first guests do in the parable of the marriage feast).
The man then sends a second party of servants who are also killed by
the vinedressers. Finally he sends his son, thinking that they will respect
him, but the vinedressers, recognizing the heir and hoping to gain his
inheritance, kill the son. Christ says that when the owner of the
vineyard comes he will destroy these evil vinedressers and let out the
vineyard to other men (21.33-41). The third parable is, of course, that of
the marriage feast which a king gives for his son. At the end of this
parable, the Pharisees try to entrap Christ on the subject of civil
authority, asking him if it is lawful to render tribute to Caesar. After
being shown the coin of the tribute, Christ tells them to render to
Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's
(22.15-22).

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[10] It is significant that on another occasion when Christ's presence in the temple was questioned,
he replied with a father-child authority image (*Luke* 2.42-49). The young Jesus, remaining behind in
the temple when his parents returned to Nazareth, was found there three days later by his mother
who asked, "Son, why hast thou done so to us? Behold thy father and I have sought thee
sorrowing." And Jesus answered, "Did you not know, that I must be about my Father's business?"

Realizing the context of authority from which the parable of the marriage feast in Matthew is taken, we can begin to appreciate the full significance of the father-child authority motif which connects the three Old Testament stories in *Cleanness*. In lines 197-204 the poet says that God's full wrath is reserved for sins of the flesh, and he then gives a brief summary of the falls of Lucifer and of Adam and Eve as an introduction to the story of Noah and the Deluge. In this introduction he is careful to point out the moderation in God's punishment of Lucifer and of Adam. Of the fall of Lucifer he says, "Dryȝtyn wyth his dere dom hym drof to þe abyme, / In þe mesure of his mode, his metz never þe lasse" (214-215). And again, "Þis hit watz a brem brest and a byge wrache; / And ȝet wrathed not þe Wyȝ, ne þe wrech saȝtled" (229-230). The poet ends the story of the fall of Adam with, "Al in mesure and meþe watz mad þe veng[a]unce, / And efte amended wyth a mayden þat make had never" (247-248). The point is that the sins of disobedience which Lucifer and Adam committed did not arouse God's full wrath, for their punishment was simply to be cast out — Lucifer was driven from heaven and Adam and Eve were put out of the Garden of Eden; but the sins of filth committed by those living on the earth in Noah's time aroused God's total vengeance and caused the Flood which destroyed the world. Here again, whatever the practical spiritual meanings of the falls of Lucifer and Adam, the poet in his artist's orthodoxy reads the literal images of their being cast out of heaven and Eden as somehow less wrathful than the immediate destruction of life, both physical and spiritual, caused by the Flood. And from this arises the logical question, which the poet surely intends us to ask: Why is God's full wrath reserved for sins of the flesh? It is true that in some mediaeval schemes *luxuria* appears as the crowning and most dangerous fruit of the tree of vices (e.g., *De fructibus carnis et spiritus, PL,* 176.1007-1008), yet for the poet of *Cleanness* the answer would seem to lie in its direct perversion of the ideas of cleanness, marriage, and authority which he finds in the symbol of the marriage feast. All sins are sins of disobedience, and though sin itself is figured archetypally in the falls of Lucifer and Adam, sins of the flesh are worthy of God's severest punishment because *luxuria* strikes at the very possibility of obedience. Lust by misusing the sexual drive outside marriage does not produce the family unit and the father-child relationship and so undermines the very image of God's authority in this world — fatherhood. Sins of the flesh lead directly away from the worship of God to the worship of the body and to idolatry, the worship of gods made in man's image. Consequently, they merit the Father's full wrath.

In the first two Old Testament stories which the poet narrates, God destroys those who have defiled themselves through sins of the flesh,

but on both occasions He saves a chosen few, and those few whom He saves are not just random individuals; in each case they are a father and his family. When Noah is first introduced, he is not treated as a lone good man but rather as the head of a house: "Hym watz þe nome Noe, as is innoghe knawen; / He had þre þryven sunez, and þay þre wyvez, / Sem soþly þat on, þat oþer hyʒt Cam,/ And þe jolef Japheth watz gendered þe þryd" (297-300). When the angels awaken Lot and tell him to take his family from Sodom, Lot tries to bring two young men along as husbands for his daughters so that the family will be continued: "Þe wyʒe wakened his wyf and his wlonk deʒteres, / And oþer two myri men þo maydenez schulde wedde" (933-934). Just as each of Noah's sons brought a wife into the Ark, so Lot tries to insure that each of his daughters will bring a husband with her on fleeing the city.[11] But because the young men are corrupted with the filth of Sodom, they refuse to enter the family unit and are subsequently destroyed.

The father-child authority motif and the marriage motif dominate the stories of the Deluge and the Destruction of the Cities. At the beginning of the Sodom and Gomorrah episode when the Trinity visits Abraham in the form of three angels, Abraham and Sara's marriage is fulfilled with the promise of a son:

> 'I schal efte here away, Abram,' þay sayden,
> 'ʒet er þy lyvez lyʒt leþe upon erþe,
> And þenne schal Sare consayve and a sun bere,
> Þat schal be Abrahamez ayre, and after hym wynne
> Wyth wele and wyth worschyp þe worþely peple,
> Þat schal halde in heritage þat I haf men ʒarkled|.'
> (647-652)

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[11] The punishment which Lot's wife receives on their flight from the city is due as much to her disobedience of her husband as it is to her disobedience of God (994-1000). The difficulty which the story of the punishment of Lot's wife presented to the poet is evident. One reason for including the falls of Lucifer and Adam had been to show that sins of disobedience to God did not merit God's full destructive wrath, while the sin of lust did. Yet, as a minor incident in the story of the Destruction of the Cities, there occurs the bizarre punishment of Lot's wife for a sin of disobedience to God. The turning of Lot's wife into a pillar of salt was too striking an incident for the poet to suppress, so he may have added the extra-Biblical detail of her prior disobedience to her husband to make it fit in with his theme: "Þenne ho saverez wyth salt her seuez uch one, / Agayne þe bone of þe burne þat hit forboden hade, / And als ho scelt hem in scorne þat wel her skyl knewen. / Why watz ho, wrech, so wod? Ho wrathed oure Lorde" (825-828). Thus, though her sin is still one of disobedience, it is now a sin which strikes at the authority of the father in the family unit as does the sin of lust; it is not simply disobedience but rather the attempt to overthrow the fundamental principle of authority. Like lust, it strikes at that authority through a process of material corruption (the fermentation of the salt and the leavening in the bread) which offends the spirit (the angels). Consequently, her sin merits the same treatment which lust provokes.

And again, when God informs Abraham of His intention to destroy Sodom, the father-child authority motif is clear:

> Þen glydez forth God; þe god mon hym folȝez,
> Abraham heldez hem wyth, hem to conveye
> In towarde þe cety of Sodamas þat synned had þenne
> In þe faute of þis fylþe. Þe Fader hem þretes,
> And sayde þus to þe segg þat sued hym after:
> 'How myȝt I hyde myn hert fro Habraham þe trwe,
> Þat I ne dyscovered to his corse my counsayl so dere?
> Syþen he is chosen to be chef chyldryn fader,
> Þat so folk schal falle fro, to flete alle þe worlde,
> And uche blod in þat burne blessed schal worþe,
> Me bos telle to þat tolk þe tene of my wylle,
> And alle myn atlyng to Abraham unhaspe bilyve'.[12]
>
> (677-688)

God tells Abraham that He has always sanctioned marriage and that He himself portrayed the love which should exist between a man and a woman:

> 'I compast hem a kynde crafte and kende hit hem derne,
> And amed hit in myn ordenaunce oddely dere,
> And dyȝt drwry þerinne, doole alþerswettest,
> And þe play of paramorez I portrayed myselven;
> And made þerto a maner myriest of oþer,
> When two true togeder had tyȝed hemselven,
> Bytwene a male and his make such merþe schulde co|m|e,
> Wel nyȝe pure paradys moȝt preve no better.'
>
> (697-704)

This passage is particularly significant, for in God's comparison of the delights of marriage with those of paradise, we are immediately reminded that the poem began with a parable in which Christ compared a marriage feast to the kingdom of heaven. Further, God says that "þe play of paramorez I portrayed myselven." Menner glosses "portrayed" in this context as "devised," yet surely the meaning is more complex than that. Human marriage and the mystical marriage of the Eucharist are analogues of the Christian's final union with God, but more, the family unit which marriage produces is a portrayal of God's own

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[12] Stylistic evidence for the centrality of the father-child authority motif in the poem can be found in the high frequency with which the word "fader" is used as a synonym for God in *Cleanness* as compared to the other poems of the *Pearl*- or *Gawain*-Poet. In *Gawain*, a poem of 2530 lines, "fader" is never used as a synonym for God; in *Patience* (531 lines) it is used once of God (line 92) and in *Pearl* (1212 lines) it is used twice (736, 872); but in *Cleanness*, where the father-child authority motif is a unifying element, the word "fader" is used nine times as a synonym for God (542, 680, 729, 919, 1051, 1175, 1229, 1721, 1726) as well as being used nine other times to refer to natural human fathers (112, 684, 1155, 1338, 1429, 1601, 1610, 1624, 1644).

nature; in it He symbolizes the familial procession of the persons within the Trinity: the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.[13] But the people of Sodom and Gomorrah have perverted the natural sexual desire: "Þay han lerned a lyst þat lykez me ille, / Þat þay han founden in her flesch of fautez þe werst: / Uch male matz his mach a man as hymselven, / And fylter folyly in fere on femmalez wyse" (693-696). For this perversion of nature they must be destroyed: "Now haf þay skyfted my skyl and scorned natwre, / And henttez hem in heþyng an usage unclene. / Hem to smyte for þat smod smartly I þenk, / Þat wyʒez schal be by hem war, worlde wythouten ende" (709-712). It was this same misuse of the sexual principle for which God destroyed the world in the Deluge: "And þenne founden þay fylþe in fleschlych dedez, / And controeved agayn kynde contrare werkez, / And used hem unþryftyly uch on on oþer, / And als with oþer, wylsfully, upon a wrange wyse" (265-268). And it was in His role as the Divine Father that God punished them: "Lo! suche a wrakful wo for wlatsum dedez / Parformed þe hyʒe Fader on folke þat he made" (541-542). But God's care for the natural drives of sex and food as they are properly used to reproduce and sustain life is equally evident in the passage in which He tells Noah to enter the Ark:

> 'Þou schal enter þis ark wyth þyn aþel barnez
> And þy wedded wyf; with þe þou take
> Þe makez of þy myry sunez; þis meyny of aʒte
> I schal save of monnez saulez, and swelt þose oþer.
> Of uche best þat berez lyf busk þe a cupple;
> Of uche clene comly kynde enclose seven makez,
> Of uche horwed in ark halde bot a payre,
> For to save me þe sede of alle ser kyndez;
> And ay þou meng wyth þe malez þe mete ho-bestez,
> Uche payre by payre to plese ayþer oþer;
> Wyth alle þe fode þat may be founde, frette þy cofer,
> For sustmaunce to yowself and also þose oþer.'
> (329-340)

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[13] Anton Pegis, ed., *Basic Writings of Thomas Aquinas*, I (New York, 1945), p. 288 from *Summa theologiae*, 1, 28, 4: "Hence, it follows that real relations in God can be understood only in regard to those actions according to which there are internal, and not external, processions in God. These processions are only two, as was above explained, one derived from the action of the intellect, the procession of the Word, and the other from the action of the will, the procession of Love. In respect of each of these processions two opposite relations arise, one of which is the relation of the person proceeding from the principle, the other is the relation of the principle Himself. The procession of the Word is called generation in the proper sense of the term, whereby it is applied to living things. Now the relation of the principle of generation in perfect living beings is called *paternity*; and the relation of the one proceeding from the principle is called *filiation*. But the procession of Love has no proper name of its own, and so neither have the ensuing relations a proper name of their own. The relation of the principle of this procession is called *spiration*, and the relation of the person proceeding is called *procession*; although these two names belong to the processions or origins themselves, and not to the relations."

II

THE SACRAMENTAL FRAMEWORK:
BODY AS VESSEL AND PURIFICATION BY WATER

In analyzing the poet's treatment of Noah and the Deluge, we are struck by two major recurring images that the poet uses to link the four sections of *Cleanness*. They are the motifs of the body as vessel and purification by water. The Flood, as the poet makes plain, is not just a means of destroying the world, it is a means of purifying it as well. God tells Noah, "For I schal waken up a water to wasch alle þe worlde, / And quelle alle þat is quik wyth quavende flodez" (323-324); and again, "Such a rowtande ryge þat rayne schal swyþe, / Þat schal wasch alle þe worlde of werkez of fylþe" (354-355). The Flood, which washes the saving vessel of the Ark, is a symbol of Baptism in which the vessel of man's body is cleansed of the filth of fleshly sin by the waters of salvation. Of this symbolism, Peter says in his first epistle, "... they waited for the patience of God in the days of Noe, when the ark was a building: wherein a few, that is, eight souls, were saved by water. Whereunto baptism being of the like from, now saveth you also."[14] In

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[14] 1 *Peter* 3.20-21. Cuffe (p. 115) was the first to suggest that 2 *Peter* 2.4-11 brings together three exempla from *Cleanness*. We should note also that in the first epistle of St. Peter appear almost all the motifs which the poet uses in *Cleanness* as well as references to three of the four Scriptural stories which the poet narrates and a suggestion of the fourth. In Chapter 1.14, Peter speaks of the obedience which Christians owe God and says that they must be "as children of obedience, not fashioned according to the former desires of your ignorance," and "if you invoke as Father him who, without respect of persons, judgeth according to everyone's work: converse in fear during the time of your sojourning here" (1.17). He advises them to be "as living stones built up, a spiritual house" (2.5) and quotes the psalm "the stone which the builders rejected, the same is made the head of the corner" (2.7). It is worthy of note that Christ quotes this psalm in construing the parable of the vinedressers (*Matt.* 21.42) and that it leads immediately into the parable of the marriage feast (*Matt.* 22.1-4). Further, just as Peter exhorts the faithful to be "as living stones built up, a spiritual house," so the poet says that to appear in the bright houses of heaven he must be as clean as the burnished beryl or the pearl (553-556). Also, Peter says that the stone which was rejected by the builders has now become the cornerstone, and we are immediately reminded that the beryl and the pearl are building stones used in the construction of the New Jerusalem or heavenly city (*Apoc.* 21.19-21). In Chapter 2.11, Peter advises the faithful to avoid lust: "Dearly beloved, I beseech you as strangers and pilgrims to refrain yourselves from carnal desires which war against the soul," and he then begins a discussion of authority: "Be ye subject therefore to every human creature for God's sake: whether it be to the king as excelling; Or to governors as sent by him for the punishment of evildoers, and for the praise of the good: For so is the will of God, that by doing well you may put to silence the ignorance of foolish men: As free, and not making liberty a cloak for malice, but as the servants of God" (1 *Peter* 2.13-16).

In connection with this passage we recall that the parable of the marriage feast in Matthew was part of a discussion of authority by Christ and that it was followed immediately by his sanctioning of civil authority with the words "Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's and to God the things that are God's" (*Matt.* 22.15-21). Further, in Peter's discussion of authority we have a garment image used in connection with evil, the "cloak for malice" which suggests the poet's emendation of the Matthaean parable in which the man without a wedding garment becomes a man in a foul garment symbolic of the corruption of fleshly sin. In Chapter 3.1, Peter says that wives should

the admonition against impurity which precedes the parable of the marriage feast, the poet advises: "Forþy hyȝ not to heven in haterez totorne,/ Ne in þe harlatez hod and handez unwaschen" (33-34). At the end of the parable, the poet tells us that the guests at this symbolic feast will be those who have been baptized: "Thus comparisunez Kryst þe kyndom of heven / To þis frelych feste þat fele arn to called; / For alle arn laþed luflyly, þe luþer and þe better, / Þat ever wern fulȝed in font þat feste to have" (161-164). The idea of the washing of Baptism as a prerequisite for the feast of the Eucharist and thus for the kingdom of heaven is echoed in Abraham's greeting of the three angels: "And I schal wynne yow wyȝt of water a lyttle, / And fast aboute schal I fare yor fette wer waschene; / Resttez here on þis rote, and I schal rachche after / And brynge a morsel of bred to banne yor hertte" (617-620); and also in Lot's encounter with the angels who have come to destroy Sodom:

be subject to their husbands "as Sara obeyed Abraham, calling him lord" (3.6), and he continues, "Ye husbands, likewise dwelling with them according to knowledge, giving honor to the female as to the weaker vessel, and as to the co-heirs of the grace of life: that your prayers be not hindered." We note in this discussion of authority the introduction of Abraham and Sara (*Cleanness*, 601 ff.), and also that the authority of the husband over his wife, and thus of the father over his child, is that of a "lord." Finally, we are struck by the use of the body-as-vessel image.

In Chapter 3.19-21, Peter employs the story of Noah and the Flood as an image of Baptism, the same symbolic use that the poet makes of this episode in *Cleanness*. In Chapter 4.1-3 Peter says, "Christ therefore having suffered in the flesh, be you also armed with the same thought: for he that hath suffered in the flesh, hath ceased from sins: That now he may live the rest of his time in the flesh, not after the desires of men, but according to the will of God. For the time past is sufficient to have fulfilled the will of the Gentiles, for them who have walked in riotousness, lusts, excess of wine, revellings, banquetings, and unlawful worshiping of idols." The idea that Christ's pure flesh redeems man's corrupt flesh through suffering suggests the renewal of that redemptive act in the sacrifice of the Mass. And this in turn recalls lines 1093-1108 of the poem where Christ's manual efficacy in healing diseased bodies by his touch is compared to his skill in breaking bread. In the passage quoted from Peter we also find the image of those who have offended God in time past by "riotousness, lusts, excess of wine, revellings, banquetings, and unlawful worshiping of idols," a sequence which closely parallels the events of Belshazzar's feast as they appear in the final episode of *Cleanness*. It is tempting, in light of the numerous parallels between the first epistle of St. Peter and *Cleanness*, to see the epistle as a possible source of the poem's major incidents and unifying motifs.

Charlotte C. Morse's article "The Image of the Vessel in *Cleanness*" (which appeared after the present article was completed) argues effectively from Scriptural and patristic texts that the vessel image links sins of the flesh and idolatry, thus connecting the episodes of the Deluge and Sodom and Gomorrah with Belshazzar's Feast. Yet her claim (p. 202) that the vessel image controls the poem's structure is true only in the restricted sense that it is one of a series of unifying images which are themselves controlled by the theme of God's authority as the Father. Similarly, Morse's contention that "the poet of *Cleanness* expects us to interpret the sexual sins in a spiritual sense, to understand that they are kinds of idolatry" (p. 214) requires qualification: clearly the poet wants us to see lust as a kind of figurative idolatry, but he is at even greater pains to make us see how and why acts of individual lust inevitably lead to literal idolatry on the societal level (the destruction of true religion and the worship of false gods) by striking at fatherhood, the effective sign of God's authority embodied in king, priest, and family head. Morse explains the typological quality of each episode as a judgment; our concern is with the principles of operation of judgment both as theme (the typology of the Last Judgment) and as form (the parable genre).

'Comez to yor knavez kote, I crave at þis onez;
I schal fette you a fatte yor fette forto wasche.'

(801-802)

Loth þenne ful ly3tly lokez hym aboute,
And his men amonestes mete for to dy3t:
'Bot þenkkez on hit be þrefte, what þynk so 3e make,
For wyth no sour ne no salt servez hym never.'

(817-820)

In his note to these lines Menner says, "Lot's command that 'no sour ne
no salt' should be served is due, as Emerson explains, to the fact that
the unleavened bread must contain neither yeast nor salt." We are im-
mediately reminded by this detail that unleavened bread is the Jewish
sacramental bread eaten on the feast of the Passover and that in the
Mass the unleavened bread of the Eucharist is consumed as a renewal
of the sacrifice of the cross which took place during the time of the
Passover feast.

With the Flood considered as a type of Baptism, the image of the Ark
as symbolic of the vessel of the body is heightened by the poet's
alteration of a Biblical detail. In Genesis the Ark is covered with pitch
(*mansiunculas in arca facies, et bitumine linies intrinsecus et extrinsecus*, Gen.
6.14). But in the poem it is covered with clay at God's express com-
mand: "And þenne cleme hit wyth clay comly wythin[n]e" (312), and
again, "Þen watz þer joy in þat gyn where jumpred er dry3ed, / And
much comfort in þat cofer þat watz clay-daubed" (491-492). We recall
that God formed man's body of the slime of the earth (*Gen*. 2.7), and as
man's flesh is clay so the covering of the Ark is clay. This same idea is
found in Abraham's characterization of himself as "earth and ashes"
when he asks God to spare Sodom: "I am bot erþe ful evel and usle so
blake, / For to mele wyth such a Mayster as my3tez hatz alle" (747-748).
In a poem that admonishes against sins of impurity, this description of
man's flesh as earth and ashes, coming as it does between the story of
the Deluge in which mankind is saved in a clay-daubed vessel and the
Destruction of the Cities in which those who have committed the sin of
filth are burned to ashes (1009-1012), has at once a unifying and a
polarizing effect: the way to salvation or to damnation in *Cleanness* is
through the flesh.

The motif of the body as vessel receives its final development in the
image of the Holy Vessels. One reason that God's full wrath is reserved
for sins of the flesh, as far as Christians are concerned, is that the body
is a sacred vessel consecrated to God by Baptism. For a follower of
Christ, sins of the flesh amount to a kind of sacrilege. This play on the
meaning of "vessel" as a sacramental container consecrated to God and
thus symbolic of the body of a baptized Christian is evident in the poet's
exhortation to purity following the destruction of the cities. In this

passage he is speaking of the sacrament of Penance or Shrift which, like Baptism, cleanses man of sin:

> Bot war þe wel, if þou be waschen wyth water of schryfte,
> And polysed als playn as parchmen schaven,
> Sulp no more þenne in synne þy saule þerafter,
> For þenne þou Dryȝtyn dyspleses wyth dedes ful sore,
> And entyses hym to tene more trayþly þen ever,
> And wel hatter to hate þen hade þou not waschen,
> For when a sawele is saȝtled and sakred to Dryȝtyn,
> He holly haldes hit his, and have hit he wolde;
> Þenne efte lastes hit likkes, he loses hit ille,
> As hit were rafte wyth unryȝt, and robbed wyth þewes.
> War þe þenne for þe wrake; his wrath is achaufed
> For þe þat ones watz his schulde efte be unclene,
> Þaȝ hit be bot a bassyn, a bolle, oþer a scole,
> A dysche, oþer a dobler, þat Dryȝtyn onez served,
> To defowle hit ever upon folde fast he forbedes,
> So is he scoymus of scaþe þat scylful is ever.
>
> (1133-1148)

The body as a sacred vessel is the controlling image in the last of the Old Testament stories which the poet narrates — Belshazzar's Feast. In a feast which is the antithesis of the heavenly marriage banquet that begins the poem, Belshazzar defiles the consecrated vessels (which his father[15] Nebuchadnezzar had brought from the temple in Jerusalem) by having his knights and concubines drink from them. This defilement of the vessels of the temple is symbolic of the defilement of the sacred vessel of the body that takes place at the feast through lust and gluttony. The corruption of the participants in Belshazzar's feast is clear. Concubines occupy the place of honor: "For non watz dressed upon dece bot þe dere selven, / And his clere concubynes in cloþes ful bryȝt" (1399-1400). The guests are gluttons: "Nou is alle þis guere geten glotounes to serve" (1505); and the host is drunk with the wine from the sacred vessels: "Soberly in his sacrafyce summe were anoynted, / Þurȝ þe somones of himselfe þat syttes so hyȝe; / Now a boster on benche bibbes þerof, / Tyl he be dronkken as þe devel, and dotes þer he syttes" (1497-1500). During this corrupt feast, a disembodied hand writes a prophecy of Belshazzar's destruction on the wall of the banquet room, and the prophet Daniel is called to the palace to interpret the writing. At this point the reverse or mirror-like symmetry of *Cleanness* is particularly striking. The poem begins with a feast which symbolizes the

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[15] Jerome's commentary on this point, to which the *Glossa ordinaria* refers, recognizes the literal inadequacy of the scriptural statement (*Daniel* 5.1) that Belshazzar is Nebuchadnezzar's son. The importance of the symbolic point remains unaffected. See *PL*, 25. 518, and for secondary discussion T. K. Cheyne and J. S. Black, *Encyclopaedia Biblica* (London, 1914), p. 528.

kingdom of heaven or the heavenly city; it ends with a feast in the
worldly city of Babylon which is etablished in Chapter 18 of the
Apocalypse as the polar opposite of the heavenly city and which, like
Sodom and Gomorrah, is destroyed with fire by the wrath of God. At
the heavenly banquet there is one bad guest, the man in the foul gar-
ment who is cast into the exterior darkness; at the worldly banquet
there is one good guest, the prophet Daniel who tells the corrupt guests
of God's imminent vengeance. In both feasts the father-child authority
motif is present. The banquet which symbolizes the kingdom of heaven
is given by a father for his son. At the worldly feast Belshazzar rebels
against the example of his father Nebuchadnezzar who had honored
God and his sacred vessels:

> 'Bot þou, Baltazar, his barne and his bolde ayre,
> Seʒ þese syngnes wyth syʒt, and set hem at lyttel,
> Bot ay hatz hofen þy hert agaynes þe hyʒe Dryʒt|y|n,
> Wyth bobaunce and wyth blasfayme bost at hym kest,
> And now his vessayles avyled in vanyte unclene,
> Þat in his hows hym to honor were hevened of fyrst;
> Bifore þe barounz hatz hom broʒt, and byrled þerinne
> Wale wyne to þy wenches in waryed stoundes.'

$$(1709\text{-}1716)$$

And, as Daniel tells Belshazzar, because he did not heed his father's
example in honoring God and avoiding fleshly sin, the wrath of the
Father will fall upon him: "And for þat froþande fylþe, þe Fader of
heven / Hatz sende into þis sale þise syʒtes uncowþe" (1721-1722). As
the falls of Lucifer and of Adam and Eve were juxtaposed to the story
of the Deluge to illustrate the difference in God's treatment of the sin of
disobedience and the sin of uncleanness, so Daniel's account of God's
temporary punishment of Nebuchadnezzar for pride and disobedience
by casting him out of his kingdom (1642-1708) is juxtaposed to the
prophecy of the destruction which God will bring upon Belshazzar for
the sin of filth. The men in Noah's time, through lust, struck at God's
authority and ended up acknowledging no authority but their own
("Þat þen wonyed in þe worlde wythouten any maysterz," 252); in the
same manner the guests at Belshazzar's feast, in defiling the sacred
vessels which symbolize their own bodies, have renounced God's
authority and are their own masters: "In bryʒt bollez ful bayn birlen
þise oþer, / And uche mon for his mayster machches alone" (1511-
1512).

   Certainly the most significant instance of the reverse symmetry of the
first and last sections of the poem is found in the symbol of the
marriage feast viewed as the Mass. To the minds of mediaeval
Christians, the sacred vessels of the Belshazzar story which had been
used in Jerusalem to worship God would immediately suggest their own

consecrated vessels which they saw at Mass — the chalice and the
ciborium (the lidded, cup-like container in which the Eucharist is kept).
As part of the symbolism of the marriage feast is the Mass, so part of
the inverted symbolism of Belshazzar's feast is the Black Mass—the use
of sacred objects and ceremonies to worship Satan:

> Þe jueles out of Jerusalem wyth gemmes ful bry3t,
> Bi þe syde of þe sale were semely arayed;
> Þe aþel auter of brasse watz hade into place;
> Þe gay coroun of golde gered on lofte,
> Þat hade ben blessed bifore wyth bischopes hondes,
> And wyth besten blod busily anoynted,
> In þe solempne sacrefyce þat goud savor hade,
> Bifore þe Lorde of þe lyfte in lovyng hymselven,
> Now is sette for to serve Satanas þe blake,
> Bifore þe bolde Baltazar wyth bost and wyth pryde.
>   (1441-1450)

The idolatrous character of the drinking of the wine from the sacred
vessels is emphasized by the poet:

> And þenne |drinkez| arn dressed |to| dukez and prynces,
> Concubines and kny3tes, bi cause of þat merthe;
> As uch on hade hym inhelde, he haled of þe cuppe.
> So long likked þise lordes þise lykores swete,
> And gloryed on her falce goddes, and her grace calles,
> Þat were of stokkes and stones, stille evermore —
> Never steven hem astel, so stoken is hor tonge;
> Alle þe goude golden goddes þe gaulez 3et nevenen,
> Belfagor, and Belyal, and Belssabub als,
> Heyred hem as hy3ly as heven wer þayres,
> Bot hym þat alle goudes gives, þat God þay for3eten.
>   (1518-1528)

By now we can begin to appreciate the theological cohesiveness of the
poem's structure. Writing on the subject of cleanness, the poet has not
only pointed out the danger of the sin of filth, but he has also indicated
the spiritual paths by which purity is achieved and maintained. The
warning given in the destruction episodes is balanced by the sacramen-
tal framework in which Baptism, Penance, Matrimony, and the
Eucharist are shown to be the principal means of avoiding that des-
truction. This sacramental framework is evident in the exhortation to
purity (1049-1156) which connects the stories of the Destruction of the
Cities and Belshazzar's Feast. At the beginning of this passage the poet
says that those who wish to enter the presence of God must be clean,
and he compares our actions in seeking union with God to the actions
of a man who loves a woman:

> For Clopyngnel in þe compas of his clene Rose,
> Þer he expounez a speche, to hym þat spede wolde,
> Of a lady to be loved: 'Loke to hir sone,
> Of wich beryng þat ho be, and wych ho best lovyes,
> And be ryʒt such, in uch a borʒe, of body and of dedes,
> And folʒ þe fet of þat fere þat þou fre haldes;
> And if þou wyrkkes on þis wyse, þaʒ ho wyk were,
> Hir schal lyke þat layk þat lyknes hir tylle.'
> If þou wyl dele drwrye wyth Dryʒtyn, þenne,
> And lelly lovy þy Lorde, and his leef worþe,
> Þenne conforme þe to Kryst, and þe clene make,
> Þat ever is polyced als playn as þe perle selven.
>   (1057-1068)

It is no wonder that Christ's body is clean, for it was contained from the moment of his conception to the moment of his birth in the pure body of the Virgin (1069-1088). During Christ's public ministry, the poet continues, people with diseased bodies came to him to be healed by the touch of his pure flesh:

> For what so he towched, also tyd torned to hele,
> Wel clanner þen any crafte cowþe devyse.
> So clene watz his hondelyng uche ordure hit schonied,
> And þe gropyng so goud of God and man boþe,
> Þat for fetys of his fyngeres fonded he never
> Nauþer to cout ne to kerve wyth knyf ne wyth egge;
> Forþy brek he þe bred blades wythouten,
> For hit ferde freloker in fete in his fayre honde,
> Displayed more pryvyly when he hit part schulde,
> Þenne alle þe toles of Tolowse moʒt tyʒt hit to kerve.
>   (1099-1108)

Certainly this is one of the most striking, and indeed one of the most significant, passages in the poem, striking first of all because of the seemingly disconnected character of the image whereby Christ's healing touch is compared to his deftness in breaking bread cleaner than a Toulouse blade could have cut it. But when viewed in the context of the Mass, this image becomes clear. The breaking of the bread by Christ points to the central act of the Mass, the consecration of the Eucharist, which Christ instituted at the Last Supper by breaking bread and giving it to his disciples (Matt. 26.26). The yoking of Christ's healing touch, which needed "nauþer to cout ne to kerve wyth knyf ne wyth egge," with his deftness in breaking bread without using a knife shows that just as on a literal level Christ's pure touch healed the corrupted body not by cutting away the diseased flesh but simply by curing it, so on a supernatural level the touch of Christ's pure flesh in the bread of the Eucharist heals the spiritual corruption of fleshly sin not by a violent excising but by a redemptive process. But the poet in his vision remains

theologically correct, for though the Eucharist removes the corruption of venial sin, yet a person stained with mortal sin must first be cleansed by Penance before he can receive the Eucharist:

> Nou ar we sore and synful and souly uch one,
> How schulde we se, þen may we say, þat Syre upon throne?
> Ȝis, þat Mayster is mercyable, paȝ þou be man fenny
> And al tomarred in myre, whyl þou on molde lyvyes;
> Þou may schyne purȝ schryfte, þaȝ þou haf schome served,
> And pure þe with penaunce tyl þou a perle worþe.
>
> (1111-1116)

The pearl image introduced in the last line requires that we briefly explore some aspects of mediaeval gem symbolism in order to appreciate the complexity of the poem's sacramental structure. Gem symbolism is, of course, just what one would expect from the *Pearl*-Poet, but the high degree of functionality which this symbolism shows in *Cleanness* gives a particularly pleasing effect. In two passages the poet links the beryl and the pearl in a burnishing-polishing-cleansing image: first, at the end of the Deluge episode (545-556) and then in the exhortation to purity which links the second Destruction episode with Belshazzar's Feast (1124-1132). As a symbol, the beryl represents both Matrimony and Baptism. In the words of the *North Midland Lapidary*:

> Ye buke telles yt ye berell noresches lofe betwen men & women; & know well yt ye water yt berell has lyen in is myche worth for seke een; & he yt drynkes of ye water yt ye berel has lyen in, he thar noght rak of euyl blod ne of rotyng ne of feuer .... Ye holy wryte telles yt ye berel falles noght for to be cutt, bot he wyll be playn & pullesched. When ye son smyttes appon a berel, & he be cutt, it be-tokenes ye first prechour of holy kyrke yt preched ye baptym of Ihesu criste. Ye bybyll beres wytnes yt god named ye berell ye xij ston, yt signified ye xij appestolles yt preched ye baptym.[16]

The symbolism of the pearl in mediaeval times is somewhat more involved. W. H. Schofield has noted at least eighteen different significations of this gem in the Fathers, but he finds that its chief meaning is as a symbol of Christ.[17] The description of the pearl in the *Peterborough Lapidary* makes such an attribution clear.[18] Its writer points out that, unlike other gems, the pearl is of organic origin; it is "genderd" by the "dewe of heuen" just as Christ was engendered by

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[16] Joan Evans and Mary S. Serjeantson, eds., *English Mediaeval Lapidaries,* EETS, Original Series, 190 (London, 1933), pp. 47-48. Cf. similar descriptions of beryl in the London and Peterborough lapidaries, pp. 28 and 72-73.

[17] W. H. Schofield, "Symbolism, Allegory, and Autobiography in *The Pearl,*" *PMLA,* 24 (1909), 632-636.

[18] Evans and Serjeantson, pp. 107-108.

heavenly means. And as Christ was God's only begotten son, so the pearl is called "vnyon" because "þer us oonly one Ifonde & never ij togeder." The pearl's smallness suggests Christ's humility, its roundness his perfection, and its whiteness his purity. Further, the pearl has curative power for human bodies "for it clenseþ him of superfluite of humours." Perhaps the most important aspect of the pearl as an image of Christ is that "pearl" or "margarita" is a liturgical term "for the particle of the bread which is broken off and placed in the cup as a symbol of the union of the Body and Blood of Christ."[19]

With the sacramental meaning of the beryl and the pearl in mind, we can understand their symbolic interaction in the two passages where the gems are linked. In the first passage, which follows the purification of the world by the Flood, the poet says, "For þat schewe me schale in þo schyre howsez, / As þe beryl bornyst byhovez be clene, / Þat is sounde on uche a syde and no sem habes, / Wythouten maskle oþer mote as margerye-perle" (553-556). To enter God's presence man must be clean as the burnished beryl. Just as the Flood cleansed the world, so Baptism, which is symbolized by the beryl, cleanses and burnishes man's soul until it is like the pearl (Christ). Further, Matrimony, also symbolized by the beryl, safeguards against lust, the chief obstacle to man's becoming pure as the pearl. In the second passage, which connects the story of the Destruction of the Cities with the episode of Belshazzar's Feast, the symbolic structure becomes still more intricate. In a discussion of the cleansing effect of Penance, the poet says:

> ʒet þe perle payres not whyle ho in pyese lasttes;
> And if hit cheve þe chaunce uncheryst ho worþe,
> Þat ho blyndes of ble in bour þer ho lygges,
> No-bot wasch hir wyth worchyp in wyn, as ho askes,
> Ho by kynde schal becom clerer þen are.
> So if folk be defowled by unfre chaunce,
> Þat he be sulped in sawle, seche to schryfte,
> And he may polyce hym at þe prest, by penaunce taken,
> Wel bryʒter þen þe beryl oþer browden perles.
>   (1124-1132)

In this passage there is a double symbolism in the pearl. It represents Christ, but it also represents the souls of those who would be like Christ. If the pearl of a Christian's soul becomes slightly stained with sin, it can be cleansed of a venial matter by the reception of the "pearl" of the Eucharist (the particle of the Host which is dropped in the consecrated wine — "No-bot wasch hir wyth worchyp in wyn, as ho askes")

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[19] *Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford, 1905), VII, part i, 591 s. v. "pearl," entry 11. See also *TLL*, VIII (1966), 393 and Du Cange, *Glossarium*, IV (1845), 293 s. v. "margaritae."

just as on the literal level a pearl is cleaned by washing it in a mildly acid solution such as wine. But if one's soul is stained with mortal sin, then Penance, as an extension of the cleansing power of Baptism, is first needed to polish the soul brighter than the beryl or the ornamental pearl before it can be like the pearl of Christ.

One final aspect of gem symbolism that the poet uses to connect the beryl and the pearl is their appearance together in the Apocalypse account of the construction of the heavenly city or New Jerusalem. The beryl is the eighth foundation of the city, and the twelve gates are each made of a pearl (Apoc. 21.19-21). This suggestion of the heavenly city in the beryl-pearl symbolism is especially appropriate because the second passage where they are joined introduces the Belshazzar episode which begins with the overthrow of the Old Jerusalem by the Babylonians, an overthrow that occurred because the Jews had angered their heavenly Father through the sin of idolatry:

> Hit watz sen in þat syþe þat Zede|c|hyas rengned
> In Juda, þat justised þe Juyne kynges.
> He sete on Salamones solie, on solemne wyse,
> Bot of leaute he watz lat to his Lorde hende:
> He used abominaciones of idolatrye,
> And lette ly3t bi þe lawe þat he watz lege tylle.
> Forþi oure Fader upon folde a foman hym wakned,
> Nabigodenozar nuyed hym swyþe.
>
> (1169-1176)

The beryl-pearl symbol in its suggestion of the heavenly city balances the fall of the Old Jerusalem to the Babylonians, for it reminds the reader of the Apocalyptic destruction of the symbolic Babylon, the worldly city (Apocalypse 18), and the triumph of the New Jerusalem, the heavenly city (Apocalypse 21).[20] This suggestion of the heavenly city is also ap-

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[20] The suggestion of the New Jerusalem is further heightened by the poet's description of the jewels which adorn the sacred vessels taken from the Old Jerusalem: "And safyres, and sardiners, and semely topace, / Alabaundarynes, and amaraunz, and amaffised stones, / Casydoynes, and crysolytes, and clere rubies, / Penitotes, and pynkardines, ay perles bitwene" (1469-1472). Compare this to John's account of the heavenly city in *Apoc.* 21.19-21: "And the foundations of the wall of the city were adorned with all manner of precious stones. The first foundation was jasper: the second. sapphire: the third, chalcedony: the fourth, an emerald: The fifth, sardonyx: the sixth, sardius: the seventh, chrysolite: the eighth, beryl: the ninth, a topaz: the tenth, a chrysoprasus: the eleventh, a jacinth: the twelfth, an amethyst. And the twelve gates are twelve pearls, one to each: and every several gate was of one several pearl." At least nine of the twelve gems the poet names are stones used in the heavenly city: "safyres," "sardiners" (mediaeval form of sardius, see *OED*), "topaz," "alabaundarynes" (a form of sardonyx — see Evans and Serjeantson, pp. 37, 68), "amaffised stones" (amethyst), "casydoynes" (chalcedony), "crysolytes," and "perle". Further, of the three remaining stones ("rubies," "penitotes," and "pynkardines"), two are of doubtful meaning. If "penitotes," as Menner suggests, is a variant spelling of "peridot," a form of olivine, then it is a light green stone like chrysoprase or jasper. The word "pynka: dine" occurs nowhere else in English. If, as in one of

propriate in light of the poem's beginning, for just as in Matthew's parable a marriage feast is compared to the kingdom of heaven, so in John's description of the heavenly city in the Apocalypse the descent of the New Jerusalem is compared to a marriage: "And I John saw the holy city, the new Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven from God, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband" (Apoc. 21.2). Further, the twelve gates of the heavenly city are twelve pearls, and just as our entrance through the gates of pearl signifies our ultimate union with God in heaven, so on earth we achieve our union with God by receiving the "pearl" of the Eucharist.

<div align="center">III</div>

<div align="center">PARABLE AS EFFECTIVE SIGN</div>

Beyond the symmetry of the Biblical episodes which the poem's symbolic and sacramental structure creates, there exists a structural organization of *Cleanness* based on the stylistic device of the parable. To understand how the parable as a device of style orders the poem and provides an overriding dimension of its meaning, we must examine three things: how parables function 1) in Christ's ministry, 2) in gospel accounts of that ministry, and 3) in the exegetical tradition. As biblical scholars like Dodd and Jeremias have pointed out, Christ's actual use of parables in his ministry probably differed greatly from the use which the Christ of the gospels makes of them.[21] To explain this, Jeremias stresses the double historical setting of the parables: the original historical setting being "some specific situation in the pattern of the activity of Jesus" and the subsequent setting that of the primitive Church where the words of Jesus existed in an oral tradition before they were written in the gospels. Between these two settings a transformation of the parables was begun. Whatever differences still exist between biblical scholars concerning the original purpose and meaning of the parables, there seems to be broad general agreement on the direction and the meaning of that process of transformation which resulted in the parables of the gospels. As Jeremias points out, the parables were both

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Menner's suggestions, it is from *"perre carnadine,* carnelian stone (Marsh)," then it is a reddish-orange stone resembling jacinth. Menner also remarks of the jewel description in lines 1469-1472 of the poem that "the list of jewels which corresponds most exactly with this given in *Purity* is that of *Pearl* 1002 ff." (p. 110), which is the *Pearl*-Poet's description of the New Jerusalem. In that passage the *Pearl*-Poet identifies the sixth foundation of the city as being of "ruby" (*Pearl,* 1007) rather than of "sardius," thus accounting for the "clere rubies" in line 1471 of *Cleanness.*

[21] C. H. Dodd, *The Parables of the Kingdom* (New York, 1961); Joachim Jeremias, *The Parables of Jesus,* tr. S. H. Hooke (London, 1954).

elaborated and allegorized in the primitive Church. New settings were given to them which produced a change in meaning; generalizing conclusions were added to give universal significance. Certain parables originally addressed to opponents or to the crowd were transferred to the community, and as a result these stories received a new hortatory emphasis as well as the original eschatological emphasis. The primitive Church tended to form collections of parables, and this in turn resulted in the fusion of parables.

It is in this transformational process that we as readers of *Cleanness* are interested, for in a very real sense the whole Christian exegetical tradition is simply a continuation of that transformation which was begun in the writing of the gospels, and it is this same process which is at work in the structure of the poem. We should note particularly the balance which this process generates between the eschatological and the hortatory aspects of the parable. The parable of the marriage feast with which *Cleanness* begins is an excellent example. It is one of that group referred to by biblical scholars as parables of the kingdom — i.e., those which begin with a form of the phrase "The kingdom of heaven (or the kingdom of God) is like...." In the Matthaean gospel alone there are ten such parables,[22] and as Dodd has pointed out, there are many others which, though not explicitly referred to the kingdom of God, bear upon the same idea of explaining "the mystery of the Kingdom" (Mark 4.2). As we noted earlier, the parable of the marriage feast exists in two different versions in the gospels (Matt. 22.1-14 and Luke 14.16-24), and the poet of *Cleanness* identifies his story as the Matthaean version. A close examination of the parable as told by Matthew reveals that it is in fact a fusion of two parables to which the generalizing logion "For many are called, but few are chosen" has been added.[23] The first part consists of verses 1-10: the king's invitation, the refusal of the invited guests to attend the feast, the king's punishment of them, and the subsequent opening of the feast to those, bad and good, whom the king's servants have gathered from the highways. The second part (verses 11-13), which does not appear in Luke, concerns the one guest without a wedding garment who is cast out of the feast into the exterior darkness. We might note in passing that the additional conflation of the Matthaean and Lucan versions by the poet of *Cleanness* simply continues the fusing tendency begun by the gospel writer. The original fusion of two separate parables by Matthew is a clear indication of the balancing of the eschatological and the hortatory impulses. The general eschatological moral which runs through the gospels is the separation of

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[22] *Matt.* 13.24-30, 13.31-32, 13.33, 13.44, 13.45, 13.47-50, 18.23-35, 20.1-16, 22.1-14, 25.1-13.

[23] Jeremias, pp. 36-38.

the chosen few from the many by a judgment. It is a motif which reflects Christ's public ministry when he and his followers found themselves in the minority in their opposition to the established religion with its power to sway the crowd. Verses 1-10 of the parable of the marriage feast obviously emphasize the eschatological motif — the separation and destruction of the established many (the Jewish leaders) who rejected the king's invitation and the subsequent gathering in of the oppressed few who accepted it. Speaking of this first part, Jeremias says that it is one of the numerous parables "applied by Jesus to his critics and opponents in order to vindicate the good news against them."[24] Now what happens when a parable originally addressed to opponents and to the crowd is incorporated into the oral tradition of the Church and begins to be addressed to a new audience, the community of the faithful? The answer in this context, of course, is the Matthaean expansion of the parable of the great supper to include the story of the man without a wedding garment. As Jeremias says,

> Clearly care needed to be taken to avoid a misunderstanding which might arise from the indiscriminate invitation of the uninvited (vv.8 ff.), to wit, that the conduct of the men who were called was of no significance.... In the course of its missionary activity the Church was continually confronted by the danger that the gospel of the free grace of God might be interpreted as freeing the baptized from their moral responsibilities (Rom. iii, 8; vi, 1, 15; Jude 4). In order to remove any ground for such a misunderstanding, the parable of the Wedding Garment was inserted into the parable of the Great Supper, introducing the principle of merit, and emphasizing the necessity for repentance as the condition of approach to God.[25]

As we have the parable of the marriage feast in Matthew then, it is made up of two parts, the first emphasizing the original eschatological motif, the second stressing the subsequent hortatory aspect. This same balancing of the eschatological and the hortatory which we find in the opening episode of *Cleanness* continues as a structural motif throughout the poem. The eschatological moral of the separation of the few from the many by a judgment connects the episodes of the Flood, the Destruction of the Cities, and Belshazzar's Feast. On the other hand, the hortatory theme accounts for the poem's sacramental framework: the poet places the parable of the marriage feast in a liturgical setting (a gospel read at Mass), thus evoking the analogy between the Mass, a reenactment of the Last Supper in which the individual Christian marries himself to God through the Eucharist, and the gospel story in which a king gives a marriage feast for his son.

[24] Jeremias, p. 36.
[25] Jeremias, p. 38.

The story of the man without a wedding garment suggests still another sacrament — Penance, the means by which the chosen few remain in the state of grace. When the king asks the guest why he is without a garment, the guest is speechless; he is struck not with the silence of shame but with the silence of unrepentance. As Jeremias says, this part of the parable emphasizes "the necessity for repentance as the condition of approach to God." The king does not expect the guest to explain his lack of a wedding garment, rather he expects an expression of sorrow and a plea for forgiveness. But unrepentant, his heart hardened, the guest remains silent and is cast into the exterior darkness.

Now consider for a moment how the eschatological moral was treated by the primitive Church in light of the delayed *parousia*. The final, irreversible separation of the few and the many is to occur at the end of the world. But there is a present foreshadowing of that separation in the division of those who accept Christ's word from those who reject it. As regards the Church, the Christian separates himself from those who do not acknowledge God's word and becomes part of the chosen few through the sacrament of Baptism. He then experiences another foreshadowing of the last day, that is, the chosen's union with God, through the reception of the Eucharist. As Dodd remarks of the Eucharist, "In its origin and in its governing ideas it may be described as a sacrament of realized eschatology."[26] That Matthew identifies his eschatological gathering as a marriage feast rather than a supper would immediately suggest to the mediaeval mind the Eucharist — a sacrament that is at once a consuming and a consummation, and beyond that it would call to mind the sacrament of Matrimony as a kind of lesser analogy to the Eucharist and as another foreshadowing of the soul's final union with God.

But let us keep in mind that however much these sacraments foreshadow the final judgment, they are *not* that judgment. One can receive the sacraments of Baptism, the Eucharist, and Matrimony and still be lost through the commission of sin. Some further spiritual agency is required, and that is Penance. By this sacrament one's sins are forgiven, and one remains within the circle of the faith. To the kind of allegorizing mind that is at work in the gospels, in exegetical tradition, and in the composition of *Cleanness,* the very mechanics of the parable of the marriage feast (the separation of the few and the many, the gathering in of the few by the king, the unrepentance of the man without a wedding garment) would suggest the operations or the symbolic significance of the sacraments of Baptism, the Eucharist, Matrimony, and Penance. And it is precisely these four, as we pointed out

[26] Dodd, p. 164.

earlier, which form the sacramental framework for the rest of the poem.

Understanding that the structure of the poem represents a balancing of the eschatological and the hortatory impulses found in the Matthaean parable of the marriage feast, let us focus our attention for a moment on the original eschatological motif and its intimate connection with the very nature of parable as a verbal structure. As we said, the parable is Christ's characteristic device of style in the gospels, so much so that his disciples questioned him about his repeated use of it in his teaching. In the Matthaean version he replied,

> To you it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven; but to them it is not given... Therefore do I speak to them in parables; because seeing they see not and hearing they hear not, neither do they understand. And the prophecy of Isaias is fulfilled in them, who saith: By hearing you shall hear and shall not understand; and seeing you shall see and shall not perceive. For the heart of this people is grown gross, and with their ears they have been dull of hearing, and their eyes they have shut; lest at any time they should see with their eyes and hear with their ears and understand with their heart and be converted; and I should heal them.
>
> (Matt. 13.11, 13-15)[27]

Clearly, in this statement the eschatological motif is at work. To the chosen few it is given to understand the parables but to the many, "to those outside" (Mark 4.11) who have hardened their hearts against the word, it is not given. As a verbal structure then, the parable form is an exoteric embodiment of the esoteric. In its two-phase operation it involves at once the open and the hidden; it involves first of all "an undiscriminating appeal to men of every class and type" — the public preaching of the parable to anyone who will listen. And secondly, it involves a sifting process wherein the few are separated from the many by their response to the parable. As Dodd remarks,

> The appeal goes to all and sundry: the worthy are separated from the unworthy by their reaction to the demands which the appeal involves .... the appeal is made to all indiscriminately, and yet in the nature of things it is selective; and, let us recall, this selection *is* the divine judgment, though men pass it upon themselves by their ultimate attitude to the appeal.[28]

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[27] The rest of the thirteenth chapter is devoted to a series of parables (the sower and the seed, the weeds, the mustard seed, the leaven, the treasure hidden in the field, the pearl of great price, and the net) whose major theme is division — the separation of the good from the bad, the few from the many, the latent and valuable from the patent and worthless. Cf. *Mark* 4.11-12.

[28] Dodd, p. 152.

This last sentence is significant as regards the dual sense of an eschatological separation: there is that final, irreversible separation which occurs on the last day (whether it be the last day of the world or of one's life), but there is a foreshadowing of that separation in the present division of those who accept and abide by Christ's teaching from those who reject it. The final separation is brought about by a divine judgment, the present separation by a human judgment. They are not the same judgment, but one grows out of the other, for God judges of us on the last day according to the way in which we have judged of Christ's teaching. Thus in judging Christ's parables, we pass judgment on ourselves.[29]

Now what this means is that if we consider the eschatological moral as the original and in a sense still the primary (because prior and divine) impulse of Christ's parables, then the parable as a verbal structure not only *tells* about the separation of the few from the many, it is also the *proximate cause* of that separation through the hearers' reaction to the parable story. As far as eschatology is concerned, the parable *does* what it *says*; it begins the separation of which it speaks. There is, then, an organic connection between the eschatological moral which runs through the parables and the parable form itself. Thus the poet of *Cleanness* can join to the explicated New Testament parable of the marriage feast three partially-explicated Old Testament parabolic stories which share the eschatological moral of the separation of the few and the many by a divine judgment, and he can focus the reader's attention not only on the meaning of the episodes but also on the meaning of the verbal structure in which those episodes are presented — the parable. He can make the reader see that those past separations of the few and the many continue in an analogous form in the present (in the very reading of the poem) by virtue of the way that a parable operates. Indeed, the logion that ends the parable of the marriage feast, "For many are called, but few are chosen," calls attention to itself by the very inappropriateness of its position (it follows the story of the man without a wedding garment where the sifting process separates not the good few from the bad many but the bad one from the good few) as a kind of general logion of the parable form considered as the linguistic vehicle of the eschatological theme. The linguistic equivalent of the division of the good from the bad and the few from the many is the separation of those who grasp the esoteric significance of the parable from those who grasp only its exoteric significance. Thus the parabolic method is itself thematic in a poem whose first episode ends with the remark that many are called but few are chosen, and whose succeeding episodes revolve

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[29] Jeremias, p. 21.

around a few chosen individuals (Noah, Abraham and Lot, Daniel) who are saved from destruction while the multitudes perish. The emblematic and effective quality of the parable is particularly appropriate to the concluding episode of the poem, for Daniel exhibits his chosen status by being the only person in Babylon who can read and interpret the hidden meaning of a message sent by God.

Because, as far as the eschatological moral is concerned, a parable does what it says, it is, on the linguistic level, an effective sign. This is why the poet is able to annex a sacramental framework so easily to the parabolic structure of his poem, for a sacrament is by definition an effective sign on the supernatural level: parable and sacrament have analogous operations. They are each, either wholly or partially, verbal forms which continue the work begun by Christ in his ministry. If one of the central mysteries is, as John says, that "the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us," that God became man to separate the good from the bad and draw the good to him, then the other half of that mystery is that that flesh was made word again in the gospel and the work of Christ's life was perpetuated through history in language. And the poet of *Cleanness* makes this verbal perpetuation of the sifting process of Christianity part of the meaning of his poem by the way in which he uses the parable form to create his poem's structure.

Rice University
Johns Hopkins University

THE PLOWSHARE OF THE TONGUE:
THE PROGRESS OF A SYMBOL FROM THE BIBLE TO *PIERS PLOWMAN*

Stephen A. Barney

> Or en vueil la moële espondre:
> Par Pierre veaut le pape entendre
> E les clers seculers comprendre,
> Qui la lei Jesu Crit tendront
> E garderont e defendront
> Contre touz empeescheurs ....
> > *Le Roman de la Rose*, ed. Langlois (11860-65)

> I think with you that the life of a Husbandman of all others is the most delectable. It is honorable. It is amusing, and, with judicious management, it is profitable. To see plants rise from the Earth and flourish by the superior skill, and bounty of the laborer fills a contemplative mind with ideas which are more easy to be conceived than expressed.
> > George Washington, *Writings*, ed. Fitzpatrick, 29, 414.

This is not a subtle reading of *Piers Plowman,* but a hammering polemical attempt to make a point: that the meaning of the figure of Piers Plowman in Langland's poem is traditional, specific, and useful for understanding the whole poem. My hope is that a grasp of this meaning can provide a basis for a good reading. As studies of this sort often are, my approach is both historical and contextual. First, I have dwelt at some length on the sophisticated medieval symbolization of agricultural imagery, in order to approach the poem as an educated man of the fourteenth century might have approached it. Secondly, I have tried to show that the author of *Piers Plowman* did indeed make use of this symbolic tradition, and that a reading of *Piers* works better if we acknowledge this fact. This double focus presents problems, but I felt it was necessary in order to see how the increasingly mannered exegetical tradition is truly relevant to a vigorous English poem. The symbolic tradition viewed by itself is empty; *Piers* viewed without recognition of the tradition is misunderstood.

I

The origin of the connection between agricultural labor and the office of the clergy is found in the Bible. St. Paul provides the *locus classicus*. Speaking of the "apostleship of the Lord" (*apostulatus in Domino*), and the critics of his mission, Paul offers this apology:

> Do I say these things according to man? Or rather does not the law say these things? For it is written in the law of Moses [*Deut.* 25.4]: *You shall not muzzle the mouth of the threshing ox (bovi trituranti)*. Now has God concern for oxen? Or rather does he say this, surely, for our sake? For our sake it is written that he who plows should plow in hope... (1 Cor. 9.8-10)[1]

Paul's allegorical interpretation of the law from Deuteronomy reveals both the antiquity of this kind of exegesis and the nature of the metaphor which linked agriculture and apostolic mission.[2] The connection is in the ideas of plowing and sowing: the English words "cultivation" and "dissemination" preserve the metaphor.

The Bible indicates the ways in which this connection was understood; in fact, the development of allegorical or symbolical meanings for agricultural terms progresses so far within the Bible that medieval exegetes scarcely went further. Paul's statements did not spring *ex vacuo*, but from a learned, complex, and elaborately developed set of metaphors. For this reason his interpretation of the *bos triturans* is the more comprehensible, and the more likely to have struck, as it did, the imaginations of medieval readers of the Bible. We should sketch in some of this background.

The principle Old Testament text dealing with agriculture as a symbolic activity, Isaiah's "Song of the Vineyard" (*Is.* 5.1-7), includes its own allegorical interpretation: "For the vineyard of the Lord of hosts is the house of Israel." The comparison of Israel to a garden, or vineyard, or tree by the waters, or sometimes a planted place become desolate through iniquity, is widespread in the Old Testament, and is especially current in Ezekial's parables of the tree, which were transmuted and revivified in parables of the New Testament.[3]

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[1] Biblical texts are from the Vulgate; all translations are my own. Passages from this paper are lifted from my thesis (Harvard, 1968), *"Piers Plowman* and the Bible: Agricultural and Food Imagery."

[2] On Biblical allegory see R. M. Grant, *The Letter and the Spirit* (London, 1957); Jean Daniélou, *Sacramentum futuri: Études sur les origines de la typologie biblique* (Paris, 1950), trans. D. W. Hubberd, *From Shadows to Reality* (London 1961); Jean Pepin, *Mythe et allégorie: Les origines grecques et les contestations judéo-chrétiennes* (Paris, 1958); Joseph Bonsirven, *Exégèse rabbinique et exégèse paulinienne* (Paris, 1939).

[3] See esp. *Ezek.* 15; 17; 19.10-14; 31; *Ps.* 79.9-18; *Is.* 65.22; *Hos.* 9.10; *Mark* 12.1-11; *Matt.* 21.33-44; *Luke* 20.2-18; *Mark* 4.30-32.

In these similitudes God is the planter, and his plantation is Israel or the Kingdom of God. The notion of God as planter is commonplace in the Old Testament:[4] in the New, this function is in part transferred to Christ. Matthew's interpretation of the parable of the Tares, for instance, says, "He who sowed the good seed is the Son of man. And the field is the world" (*Matt.* 13.37-38). Another New Testament text does not appear, immediately, to identify Christ with a planter. It is the passage at the beginning of *John* 15: "I am the true vine, and my Father is the farmer." Augustine, however, combining theological speculation and close reading, showed how Christ was the farmer as well as God. First he points out that according to *John* 10.30, Christ and the Father are one, and that Christ is the Word, which is God, made flesh. He continues, "Still he [Christ] continually reveals himself as the purger [*mundatorem*] of the branches: *Now you,* he says, *are clean [mundi]* by reason of the word, which I have spoken to you (*John* 15.3). Lo, *he* is the purger of the branches, which is the office of the farmer, not of the vine."[5]

Corresponding to the metaphor of God as planter is the comparison of man, rather than Israel, to a plant or a tree.[6] The Old Testament tradition gave rise to such curious locutions as Paul's reference to a newly converted Christian as a "neophyte," one newly planted in the faith (*Tim.* 3.6).

The metaphor often extended in a tropological direction, as a man's fruitfulness or barrenness constitutes the application of the comparison. The frequency of these metaphors of man's fruitfulness may spring from the original curse on the land (*Gen.* 3.17-19) and from ancient legal injuctions such as that of *Leviticus* 26.15-16: "If you despise my laws ... you shall sow your seed in vain." In the New Testament we are commanded to bring forth fruit,[7] and are warned that "by their fruits you shall know them."[8] The various fruits which men bring forth are given moral equivalents: there are fruits of justice, fruits of good works, fruits "unto God" or "unto sanctification," and more specifically the well-known set of "fruits of the spirit" of *Galatians* 5.19-23.[9]

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[4] To the texts cited above, add *Is.* 27.2-3; 60.21; 61.3; *Jer.* 2.21; *Amos,* 9.14; and the apocryphal 4 *Esdras* (*Apocalypse of Ezra*), 8.14.

[5] *In Joannis evang.,* Tract. 80, s.v. *John,* 15.1-3 (PL 35.1839). This interpretation became the more widespread as it was repeated in the commentary on *John,* 15 in the *Glossa ordinaria* (PL 114.410). On Christ as plowman see the poem at the end of Clement's *Pedagogue*; Christ, oddly, as plow, in the *Acts of Peter* (Hennecke, 2. 303) and Phoebadius, *De fide orthodoxa* (PL 20.43A).

[6] *Deut.* 20.19 and *Mark* 8.24 have interesting medieval commentaries in this connection. See also *Dan.* 4.7-23; *Ps.* 1.3; 91.13-14; 127; *Ecclus.* 6.2-3; *Is.* 56.3; *Sap.* 4.2-5; *Judges* 9.7-21; *Jude* 1.11-12; *Rom.* 11.16-24.

[7] *John* 15.16; *Rom.* 7.4; 1.13; *Col.* 1.10; *Phil.* 4.17. *Tit.* 3.14.

[8] *Matt.* 7.16-20; *Luke* 6.43-44; cf. *Matt.* 12.33.

[9] Along with the texts cited in notes 7 and 8, see 2 *Cor.* 9.10 and *James* 3.17-18.

On the basis, apparently, of these images and metaphors the authors of Scripture used three other agricultural metaphors which seem a little more out of the ordinary to the modern reader: the word as seed or germinating water, the soul as field, and the act of penance as cultivation.

The antiquity of the first metaphor is established in Deuteronomy: "Hear, heavens, what I speak; let the earth hear the words of my mouth. Let my doctrine condense as rain, let my speech flow as dew, as rain on the plants, as drops on the grass" (32.1-2).[10] The parable of the Sower (*Mark* 4.3-20; *Matt.* 13.3-32; *Luke* 8.5-15) is the classic New Testament version of this theme, both because of its prominent position at the head of the major series of parables, and because it told later exegetes how parables should be understood. Mark writes that "He who sows, sows the word"; and Luke, that "the seed is the word." The sower in the parable may be Christ or one of his ministers: Paul is called "word-sower" (*seminiverbius*) in *Acts* 17.18. Paul uses the metaphor in the passage already quoted (1 Cor. 9.11), "if we have sown spiritual things for you ..." and in *Colossians*: " ... which you have heard in the word of the truth of the Gospel, which came to you, as it is in the whole world, and becomes fruitful, and increases, as it does in you, from the day on which you heard and knew the grace of God in truth" (1.5-6). Already by Paul's time the sowing of seed was compared specifically to the missionary dissemination of the Gospel.[11]

Integrally related to this theme is the soul as a field or garden, a metaphor explicit in the Gospel interpretation of the parable of the Sower. This commonplace of medieval literature can be traced to early interpretations of the paradise of Genesis, but there is ample precedent for the metaphor in the Old Testament.[12]

The third theme, the connection of agriculture and penance, is suggested in a few passages from the Old Testament, but becomes important only in the New.[13] The image serves to introduce the ministry of Jesus in two accounts of the words of John the Baptist: "Do penance, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand .... Therefore bear fruit worthy of penance. ... Now the axe is laid to the root of the tree. Every tree which

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[10] See also *Is.* 55.10-13; *Zach.* 8.12; 4 *Esdras* 9.31.

[11] Agriculture and education were linked by a commonplace metaphor among classical writers: see Cicero, *De finibus bonorum et malorum,* 5, 15, 43; 4, 7, 18, and *Tusculanae disputationes,* 2, 5, 13; Plato, *Phaedrus,* 277A; Plutarch, *De liberis educandis,* 2B; Seneca, *Epistulae,* 38, 2. Clement of Alexandria connected the metaphor with the parable of the Sower: *Stromata,* 1, 7, 37:1-2.

[12] See, e.g., *Jer.* 31.11-12, and esp. *Eccles.* 24.42. On rabbinic symbolism of the garden see Asher Feldmann, *The Parables and Similes of the Rabbis, Agricultural and Pastoral* (Cam., Eng., 1924, 1927), "The Garden."

[13] *Ecclus.* 6.18-20; *Jer.* 4.3; *Hos.* 10.12.

does not bear good fruit shall be cut down and cast into the fire" (*Matt.* 3.2, 8-10); cf. *Luke* 3.8-9). Most interesting in this respect is Luke's parable of the Barren Fig Tree (13.6-9). The context of the parable establishes its penitential significance, as Jesus twice says, "But unless you do penance, you shall all likewise die" (13.3, 5). He then tells of the lord of a vineyard who, finding his fig tree barren, orders the keeper to cut it down. The keeper asks for it one more year, "until I dig around it, and spread manure": if it still is fruitless, he will cut it down. The parable probably springs from the idea that a good tree bears good fruit, and also the apocalyptic associations which had gathered around the image of the harvest.[14] We can imagine the fig tree being "cast into the fire".

No one doubts the widespread currency of these agricultural metaphors: that God (or Christ) is a planter, and man the plantation, or a field or garden to be planted; that sowing and cultivation are the spreading of the word and the penitential preparation of the heart to receive it; that a man should be fruitful, and by his fruit he will be judged; and that the final harvest of men will separate the wheat to be stored from the chaff to be burned. Given this congeries of metaphorical imagery, it is practically inevitable that the New Testament should include exhortations to Christians, in agricultural terms, to work for the salvation of men, and reference to that work — which may be called priestly or missionary — as agricultural activity. Paul's interpretation of Deuteronomy (1 *Cor.* 9.8-11) constitutes an allegorical reading of the text, to be sure; but the metaphor on which he based his reading was so common it required no great stretch of imagination. Other passages in the epistles derive from the same metaphor. Paul tells the church at Corinth that "I planted, Apollo watered, but God gave the increase ... you are the agriculture of God" (1*Cor.* 3.6-9); and he writes to Timothy that "the farmer who labors ought first to partake of the fruits" (2 *Tim.* 2.6).

Jesus's instructions to his disciples, on how they should proceed with the Christian mission, are often couched in agricultural terms. Travel light, he says, "for the workman is worthy of his food" (*Matt.* 10. 10; cf. *Luke* 10. 7). An admonition which includes apocalyptic tremors is that of John:

> Do you not say, in four months the harvest comes? Behold I say to you, lift up your eyes, and look to the country, which is already white for the harvest. He who reaps, receives his wage, and gathers fruit for eternal life, so that the sower and the reaper may rejoice together. The saying is true

[14] See *Jer.* 51.2, 33; 15.7; 13.24; 23.28; *Amos* 9.8-9; *Joel* 3.12-15; *Matt.* 3.11-12; 13.39-43 ("the harvest is the end of the world"); *Mark* 4.26-29 (Seed Growing Secretly); *Luke* 3.16-17; *John* 4.35-38. See also C. H. Dodd's *The Parables of the Kingdom* (London, 1935, 1961).

in this, that one man sows, and another reaps. I have sent you to reap
what you have not labored; others have labored, and you entered into
their labors.   (*John* 4. 35-38)

The same urgency is found in the logion in "Q," in which Jesus says,
"The harvest is great, and the laborers few. Pray therefore to the Lord
of the harvest, that he send laborers for his harvest" (*Matt.* 9. 37-38).
Luke's version (10. 2) follows a verse (9. 62) which is of signal im-
portance to students of *Piers Plowman,* "No man putting his hand to the
plow, and looking back, is fit for the kingdom of God" (*Nemo mittens
manum suam ad aratrum, et respiciens retro, aptus est regno Dei*). The Church
was quick to pick up these images and apply them to its own particular
offices of missionary preaching and sacramental conveyance of grace.

It is perhaps too easy to define "tendencies" among medieval com-
mentators, and surely we must be aware of the immensely different
training, methods, audiences, and goals among such writers as Philo
Judeus, Augustine, Gregory, Hrabanus Maurus, and Pierre Bersuire.
Nevertheless there are traditions, and the search for what is held in
common in writings diverse in genre and purpose can lead to an under-
standing of "style" in the larger sense which encompasses meaningful
imagery.

A prominent feature of Biblical commentary from Philo to the
Renaissance is the tendency toward analysis of Biblical images. Philo
considers the agricultural labor and gardens depicted in *Genesis*, and
divides the plantation into its components: the garden is the soul, its
trees bear fruits which are the virtues or vices. Or, philosophical
discussion is like a field whose trees and plants are physics, whose fruits
and crops are ethics, whose enclosing fence is logic. Or, "soul-
husbandmen" are of two kinds — the wage-earning worker of the soil
or the professional husbandman like Noah.[15] The images themselves
were sacred, and through analysis and what later scholars were to call
"distinctions," were able to serve the commentator's purpose, whether
hortatory, or apologetic, or philosophical, or philological.

Related to this tendency of analysis is an ultimately more important
one which for want of a pleasant term I would call "categorization."
This involves the attribution, to the analyzed image, of categories
derived from some coherent but separate body of thought. It is
somewhere in this process that one sort of allegory is born. Philo ap-
plies categories, such as vice, virtue, passion, ethics, physics, logic,
cause, idea, psyche, to the words of *Genesis*, and reveals his own world

[15] See Philo's treatises *On Husbandry* (esp. sect. 2, 3, 5) and *Concerning Noah's Work as a Planter* (esp.
sect. 1, 8, 10) in Vol. 3 of the Loeb *Philo.*

of thought as a man trained in rabbinic lore and writing in Greek, the Greek of Alexandria, the crossroads of Hellenistic culture. To the mind engaged in the forms of thought of his culture, a received text such as the Bible can become more supple and articulate as its language of imagery is related to the language of the observing culture. This is the case whether the Bible is studied for its heuristic value as a sacred book, for its anthropological value as the repository of a culture, or for its apologetic value for a man within the culture itself — Christian or Jew — to use as a defense and explanation of his religion. The act of relating, by analysis and categorization, Biblical imagery to terminology bounded by culture is itself an act of intellect, and requires its own cultural antecedents: about the genesis of Philo's allegoresis a good book remains to be written. Suffice it to say that by the time of Origen the rabbinical and Hellenistic strands of hermeneutics had merged, so that for the Christian exegete the methods of allegory were at hand.

We should narrow our focus now to survey in isolation only one segment of the whole range of agricultural imagery and metaphor in medieval tradition: the act of cultivation itself, particularly of plowing. This is the symbol, first expressed in the passage from Paul quoted at the beginning of this paper, of agricultural labor as preaching, or in general as administering Christian truth. Oxen, then, are equated with preachers; Augustine says in his commentary on Psalms: "[An ox is] anyone, therefore, who preaches the word of God: admonishes, chides, menaces."[16] Good evidence exists within Augustine's works that the Pauline allegorization of the law forbidding muzzling threshing oxen had already become commonplace. Having compared the oxen and sheep of *Psalm* 8. 8 to angels, Augustine felt it necessary to assure his readers that the equation "oxen equals preachers" still held, "because those men were called oxen for no other reason than that by evangelizing the word of God they imitate angels ...."[17]

Augustine was especially interested in elaborating the ideas of 1 *Corinthians* 3. 6-9 and the opening of *John* 15, that God is a farmer. "If he is called 'farmer' he cultivates a field. What field? He cultivates us."[18] He carefully distinguishes between the "external" (*forinsecus*) labor of earthly farmers, and the "internal" (*intrinsecus*) labor of God.[19] We have

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[16] *In Ps.* 126.4, par. 11 (PL 37.1675). See also *In Jo. evang.*, tract. 10, cap. 1, par. 7 (PL 35.1470).

[17] *In Ps.*, 8.8-9, par. 12 (PL 36.114). On harvest symbolism in Augustine see *Serm.* 214.11 (PL 38. 1071); *Serm.* 223.2 (PL 38.1092). Cf. *Piers Plowman* C 23.253-272. References to *Piers Plowman* are to Skeat's parallel texts edition for the B- and C-Texts (Oxford, 1886, 1954), and to George Kane's edition of the A-Text (London, 1960).

[18] *Serm.* 213, 9 (PL 38.1065).

[19] *Serm.* 152, 1 (PL 38.820).

already seen Augustine's explanation of *John* 15, that both God and Christ are farmers. He explains that Mary Magdalene mistook Christ for the gardener (*John* 20. 15) because "if you consider how we are his herbs (*olera*), Christ is a gardener. Is he not the gardener who put mustard seed in his garden? ..."[20]

In the writings of Gregory the Great we find more emphasis than in Augustine on men, especially on preachers, as the farmers of souls. This emphasis is appropriate to the papal mission, and especially to this pope whose influence on homiletics and on the urgency of preaching the word was so enormous. I believe Gregory's great *Moralia in Job* is the most important "source" for the conception of the figure of Piers.

Commenting on the phrase "grain desires clouds" (*Job* 37. 11), Gregory treats the idea of the celestial barn in the manner of Augustine, quoting as usual the words of John the Baptist regarding Christ as thresher (*Matt.* 3. 12). He distinguishes, as Augustine had, an *"internus agricola"* in charge of the heavenly harvest. He continues:

> But this grain, until it arrive at perfection of its fruit, awaits the rain-bearing clouds in order to grow. For the minds of good men are watered (*infunditur*) by the words of preachers, that they may not be dried up by the sun of carnal desires, lacking the moisture of charity. The heavenly farmer had seen this grain growing up in the world and desiring clouds when he said: *The harvest indeed is great, but the laborers are few. Pray therefore the Lord of the harvest, that he send forth laborers into his harvest* (*Matth.* 9.37-38). Those who here are called grain, are there called the harvest; and here indeed what are clouds are there called laborers — for holy preachers are both clouds and workers; clouds because they rain down (*influent*) with words, and workers because they do not cease to act as they preach.[21]

When he finds it in his text, Gregory continually interprets the word "oxen" as "preachers": "Or whom does the signification "ox" express, if not those whom the yoke of orders taken upon them presses into the ministry of preaching in the holy Church."[22] "Oxen are preachers of the Church, who while they preach, plow; who while they lay open (*aperiunt*) with celestial words the hearts of their hearers, spread seed as it were in good land."[23]

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[20] *Serm.* 246, s. v. *John* 20.1-18 (PL 38.1148). Louis Réau notes fourteenth-century depictions of Christ as gardener with straw hat and spade, in *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, 2, 2 (Paris, 1957), pp. 43, 557.

[21] *Moralium*, Lib. 27, cap. 30, s. v. *Job* 37.11 (PL 76.431D-432A).

[22] *Moralium*, Lib. 7, cap. 12, s. v. *Job* 6.5 (PL 75.773D).

[23] *In primum regum expositionis*, Lib. 5, cap. 4, sect. 18, s.v. 1 *Kings* 14.14 (PL 79.370C). Cf. *Moralium*, Lib. 2, cap. 46, s.v. *Job* 1.13-15 (PL 75.589B) on oxen plowing as "thoughts of charity" whereby we desire to help others, to cleave their hearts by preaching. In his even more popular *Cura pastoralis* (2.5) Gregory interprets Biblical oxen as the "universus ordo pastorum," citing 1 *Cor.* 9.9 (PL 76.245C).

Gregory handles the image of the plow in the analytical way we have observed before, opening up its possibilities as a pedagogical symbol.

> And there are some, who not being cleft by any plowshare of reading or exhortation (*nullo lectionis, nullo exhortationis vomere proscissi*), nevertheless bear somme good things, although very little, out of themselves, as land not yet plowed up. But indeed there are some who, always intent on hearing and retaining holy preachings and meditations, are cut away from their former hardness of mind, as if by a kind of plowshare of the tongue (*linguae vomere*), and receive the seeds of exhortation, and through the furrows of voluntary affliction render fruits of good work.[24]

So easily we pass from a manageable image of cultivation to something baroque, the "plowshare of the tongue" — a phrase which turns up again and again in Gregory, cutting the "land of the alien heart" or the "land of the human breast" by preaching.[25] There are more abstract plowshares, like the *vomer compunctionis* to which Gregory refers in commenting on the "No man putting his hand to the plow" verse (*Luke* 9.-62).[26] As with the words "cultivation" and "dissemination," the pun implicit in the word "compunction" (piercing) served the exegete's purpose.

Not that Gregory was the first to analyze the metaphor of plowing as preaching. The earliest example I know is from the odd treatise of St. Eucher, who died bishop of Lyon in 449, the *Liber formularum spiritalis intelligentiae*. This books stands at the head of a long and massive tradition of works which are best described as allegorical encyclopedias, clearly intended as reference works for beginning students of the Bible. That Eucher was a monk and presumably concerned with monastic education may account in part for the nature of his work.[27] Eucher, his great successor Isidore, and Hrabanus Maurus, handle their material by topics, according to categories of natural and theological science. Later treatments, following the example of the Latin glossaries which began appearing by the late seventh century, simply alphabetize the "theological words," producing practically a concordance of key texts

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[24] *Moralium*, Lib. 22, cap. 21, s.v. *Job* 31.38-40 (PL 76.245C).

[25] "Terram cordis alieni," *Hom. in Ezech.*, 1, Hom. 2.3 (PL 76.796C); "humani pectoris terram," *Moralium*, Lib. 31, cap. 4, v. *Job* 39.10 (PL 76.574A). The passage is repeated in the *Gregorianum*, a collection of Gregorian sentences compiled by Garnier of St. Victor about 1170. See *Gregorianum*, 3, 7 (PL 193.194), and also 8, 4 (PL 193. 308) on preachers as farmers.

[26] *Hom. in Ezech.*, 1, Hom. 3.16 (PL 76.813A). It is from this passage that Bede draws in his commentary *In Lucam* § (2.9 [PL 92.461B]), as verbal resemblances show. We know Bede used Gregory; see PL 91.1223B. The passage may likewise be found in Paterius (PL 79.1071D) and Alulfus (PL 79.1209D).

[27] A good introduction to education in the period is by M. L. W. Laistner, *Thought and Letters in Western Europe: A.D. 500 to 900* (2nd ed., London, Ithaca, 1957), Ch. 2, "Pagan Education and the Christians", and Ch. 8, "Carolingian Education and the Seven Liberal Arts."

of the Bible with their allegorical meanings. This genre of religious treatise is even more schoolish, if not monkish, than Gregory's and Augustine's work. We have come far from Justin's and Ireneus's apologies. That the works are emphatically traditional becomes evident as we observe the repetition of certain locutions in author after author. There is truth in the opinion that a glance at a few works in this genre gives the substance of all.

A brief survey of some of these books, then, can give an idea of the kind of education in Scriptural philology which a fourteenth-century student, say, would be likely to receive. Eucher characteristically lists the significations of the terms and follows each with a Biblical text illustrating its meaning (much like a modern historical dictionary). For instance, "Farmer, God: in the Gospel: I am the true vine, and my Father is the farmer."[28] In the same place he says that seed is "divine preaching," and in Chapter Three, "De terrenis," he proves for us that Gregory is not original: "Oxen, apostles, who having taken up the yoke of Christ, plow up the world with the plowshare of the Gospel."[29]

Drawing from Eucher, and more heavily from Isidore — whose major work is not particularly allegorical — is Hrabanus Maurus' *De universo*.[30] Here are excerpts from a chapter of Hrabanus, on cultivation and on agricultural implements:

> Spiritually, by "agriculture" in the holy Scriptures the hearts of believers are understood, in which the fruits of virtues take seed: whence the Apostle (*Cor.* 3: 9) .... The farmer is God. .. (*John* 15) .... Also farmers are the apostles, or other preachers .... *for the seed is the word of God* (*Luke* 8: 11) .... Therefore dung is put in the field, that it might bear fruit better: for by the recollection of their hearts all the faithful will be called forth to penitence .... Seed, divine preaching [a quotation from Eucher] .... The plowman is the cross, or the office of preaching, or the inception of good works, as in the Gospel: *No man putting his hand to the plow* .... (*Luke* 9. 62). To plow is to perform the office of preaching, whence in the book of *Kings* is read: *And he* [Elisha] *was among the twelve plowing* (3 *Kings* 19.19). To sow is to scatter the utterance of preaching in the hearts of the faithful, as in the Prophet: *And they will sow fields* (*Ps.* 106.37).[31]

The simple language, the occasional confusions, and the often comic misapplication of Biblical texts, reveal that this work was skimmed off

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[28] PL 50.73B.

[29] *Liber formularum spiritalis intelligentiae* (PL 50.752).

[30] Hrabanus was heavily influenced by the encyclopedic work of Isidore of Seville; the section on Biblical characters, for instance, is taken from Isidore's *Allegoriae quaedam sacrae Scripturae* (PL 83. 97ff). Laistner (fn. 27 above) says Hrabanus' innovations over Isidore were "that mystical or allegorical interpretations were sown broadcast through the whole encyclopedia, these being mainly taken from Jerome and Bede" (p. 221).

[31] PL 111.504-5. See also PL 111.610-11.

the top of Hrabanus's often penetrating mind. It is apparently designed
for the raw beginner, and written with the care usually reserved for in-
troductory manuals.

The *De universo* of the ninth century already seems decadent to
modern taste: mannered, over-elaborate, and almost insanely anti-
historical. But Hrabanus's allegorizing is only the beginning of a bulky
tradition of allegorical dictionaries which are cross-fertilized by the
equally unoriginal commentaries on Scripture. The shifts in religious
thought across the centuries are scarcely noticeable in these works —
they might but for the most subtle differences of emphasis have been
written in the seventh or the fourteenth centuries. Indeed, the *Allegoriae
in universam sacram Scripturam,* a work now considered to be by a Cister-
cian, Garnier de Rochefort, who died about 1216, was until 1920 at-
tributed (by Migne's editors among others) to Hrabanus Maurus of the
ninth century.[32]

Alain de Lille's *Liber in distinctiones dictionum theologicalium,* of the late
twelfth century, is the earliest of the alphabetized allegorical dic-
tionaries called "Distinctiones" which is readily available.[33] The articles
on agriculture — *Ager, Agricola, Arare, Aratrum, Bos, Colere, Fodere,
Laborare, Vomer* — contain the same kind of allegory, plowman as
preacher, to which Gregory and Hrabanus have accustomed us, in prac-
tically the same language. The metaphor of agricultural labor as
penance, which we have seen springs from the parable of the Fig Tree,
seems to be gaining currency by the twelfth century: Alain defines both
fodere (dig) and *laborare* as "to do penance." This hints at what was going
on in the Church at this period, the emphasis on the need for the clergy
to preach penitential doctrine. The atmosphere of ecclesiastical reform,
and the spread of the friars, gave new impetus to both preaching and
penance.

There is no need to look further in this repetitive genre. A casual
comparison of Hrabanus, Alain, and Garnier's *Allegoriae* (printed among
Hrabanus's works in the *Patrologia*),[34] along with the excerpts printed

[32] André Wilmart, "Les allégories sur l'Ecriture attribuées à Raban Maur," *Revue Bénédictine,* 32
(1920), 47-56; see Henri de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale: Les quatre sens de l'Ecriture* (Paris, 1959-1960), part
2, vol. 1, pp. 412-13.

[33] PL 210. On the treatises called distinctiones see André Wilmart, "Un répertoire d'exégèse
composé en Angleterre vers le début du XIIIe siècle," in *Mémorial Lagrange,* ed. L.-H. Vincent (Paris,
1940), pp. 307-346, which lists the oldest examples of the genre, and prints part of one; also ex-
cerpts printed as "Veterum varius commentarius" of the "S. Melitonis Clavis" in J. B. Pitra,
Spicilegium Solesmense (Paris, 1855); and sketches of the genre by P. C. Spicq, *Esquisse d'une histoire de
l'exégèse latine au moyen âge, Bibliothèque Thomiste,* 26 (Paris, 1944), pp. 175-177 and de Lubac, *Exégèse,*
part 2, vol. 2, pp. 372-3.[34]

[34] *Allegoriae in universam sacram Scripturam* (PL 112.854-5).

by Wilmart and Pitra, shows that new methodology, or fundamentally new ideas, are not to be sought in these works. Eucher and Gregory had laid down the lines.

At the dead end of this tradition, let us turn to a near contemporary of Langland's, Pierre Bersuire.[35] The following segment from the article *Agricola* in his distinctiones, called the *Repertorium*, characterizes the work:

Farmer. Note that one finds the farmer multiplex in the Holy Scriptures; namely, the

Prelate Perfect Blessed Wordly	cultivates the field	exterior interior superior inferior

For the Prelate, as he ought, cultivates the field of the Church by governing, sowing, purging it, and making visitation to it. *My father is the farmer* (*John* 15).

The Perfect[36] cultivates the field of conscience by cleaning it and adorning it with herbs and trees, that is, with graces and virtues. He also cultivates the field of Paradise, by contemplating it; the field of his own body, by digging (*fodiendo*) it, and tearing it through penitence; the field of the poor, by fertilizing it with charitable giving. Whence *Genesis* 9: *Noah, a husbandman, began to till the ground.*

The Blessed cultivates the field of the celestial fatherland by living there and enjoying its fruits to the full. Whence 2 *Timothy* 2: *The husbandman that labors must first partake of the fruits.*

The Wordly cultivates the field of this present life and way by loving it; and piling up the fruit of riches, accumulating them for himself and not the poor. He is figured forth in that rich man, whose field produced rich fruit. *Luke* 12. He, thinking of enlarging his barns, lost his soul on that night. And he is figured forth in those wicked farmers, who wishing to keep for themselves the leased vineyard, struck down the servants of the landholder, and deserved to lose thereby the vineyard, and incurred perdition and punishment. For be it known that the wicked Worldly, who take over for themselves the vineyard of the world committed to them, and deprive the servants of Christ, namely the poor, of its fruits, achieve final damnation. *Jer.* 51. *With you I will break in pieces the husbandman and his yoke of oxen.*

Let us speak therefore of the classes, of the good farmer and the bad. For a farmer is one who cultivates a field, and can signify a prelate, who through pastoral diligence cultivates the field of the Church or religion. He can also signify the perfect man, the just, the good, who makes visitations on and cultivates the field of his own heart or body by penitence.[37]

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[35] *Reductorium moralis* and *Dictionarium, vulgo Repertorium morale*, in *Opera omnia*, 6 tomes in 3 vols. (Cologne, 1730).

[36] The text has incorrectly expanded the abbreviation for "Perfectus" as "Praefectus."

[37] *Repertorium*, Tome 3, pp. 128 ff.

Bersuire continues at length. His method is a heightened form of what I have called analysis and categorization. He takes the received language of the allegorical interpretation of Biblical diction and systematizes and amplifies that language through further analysis in terms of certain categories of religious thought, such categories as "interior" and "exterior", "good" and "bad," or categories of ecclesiastical offices, or of virtues and vices, or of Biblical types (as the parables referred to in the article *Agricola*).

Bersuire's are not pedagogical treatises, but works of devotion and an argument for the sacredness of the relation of language and things. It surpasses decadence; it is sacred philology. The language of the Bible, as discrete units of diction, has become in itself of interest as an object of study. It is difficult to imagine a treatise like Bersuire's written in the vernacular. He seems to depend on the Latin language; perhaps the same dependence accounts for the quantities of Latin dispersed through *Piers Plowman*. Latin was an artifical language which could be entered for analysis at any point in a way which one suspects the vernacular could not — through etymology or punning or manipulation of traditional symbols (*vomer, lingua*). The work of the late allegorists like Bersuire is self-nourishing: no one unfamiliar with the tradition would be likely to find Bersuire's books interesting.

Bersuire's encyclopedias, and the work of the generations who preceded him, can be called decadent insofar as no new supply of materials enriches their investigation. Scholastic philosophy seems to have reinvigorated these writers in the twelfth century, but they could only make use of the shallow parts of that new science — the psychology as applied to ecclesiological concepts like penance — and could not, in the genre of the allegorical dictionary, penetrate to the deeper (and less poetic) theological and ontological matter. The "Summae" and "Quaestiones" tower over these treatises as edifices of intellect.

Lest it be urged that this tradition of symbolic significations for terms like *agricola* and *aratrum* is a minor branch of Christian letters which may be disregarded, not particularly useful in the more usual forms of discourse, and therefore unlikely to provide material for an educated fourteenth century English poet, let us examine a few examples of this symbolism in other genres than the encyclopedias and distinctiones in the late Middle Ages.

The *Glossa ordinaria*, compiled at Laon in the early twelfth century, was the best-known commentary of the late Middle Ages.[38] The

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[38] See Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (2nd. ed., Oxford, 1952; Notre Dame, 1964), "The Gloss," pp. 46-66.

language often used in connection with the symbol of plowman as preacher is not hard to find. The gloss on the parable of the Fig Tree interprets the *cultor vineae* ("dresser of the vineyard") as "doctors and apostles by whose prayers and admonitions the assiduous care of God is provided."[39] The offer to let the dresser dig indicates that "it is promised thus that hard hearts will be dug with apostolic mattocks, and the proud called back to humility." More closely linked with the traditional language are the comment on *Hebrews* 6.7, "The cultivators of the earth are those who with the spiritual plowshare break up, and with the pruning-hook of the word of God lop off the evils of the plantation," and on the parable of the Sower, "The indomitable rock is the heart penetrated by no plowshare of true faith, in which there is no true love and virtue of perseverance."[40]

We expect Biblical commentaries to preserve these symbolic traditions. Better evidence lies outside of this genre.[41] Since Owst, scholars have recognized the special influence of sermons on *Piers Plowman*; a particular case is that of Thomas Brinton, Bishop of Rochester (1373-89). Brinton's sermons reveal how the Gregorian symbolism can penetrate that genre. We should examine the sermons preserved from him with care, since he stands as close to the author of *Piers*, we may guess, as anyone.[42]

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[39] PL 114.302.

[40] PL 114.273. See also PL 114.653, s. v. *Heb.* 6.7. Similar interpretations can be found in the Postillae of Nicolaus de Lyra, popular in the fourteenth century. It is printed with the *Glossa ordinaria*, 6 vols. (Basel, 1498) and elsewhere. Examples of Nicolaus's comments are those on *Matt.* 20.40 (5, fol. 5v), "...vt dicit Gregorius, operarii autem sunt doctores et prelati a deo missi ad culturam huius vinee per predicationem et doctrinam"; *Matt.* 9.37 (5, fol. c7v), "*Operarii autem pauci. id est doctores et predicatores verbi: quia adhuc discipuli christi non predicaverunt"; Matt.* 24.40 (5, fol. 5r), "per existentes in agro intelliguntur prelati quorum officium est laborare in agro militantis ecclesie"; *Ps.* 79.9 (3, fol. G1r), "*Et plantasti eam.*] per apostolorum predicationem"; *Ps.* 106.37 (3, fol. N2v), "*Et seminaverunt agros*]. verbi divini per doctores de gentilibus conversos"; *Prov.* 24.27 (3, fol. bb2v), "*Prepara foris opus tuum.* studendo sacram scripturam. *Et diligenter exerce agrum tuum.* videndo glosas doctorum" [!]; *Luke* 9.62 (5, fol. y3r), *Nemo mittens*, etc. Arator enim retro aspiciens facit sulcum tortuosum aut inutilem: sic accipiens melioris vite statum et habens affectum redeundi ad pristinum statum: et predicator verbi diuini retardans opus predicationis pro amicis carnalibus vel terrenis negociis: ineptus est regnum dei adipiscendo vel possidendo" (abbreviations expanded, italics mine).

[41] For examples see Rupert of Deutz' treatise *De divinis officiis*, Lib. 4, cap. 7 (PL 170.93C); the schoolboy verses gathered by Hans Walther, in *Proverbia sententiaeque latinitatis meddi aevi. Sprichwörter und Sentenzen des Mittelalters in alphabetischer Anordnung*, vol. 2, parts 1-5 (Göttingen, 1963-7), nos. 2134, 31353; the letter printed by Konrad Burdach, *Vom Mittelalter zur Reformation*, Band 3, Teil 2, *Der Dichter des Ackerman aus Böhmen und seine Zeit* (Berlin, 1926), pp. 31-32; the *Mittel-lateinisches Wörterbuch* (Munich, 1967), s.v. "Aratrum," art. B.1; the Franciscan "Secunda Regula," cap. 2, doubtless widely known, printed in Francis's *Opera omnia*, ed. J. J. von der Burg (Cologne, 1849), p. 74. All these passages, each outside of the purely pedagogical tradition, contain verbal resemblances to the distinctiones and commentaries.

[42] On Langland's possible favor toward Brinton, see G. R. Owst, "The 'Angel' and 'Goliardeys' of Langland's Prologue," *MLR*, 20 (1925), 270-9, and Eleanor H. Kellogg, "Bishop Brunton and the Fable of the Rats," *PMLA*, 50 (1935), 57-68.

Taking as his text *Joel* 2.3, "*Scindite corda vestra*" ("rend your hearts"),
Brinton follows as a commentator would the path suggested by the
word *scindite*: "You see as an example that if in the heart of a growing
tree lascivious shoots begin to sprout from the root, they are commonly
cut off (*scindi*) from the stock, so they may seem to impede the growth of
the tree and branches. Spiritually a man is like a tree for two reasons. . .
."[43] Brinton several times uses the ancient equation of the land and the
soul,[44] and in one case (Sermon 49) he continues, "The cultivators of
this land are preachers, whom Augustine thus addressed in his Sermon:
'Where are you, good farmers? What are you doing? The land is full of
thorns of various kinds (*spinis, tribulis et urticis*)." It is proved, he con-
tinues, "that the land of the soul is sterile and dry unless it were worked
by the diligence of preachers." These are the central metaphors we
traced through the distinctiones.

The vernacular literary genre which lies closest to Latin Biblical lore
is the French allegorical vision.[45] This genre can be used as a test case of
the emergence of Biblical symbolism into vernacular literature. The last
example of agricultural metaphor we should examine before turning to
Piers occurs in *Li Romans de Carité* of the Renclus de Moiliens, of the
early thirteenth century. It contains a general allusion to the apostles as
the *messonans* ("harvesters") of God's harvest (strophe 188), and a more
direct reminiscence of the Gregorian symbolism:

> These twelve oxen plowed the earth. . . These twelve workers worked
> marvelously, for they died to enrich with their blood the field which they
> worked. (st. 189)[46]

After these passages the poet refers to Peter's and Andrew's careers:

> These twelve, the first planters, planted in their blood a vine for God.
> There was a good vine-dresser in Rome who planted a vine in the meadow
> of Nero [the Vatican]. Nero came to defend his meadow, but could not
> turn Peter aside; he found him hard as a rock. Nero threatened to sell it
> dear; Peter was willing to accept the price, and bravely dared to await

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[43] Sister Mary Aquinas Devlin, ed., *The Sermons of Thomas Brinton*, Camden Third Series (Royal
Hist. Soc.), 85 and 86 (London, 1954), Serm. 32, p. 131. See Serm. 75, p. 345. See also the similar
sentiments expressed in a sermon of Thomas Wimbledon printed in Owst, *Literature and Pulpit in
Medieval England* (Camb., Eng., 1933), pp. 550-1, and other references there (p. 551, fn. 3).

[44] E. g., Serm. 49, p. 218; Serm. 35, p. 145; Serm. 89, p. 403, and for the plowing as penance
metaphor, Serm. 20, pp. 81-2. See also the agricultural symbolism preserved in English sermons at-
tributed (doubtfully) to Wyclif by Thomas Arnold, ed., *Select English Works of John Wyclif* (Oxford,
1869, 1861), vol. 1, p. 99; vol. 2, pp. 208, 511.

[45] See Dorothy L. Owen, *'Piers Plowman': A Comparison with Some Earlier and Contemporary French
Allegories* (London, 1912), and Morton W. Bloomfield, *Piers Plowman as a Fourteenth-Century Apocalypse*
(New Brunswick, 1961), p. 15.

[46] *'Li Romans de Carite' et 'Miserere' du Renclus de Moiliens*, ed. A.- G. von Hamel (Paris, 1885).

him, fearing him no more than a boy. He had no wish to give Nero his
meadow; he had himself hung in his vine and made a vine-prop of his
body. His brother Andrew, on his side, conquered Patras in rivalry, and
planted there a vine by the tool of his tongue which was not deadened.

(st. 191-193)

This unusual passage shows what can happen when old symbols are
brought into new kinds of literature. The tone here is peculiarly Old
French heroic: the epic understatement (*Ne vout a Noiron son pre rendre*),
the disdain for the enemy's commercial language, the martial motive of
Andrew's mission (*par aatie*), and the suggestion of "battle humor" in
the metaphor for Peter's crucifixion. *Chist douze* ("these twelve") sound
very much like Charlemagne's *douceper*. The old metaphor seems to have
been revivified. In *Piers Plowman* another special impulse, not the heroic,
alters the traditional metaphor to suit the purposes of another poet.

II

In medieval literature the hard heart is likened to an untilled field,
the truth to be spread to seed, the virtue which follows from a life of
faith to a fruitful tree, the act of spreading the word to sowing, the act
of preparing the heart to receive the word to plowing. The plowshare is
the preacher's tongue; the plow is the symbol of the penitential act; a
farmer or ox is a symbol of a preacher. We have seen the ideas of
preaching and penance brought more and more clearly into focus,
through the centuries, as the primary content of these symbols.

Thus has the makings of allegory. There is a superstratum of divine
truth, impulse, and directive, and a substratum of human or less than
human images which parallels and can be thought to reflect the super-
stratum. There is at hand, as yet, no plot: we have an image which can
almost be pictorialized — the "almost" accounting for the mannered
quality of such metaphors as plowshare as tongue — but no clear
motion of these images now made concrete. The "allegory" in the sense
of literary form one can imagine would be a pageant or an icon, not a
narrative or "continuous" metaphor.

Let us look at *Piers Plowman* for a moment from the point of view of
these traditional symbols. This point of view bears no relationship so
far as I can see to authorial psychology or the creative process, but it
can be illuminating on a conceptual basis and may ultimately help in in-
terpreting the poem. If the author had in mind making use of this kind
of allegory, he would perforce I think devise some kind of quarrel or
quest, some plot, into which he would insert on momentous occasions
an ox, or a plowman, doing his business. An extended narrative
allegory about an ox plowing, a farmer sowing the field, the field

laboring to bear fruit, cannot be interesting. The proper form for his kind of material would be parable: I know of no allegorical *Georgics*. It appears that the author of *Piers Plowman* used the symbol of plowman as preacher and performer of penitence, or more generally as purveyor of doctrine and grace — as priest — in a narrative context of quest (primarily) and quarrel.

In *Piers* the quest takes generally the well-known received form of the pilgrim in search of truth and the quarrel the well-known received forms of dialogues with more or less authoritative figures and spiritual combats. The pilgrimage theme probably derives from Old French allegories, the dialogue from the tradition of Plato and early Christian visions (the *Shepherd* of Hermas, the *Book of Enoch*) through Boethius, and the combats through Homer allegorized, the *Psychomachia*, and again Old French allegory.

It would be valuable to know for certain whether or not the author of *Piers* was familiar with the tradition of Biblical symbolism which we have outlined and whether he used it in his poem, assuming that his readers would grasp a symbolic meaning of *Piers Plowman* which depended in part on special external knowledge.[47] I have tried to make the case for the presence of this external knowledge as strong as possible. It is evident that a sermon-going, Bible reading man would have been aware of the symbolic relation of plowman to priest. But firmer evidence is needed for the contention that the poet used the symbol in his poem. D. W. Robertson, Jr. and Bernard F. Huppé argued, on the basis of their knowledge of Biblical commentary, that Piers "represents God's ministry on earth in the *status praelatorum*,"[48] but except for their statement that "in his offer to guide the pilgrims to Truth, Piers unmistakeably demonstrates his prelatical function" (p. 77) and their summary of Piers' allegorical plowing late in the poem (B 20), they offer no internal support for their contention. In fact their argument is undercut, as has been too much noticed, by lapses into over-interpretation. Few scholars since the publication of their book have taken their interpretation of Piers seriously.

There exists, however, internal evidence that Langland was using the symbolism of the plowman. I consider Piers's agnomen "the Plowman" to be an outgrowth of the symbol of plowman as preacher in medieval

[47] On Langland's use of the Bible see M. Ray Adams, "The Use of the Vulgate in *Piers Plowman*," *SP*, 24 (1927), 556-66; Sister Carmeline Sullivan, *The Latin Insertions and the Macaronic Verse in 'Piers Plowman'* (Washington, 1932); and Greta Hort, *'Piers Plowman' and Contemporary Religious Thought* (London, n.d. [1937?]).

[48] *'Piers Plowman' and Scriptural Tradition* (Princeton, 1951), pp. 6-7; see also pp. 17-19, 75-77, 79-80, 83, 94.

letters, and that this traditional symbol caused Langland to make his character a plowman, rather than a honest blacksmith or a patient, hard-working baker. At the outset I should say I see no reason why an understanding of the Plowman as a symbol for a divine agency precludes our taking seriously and literally his role as a plowman, one of the several vocations available to the active life. Not to do· so would be to deny that much of the description and action of the poem, especially in the earlier parts, exists. The reason, presumably, the figure of a plowman is a good figure of something other than plowing, is that his everyday occupation offers many analogies to that other thing. A close exploration of Piers as plowman would illuminate this symbolic meaning. Piers is described, especially in the expanded versions of the poem, in ways which are not appropriate for a plowman; but he is also described in ways which are appropriate. This may be called a reading on two or more "levels," I suppose, although I believe the metaphor of levels in speaking of allegory and symbolism can lead to confusion. Langland is probing a symbolic relationship which he derived from Biblical tradition, and his exploration centers on the connections between a good plowman and a good man charged with bringing others to perfection and salvation.

The first kind of evidence that Langland is using this symbol is contained in several passages in the poem in which Langland alludes to the tradition of Scriptural interpretation which we have considered. First we should examine a pair of quotations, which occur only in the B-Text, of a verse from the parable of the Laborers in the Vineyard, "Go into my vineyard" (*Ite vos in vineam meam — Matt.* 20.4).[49] The narrator Will at one point says:

> Riȝt so lewed men, and of litel knowynge,
> Selden falle thei so foule and so fer in synne,
> As clerkes of holikirke that kepen Crystes tresore,
> The which is mannes soule to saue, as god seith in the gospel.
> *Ite vos in vineam meam.*   (B 10. 471-4)

God enjoins the clergy to go into the vineyard, to dispense Christ's treasure.

A second quotation is from Anima's speech. Anima has been showing Will examples of Charity in historical figures — in the saints, the early hermits, the founders of the religious orders, the apostles, and the Augustine whom Gregory sent to convert Britain. The early missionaries converted the heathen, and "Hethene is to mene after heth,

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[49] Nicolaus de Lyra on "Ite vos" is quoted in footnote 40 above. The *Glossa ordinaria* says simply, "Predicatores sunt operarii" s. v. *Matt.* 20.4, equating the vineyard with the Church.

and vntiled erthe" (B 15.451). The image is of missionary activity as cultivating. A little later Anima quotes (483) the Scriptural sentence which explains the "go into my vineyard" quotation: "What pope or prelate now perfourneth that Cryst hiȝte, *Ite in universum mundum et predicate, etc.*" ("Go into the whole world, and preach" — *Mark* 16.15). "For Crystene and vncristene, Cryst seide to prechoures, *Ite vos in vineam meam*" (B 15. 491). These passages reveal that Langland was aware of the traditional symbol of agricultural labor as preaching the Gospel.[50]

Other evidence that Langland had this symbol in mind does not include direct quotation from the Bible. The "autobiographical" addition to the C-Text in Passus Six presents more pointedly than any other part of the poem the problem of vocation in the face of the Church's decay and the pressing need for physical survival. I take this to be one of the central themes of the poem. The imagery used in this passage is chiefly agricultural. Will, having seen Conscience, meets Reason "in an hote heruest" (C 6.7). I believe this harvest is the harvest of the present Judgement, the harvest of which Jesus was so urgent: "Do you not say, There are yet four months, and then the harvest will come? Behold, I say to you, lift up your eyes, and see the countries, for they are white already to harvest" (*John* 4.35) and "The harvest indeed is great, but the laborers are few" (*Matt.* 9.37). Will's Reason makes him aware of the need for laborers, and asks him if he cannot serve, or sing in a church, or perform various other occupations. Will complains that he is "to waik to worche." Reason asks if he is independently wealthy, and Will replies that he has been to school, and "wiste wyterliche what holy wryt menede."

> Yf ich by laboure sholde lyue, and lyflode deseruen,
> That labour that ich lerned best, ther-with lyue ich sholde;
> > *In eadem uocatione in qua uocati estis, manete.*
> And ich lyue in Londone, and on Londone bothe,
> The lomes that ich laboure with, and lyflode deserue
> Ys *pater-noster* and my prymer, *placebo* and *dirige*,
> And my sauter som tyme, and my seuene psalmes.
> Thus ich synge for hure soules of such as me helpen. . . .(C 6. 42-48)

This reinforces the metaphorical connection between agricultural and ecclesiastical work. Will goes on to say he has no bag or bottle but his belly, which is his only sign of mendicancy. The law of the Levites gives precedent that clerks should not labor.

> Hit by-cometh for clerkus Crist for to seruen,
> And knaues vncrouned to cart and to worche.   (C 6. 61-62)

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[50] See also C 1.87, where prelates are charged "charyte to tulie"; and breviary is as plow.

Will concludes his defense of the clerical life with reference to a
recurrent theme in the poem, the superiority of spiritual labor winning
spiritual sustenance over the physical:

> 'Preyers of a parfyt man, and penaunce discret,
> Ys the leueste labour that oure lord pleseth.
> *Non de solo,*' ich seide, 'for sothe *uiuit homo,*
> *Nec in pane* & *pabulo,* the *pater-noster* witnesseth;
> *Fiat uoluntas tua* fynt ous alle thynges.'   (C 6. 84-88)

"Thy-will-be-done" provides our sustenance; it is very like Piers's own
rejection of his physical labor (B 7. 117-120)

In fact it is helpful to keep both the "lomes that ich laboure with"
and the "preyers of a parfyt man" passages in mind when we read the B
version of the pardon scene. After Piers "for pure tene" pulls the par-
don in two, he says,

> 'I shal cessen of my sowynge,' quod Pieres, 'and swynk nouʒt so
> harde,
> Ne about my bely-ioye so bisi be namore!
> Of preyers and of penaunce my plow shall be hereafter. . . .'
>   (B 7. 117-9; A 8. 104-6)

The verbal echoes of this passage with the lines quoted in the preceding
paragraph may indicate the poet's awareness, as he was composing the
C-Text, of a certain parallelism between Will's and Piers's rejection of
manual labor. This hypothesis is in part undercut by the fact that
Piers's lines were deleted from the C-Text.

Two other passages in *Piers* more directly demonstrate Langland's
knowledge of the analytical approach to the agricultural imagery which
we saw in the Latin commentaries and dictionaries. In the first, the
figure Wit explains to Will the function of the Church and its officers in
terms of doing well, and he says,

> Prelates and preestes and princes of holy churche
> Sholde doute no deth, nother dere ʒeres,
> To wenden as wyde as the world were,
> To tulien the erthe with tonge, and teche men to lovye. . .
>   (C 11. 196-9)[51]

Surely the Gregorien *vomer linguae* lies behind this passage. The phrase is
echoed later in the poem, where the *"Diuisiones graciarum"* ("divisions of

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[51] A comic counterpart to this image occurs when Langland criticizes titular bishops of foreign
lands — Bedleem, Babiloigne, Surrye — who "hippe aboute in Engelonde to halwe mennes auteres,
And crepe amonges curatoures and confessen ageyne the lawe, *Nolite mittere falcem in messem alienam,
etc."* (B 15.557-8; C 18.279-280). They put their scythes into the "foreign harvest" of English
parishes.

graces," i.e., of talents) are listed (C 22. 228ff.). The vocations of "preostes and prechours and prentises of lawe" are "to lyue leelly by labour of tounge, And by wit to wyssen othere, as Grace wolde hem teche."

Finally, the scene in which Grace surrounds Piers with agricultural symbols in the later versions of the poem most clearly recollects the Biblical tradition. Grace counsels men to act according to the gifts and abilities which he renders them, and makes Piers Plowman his "procuratour and reue," as if he were put in charge of all the vocations of men (C 22. 252-336; B 19. 246-329). This makes sense if we take Piers as priest — not otherwise. Piers will be Grace's "prower [purveyor] and plouhman," on earth, and "for to tulye treuthe, a teome shal he haue" (C 22. 260-1; B 19. 255-6). Huppé's suggestion that "teome" or "teme" is a pun on "team" (of oxen) and "theme" (of a sermon) seems most helpful here.[52] The team is "foure grete oxen" the four evangelists in the common figure (Langland spells it out), and of course medieval "themes" were Scriptural sentences.

Grace also gives Piers four "stottes" (C 22.267), who are the four chief fathers of the Church, to pull the harrows, the Old and New Testaments. Grace donates four seeds — borrowed ultimately from the parable of the Sower — which are the four cardinal virtues. The parable lies behind this passage which follows the description of the seeds:

> Theese foure seedes Peeres sewe, and sutthen he dude hem harwen
> With olde lawe and newe lawe, that loue myghte wexe
> Amonge these foure vertues, and vices destruyen.
> For comunliche in contreies cammokes and weodes
> Fouleth the frut in the felde, ther thei growen to-gederes;
> And so doth vices vertues. . . .   (C 22. 311-16)

Grace then instructs Piers to build a "hous" in which to store his "cornes," and Piers builds it from allegorical materials: its foundation is made from cross and crown, and mortar from the "baptisme and blod" Christ shed from the cross. The walls are Christ's pains and passions, the roof is the Bible. The house was called "Vnite, holychurche in Englishe." Piers carted his grain with a cart called Christendom, pulled by two "capeles," Contrition and Confession. Grace made Priesthood the hayward, while he went with Piers to "tulye treuthe" and "the londe of by-leyue," belief, with one of Langland's favorite word-plays on by-live, sustenance.

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[52] Bernard F. Huppé, "Petrus id est Christus: Word Play in *Piers Plowman*" *ELH*, 17 (1950), 163-190.

This pageant-like emblem of the operation of grace in the world is
most intelligible if we take Piers Plowman as Grace's primary agent: the
user of Scripture and the Church Fathers, the sower of virtue in men's
hearts, the keeper of the Church. I think no one doubts that here Piers
represents the office of the priesthood, if not specifically the papacy
(Christ had given Piers the power "To bynde and vnbynde" [C 22.189; B
19.184] and it was "to Peers and to hus felawes" that the pentecostal
spiritus paraclitus came [C 22.201; B 19.196]).

"Preosthood" is made hayward of the fields around Holy Church and
this complicates the allegory.[53] But it is understandable. First of all,
there is no rule that an allegorical figure cannot meet a reduced version
of himself. We would not be too shocked if Redcross should see a
character "Sanctessa" in the House of Holiness. It is a question of
predication: Redcross *is* or *represents* or *is of* or *wins* holiness: the same for
Piers and priesthood. Furthermore, Piers is never *called* "priesthood,"
and he bears a slightly different meaning after all, just as he is never
quite identical with Christ, pope, or English plowman. Priesthood is
the physical body of men of priestly orders, whereas Piers is more
precisely the purveyor of grace to men. At every point where those two
concepts fail to coincide, Piers differs from "priesthood." There is no
special name for the occupation, purveyor of grace: "priest" comes
closest. Piers needs a new, more abstract term like "priesthood-ness."
Finally, there is more than one case in which Langland does not seem
meticulous in his juggling with allegorical concepts.[54]

For a long time students of the poem have recognized that Piers, in
the final passus of the poem, is what Grace says he is: at least a symbol
of the purveyor of grace, and at most Christ himself and the Petrine
succession of the papacy. The difficulty with this interpretation is that
few have been willing to grant Piers symbolic status of that kind at his
first appearance in the poem (and his only appearance in the A-Text), in
the half-acre and pardon scene. From the time of the earliest scholars
who took up this problem, there have been constant trials to com-
prehend Piers as a "unified" or consistent figure.[55] Most have been con-

[53] The same image occurs among the Wydcliffite sermons. Arnold, *Works*, 1, p. 104.

[54] E. Talbot Donaldson's struggle with the Tree of Charity scene amply demonstrates this point:
'*Piers Plowman*': *The C-Text and its Poet*, Yale Studies in English, 113 (New Haven, 1949), pp. 183-192.

[55] I cannot review the whole subject here. For exemplary views see Skeat, vol. 2, p. xxvii; H. W.
Troyer, "Who is Piers Plowman?", *PMLA*, 47 (1932), 368-84; Nevill K. Coghill, "The Character of
Piers Plowman considered from the B-Text," *Medium Aevum*, 2 (1933), 108-35; H. Meroney, "The
Life and Death of Longe Wille," *ELH*, 17 (1950), 1-35; Donaldson, *Piers*, pp. 181-7; Helmut Maisack,
William Langlands Verhältnis zum zisterziensischen Mönchtum: Eine Untersuchung des Vita im 'Piers Plowman',
Tübingen Diss., Balingen, 1953), 3, 1, sect. C, "Piers Plowman, der mystische Christus," and sect. D,
"Die literarische Quelle der Pflügergestalt"; R. W. Frank, Jr., '*Piers Plowman' and the Scheme of*

tent to explain Piers as a developing figure, or a variable emblem, or at best as a figure who is consistent on a very abstract (and therefore not very useful) level such as "manhood."

The most significant opposition to the view I am propounding, which finds a unity of conception of Piers in specific terms, is met, as we would expect, in a study of the A-Text, Father T. P. Dunning's *'Piers Plowman': An Interpretation of the A-Text.*[56] He writes that in the A-Text Piers is merely an "example of right moral principle," and that there is no trace whatever of the "mystical developments" of the Piers of the *Vita* of the B-Text.

Father Dunning and I disagree. Possibly no convincing argument can be made which would force all readers to accept Piers as an allegorical figure of the priestly function *in the A-Text*, but surely Piers in A is no "ordinary ploughman," nor is his plow very "solid." Dunning argues against the particular interpretation of Piers as Christ — and to this extent one must agree, or at least recognize that all Christian heroes are types of Christ — but he goes too far. No ordinary plowman gives allegorical directions to the house of Truth (A 6. 47-114). No ordinary plowman is the "folowere" of Truth, receiving prompt and fair wages from him (A 6.30, 37-9). Ordinary plowmen do not explain to various estates of mankind — commoners, noble and poor women, and knights — their duties in the world's economy. An ordinary plowman does not in the course of his cultivation clothe himself "in pilgrymys wyse" (A 7.52), making his "plouȝpote" his pilgrim's "pyk" (A 7.95). Father Dunning to the contrary, Piers's wife and children do not add to his solidity: their names are "Dame werche whanne tyme is" and "do riȝt so or þi damme shal þe bete" and "suffre þi souereynes to hauen here wille And deme hem nouȝt for ȝif þou dost þou shalt it dere abiggen, Let god worþe wiþal for so his woord techiþ."

I contend that some kind of allegory is evident from nearly our first glimpse of Piers. It can be and has been claimed that the allegory in the early part of the poem is of a simple, non-traditional kind: that Piers as laboring man partakes of the general sense of benevolence men feel toward hard workers — a sense clearly expressed in the description of the plowman in Chaucer's *General Prologue*[57] — and as such is given some

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Salvation, Yale Studies in English, 136 (New Haven, 1957), pp. 13-15; Willi Erzgraber, *William Langlands 'Piers Plowman' (Eine Interpretation des C-Textes)* (Heidelberg, 1957), pp. 87 ff.; Bloomfield, *Apocalypse*, pp. 13, 105-7, 126, 128, 133-4, 148-9; David C. Fowler, *'Piers the Plowman': Literary Relations of the A and B Texts* (Seattle, 1961), pp. 10, 54-58, 89, 114-5, 121-2, 127-8, 156, 163; John Lawlor, *'Piers Plowman': An Essay in Criticism* (London, 1962), pp. 13, 55-6, 254-5, 316.

[56](London, N. Y., Toronto, 1937), pp. 119-20.

[57]See Helmut Holzapfel, *Die sittliche Wertung der körperlichen Arbeit im christlichen Altertum* (Würzburg, 1941); Arthur T. Geoghegan, *The Attitude towards Labor in Early Christianity and Ancient Culture* (Washington, 1945), and Joe Horrell, "Chaucer's Symbolic Plowman," *Speculum*, 14 (1939), 82-92.

allegorical appurtenances in order to delineate the role of the life of doing well.

This view has always seemed unsatisfactory to me, principally because it provides no preparation for the far-reaching allegorical development of Piers in the *Vita* of the later recensions, but also because if fails to resolve problems raised in the *Visio* itself. I reject the view that Piers at any point in any version of the poem is the type or representative of the honest laborer, and offer instead the interpretation based on a current allegorized image. This interpretation must be tested in a reading of the plowing scene of the *Visio*. My reading follows the C-Text, not only because of its presumed fuller realization of the poet's intention, but also because it takes into account more obviously the developments which the poet had worked out in B. The arguments hold as well, I believe, in A, but space and patience prohibit detailed consideration of the first version.[58]

<center>III</center>

The second vision in the C version (Passus 6-10) is given to the dreamer, significantly, in church, just as the penultimate vision occurred to him during the offering of a mass (C 22. 1-5). In A and B the locus of the vision is less than a furlong from that of the first vision, in Malvern Hills — the king and the knights of the first dream are the ones who go to church (A 5.1; B 5.1). The change in C causes some confusion later, as Will is represented as waking up "on Maluerne hulles" in all three versions (C 10.295 and parallels): Langland apparently forgot his earlier revision. The shift of locus in C underlines a modification of the content of the poem: in the first vision we are presented with the sinful field full of folk under the aegis of secular dominion, especially the king's, whereas in the second Reason and Conscience modulate into more ecclesiastical figures (pope and pope's crucifer in C 6. 112-3) and the field of folk is handled in terms of churchly, liturgical correction. The second vision is focussed primarily on the sacrament of penance.

Just before Will sleeps for his second dream, in C, he has the curious waking vision already discussed (C 6. 1-108), which Skeat called "autobiographical." Its function seems to be to give the reader a series of "foretastes," of the sort Coghill treated, of themes and images which

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[58] John Burrow, in "The Action of Langland's Second Vision," *Essays in Criticism*, 15 (1965), 247-268, reprinted in *Style and Symbolism in 'Piers Plowman'*, ed. Robert J. Blanch (Knoxville, 1969), pp. 209-227, has provided the best explication of this part of the poem: I refer to his essay in what follows.

recur later in the poem.[59] The dreamer, describing himself provocatively as "romynge in remembraunce," meets Conscience and Reason, key personifications of both the first and second visions. Reason who "arates" the dreamer first, seems to be both the dreamer's own faculty and the *ratio* or "orderliness" of the world's arrangement — at this point specifically of the hierarchy of vocations. Will allegorizes, as has been noted, his clerkly labor in terms of a dominant agricultural imagery: it is as if we were being prepared for the reversal of allegorical process later, the rendering of agricultural labor in terms of clerical or priestly imagery.

In this passage the C-Text, besides deepening and complicating the meaning of Conscience and Reason, is helping the reader to find his way through a rather dark allegory by anticipating the unfolding of a symbol of which readers of B had to wait many passus for clarification, and of which readers of A never received explication. The C version emphasizes the internal, or what Augustine might have called *intrinsecus*, nature of the second vision. Will becomes, waking, the first of the confessors of the field of folk. It is Conscience who urges the dreamer, "ʒe, and continue"; not precisely the public Conscience of the first vision who urged the king to see clearly, but the Conscience of the dreamer himself, wherein he knows "what Crist wolde that ich wrouhte." The dreamer's commitment to prayer and penance, his going to church, and his continuing to write the poem all result in the succeeding action, which is both an allegory of his own mind — the penance of a clerkly man — and a continuation (as in B and A) of the allegory of the field of folk — the penance of the estates of men.

The vision begins with Reason as pope[60] standing before the field full of folk and delivering a sermon, whose theme is "in tokenynge of drede That dedliche synne er domys day shal for-do ous alle" (C 6. 122-3 and parallels). This begins the sequence of the penitential liturgy which the poem allegorizes. Reason's evidence for the urgency of his message is the southwest wind of Saturday evening which blew over pear and plum trees and caused beeches and oaks to turn "vpward here tayl." This event may have been historical, and is recapitulated in eschatological terms much later in the poem: "Antecrist cam thenne, and al the crop of treuthe Turned tyte vp-so-doun and ouer-tilte the rote . . ." (C 23. 53-4). It may be stretching a point to suggest that Reason is looking in the "hote haruest" for a good husbandman to

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[59] Nevill K. Coghill, "The Pardon of Piers Plowman," *Proceedings of the Bristish Academy*, 30 (1944), 303-57, repr., abridged, in Blanch, pp. 40-86.

[60] Reason is not clothed "ryʒt as a pope" in B: that C made his meaning specific in this way can support my view that Piers also is capable of specific interpretation.

repair the apocalyptic destruction of the field for which laborers are few.

It is significant, I think, that the first of the estates which Reason considers is the ecclesiastic. C underlines this emphasis by shifting over thirty lines of material on the religious orders from later in A and B to this point in Reason's sermon; in the later version over one-third of the whole sermon is directed at the secular and religious clergy. The sermon made Will, some allegorical projection related to the author and the dreamer, weep. Again, it is as if the whole contrition of the folk were taking place in one man's mind. A class of men is expressed in Will as a class of men is expressed in Piers.

As Burrow pointed out, at the end of Reason's sermon it is clear that a pilgrimage to Saint Truth, as opposed to a wordly pilgrimage to St. James or the saints of Rome, will be a dominant image of the poem's penitential course. Under the direction of a new allegorical figure, Repentance, we are shown the famous series of confessions of the deadly sins — the number stabilizes at seven by the time of the C-Text. The amount of satire among these confessions aimed at the clergy, regular and secular, is remarkable: from attention devoted in these vignettes to the religious orders one would conclude that Langland ranked them with the London lowlife, Jack the juggler, Daniel the dice-player, Denote the bawd. Friars and parsons, nuns and monks are wrathful; a "clerk of the churche" is among the gluttons; Sloth personified, the last of the sinners, has been a "prest and person" for over thirty years. Sloth, in fact, the only one of the sins to appear in the next passus (C 8), seems to be the special foil of Piers. Langland's exasperation with the sins of the clergy, besides any autobiographical relevance, surely springs from the extremity of contrast between clerical office and clerical deeds. The only thing comparable in English literature is Pope on poetasters.

A last figure of human failure appears before Piers Plowman begins his guidance: the palmer, laden with the paraphernalia of pilgrimages and a mouthful of exotic lands he has visited. He is the final emblem before Piers of misguided restitution, the need for which has been pressed again and again by Repentance.[61] Piers will guide the estates of men, now become pilgrims, through this most difficult part of penance, the part which is emphasized throughout the poem as "mesure," proper hire or reward, *redde quod debes*, and Do Well. As guide, as instrument of grace, as Truth's servant, Piers acts out the function which the contemporary clergy failed to perform. He acts as the "priest" who com-

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[61] See C 7.234, 297, 344.

mands penance from sinners, giving them admission to the house of
Truth (C 8. 246).

This role is apparent at the outset:

> 'Peter!' quath a ploughman and putte forth hus hefd,
> 'Ich knowe hym [Truth] as kyndelich as clerkus don hure bokes.
> Conscience and Kyndewit kende me to hus place,
> And maked me sykeren hym sitthen to seruen hym for euere,
> Bothe to sowe and to setten the whyle ich swynke myghte,
> With-ynne and with-oute to wayten hus profyt.'   (C 8. 182-187)

The first word Piers speaks immediately suggests a link with apostolic
tradition, if not the papacy. His knowledge of Truth is "kyndelich,"
natural, but corresponds to the knowledge clerks have of books
(Langland could have used another simile): he has read the interior
book of conscience and native intelligence. His labor is "within and
without": Skeat seems to have taken this to refer to the normal outdoor
tasks of a plowman as well as wintry indoor work, but I think it means
"inwardly and outwardly," in men's souls as well as before their faces,
forinsecus et intrinsecus.[62] It is priestly labor, here especially the labor of
preaching, of planting the ideas of Christian virtues in men's hearts,
which will be to the profit of Truth.

Piers assures his followers that Truth is a good *dominus*, who pays
promptly, the answer to Will's hope for final recompense of his unusual
labor (C 6. 92-101), and more generally the answer to the whole
problem of meed. The next lines confirm Langland's intention, with
Piers, to depict the nature of a good priest: Piers carefully refuses
"mede" for his efforts. This has little or no satiric point if taken as a
Harry Bailly virtue of refusing payment for guiding pilgrims, but it
strikes home as a quick barb against ecclesiastical simony, one of
Langland's favorite vices.

Piers then directs the pilgrims to the dwelling of Truth, which is the
"tour" seen in the first vision (A 6. 82), but also a "court" (C 8. 232),
and "hevene" (C 8. 249), and the congregation's own heart (C 6. 255),
and a church in the heart (C 8. 257). This surely is an internal
pilgrimage. The predicatorial rhetoric of Pier's directions is recognized
by one of the balking pilgrims, a "wafreste" (a Haukyn type), who
claims he will go "no forther a fot for no freres prechinge" (C 8.286).
Piers has extended God's invitation to the heavenly banquet, a spiritual
banquet in which Charity may "fynde alle manere folk fode to hure
saules" (C 8.259), but the world rejects it, in the same way the guests

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[62] Compare the similar use of the same half-line in C 7.31 where it probably renders B 13.279,
"with herte or syȝte shewynge." That the same half-line is used, presumably in the same sense, in
Cleanness, line 20, suggests that we are dealing with a formula.

turned down the invitation to the feast in Jesus' parable (*Matt.* 22. 1-14; *Luke* 14. 16-24; C 8. 292-304).

The reference to Charity's providing food for souls is an addition to the C-Text, and provides again a foretaste and an explanation of what follows, especially the rise in the later versions of the poem of the concept of charity and the theme of sustenance. The next event in the poem is Piers's statement that he has a half acre to plow and sow before he can go with the pilgrims. I take this plowing allegorically: it derives from the Biblical metaphor of agriculture as cultivation and preparation and implantation of the heart; here, liturgically, it means penance, especially the third part of the triad of penance, the physically laborious "satisfaction." This plowing provides, *intrinsecus*, spiritual nourishment, an idea which pervades the poem but which cannot be treated within the scope of this study.

Langland is anxious to make clear the relationship between everyday labor and the spiritual labor required to reach Saint Truth. The metaphor of pilgrimage, an excellent and antique image for religious travail, disappears slowly in favor of an image at once more generalized and more particularized, the labors of the various classes of men in their various vocations. Work for the common good in terms of one's own status is paradoxically both an analogue of the work of the spirit on the way to God, and the way itself. This is one of the many places in which the intellectual content of the poem projects in both social and individual dimensions. Somehow this whole vision is taking place (in C) in Will's mind as he is in church. Will is troubled about sin and penitence, and about vocation: we are shown the symbol of a priest guiding the estates of men through penance and their vocations. The guiding images of plowing and pilgrimage are linked: "My plouhfot shal be my pyk-staf and picche a-two the rotes" (C 9. 64); so are the concepts of penance and pilgrimage: "To penaunces and to pilgrimages ich wol passe with othere" (C 9. 93).[63] It requires only a step of the imagination, guided by tradition, for us to forge the last link between plowing and penance.

The most difficult passage to account for in terms of an allegorical reading of Piers is the extended dialogue of Hunger with Piers, who is troubled by wasters among the people (C 9. 169-343 and parallels). It would be absurd to argue that this whole passage must be taken symbolically, Hunger representing spiritual hunger and wasters representing sinners in general. The punishments Hunger wreaks are clearly

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[63] Earlier Will had referred to "Roberd the ryfeler" polishing "penaunce hus pyk-staf" (C 7.329, and A 5.257; B 5.483). See also the linking of penance and Rome-pilgrimages in C 17.39, B 14.196, and C 22.314-5 where Piers is to harrow the "cammockes and weodes" of vices.

physical and literal: "Hunger hente in haste Wastour by the mawe, And wrang hym by the wombé that al waterede his eyen." The situation described is England after the plague, and the narrator's prophecy at the end of the passage warns workmen of Saturn's malevolent influence. But among the ravages of the Saturnian age just before the prophecy falls into the esoteric and incomprehensible, we are told, "Pruyde and pestilences shal muche puple fecche" (C 9. 350). The spiritual and physical griefs both spring from the wasting Langland sees around him.

A tentative explanation of this passage which attempts to maintain consistency in the role of Piers must distinguish between the images of pilgrimage and agriculture. Since Truth will be found, according to Piers, in our hearts, the theme of peregrination is patently metaphorical from early on. As I mentioned before, it is not so with agriculture: "winning" sustenance, unlike pardon-grabbing pilgrimage, is not only a symbol of reaching Truth, but also one of the ways to Truth — the proper fulfillment of a vocation. Salvation is acquired by sacramental penance, and also by good, active work — in fact penance, unique among the sacraments, demands physical atonement in terms of satisfaction or restitution. This, finally, is why Piers is a good symbol: he is both a dark conceit of "priesthoodness" and a clear emblem of a man doing well. In general it probably should be admitted that if an allegorical concept is bodied forth as a man, it is liable to behave differently than if it were, say, a tree. It might act in a fiction as a man of that sort would act, whether or not there is strict allegorical justification for such action.

The transitions from passus to passus often do represent a "step" of imaginative progress. The passage which contains the pardon scene is a good example: the last line of the preceding passus in B and C is "Bote god of hus goodnesse graunte ous a trewe" — a respite from the vicious cycle of waste and hunger under Saturnian justice. The word "trewe" is played upon at the opening of the next passus, "Treuthe herde telle here-of. . ." (C 10. 1). It is one of the good lines, and signals explicitly the end of the pilgrimage metaphor. Truth grants ("purchased" in the metaphor of redemption) Piers and his heirs a pardon, and orders him to take "hus teeme" (Truth's "theme" and Piers's "team")[64] and till the earth, and orders all the people to "halde hym at home" to plow, set, or sow, "other eny manere myster that myght Peers a-vayle." This passus, as a whole, expounds the nature of the pardon in terms of the various "mysters" or vocations of men. For the fourth time in his poem

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[64] See above on Grace's gift to Piers of a "teome," "for to tulye treuthe." The last few passus often provide detailed comment on the earlier part of the poem.

Langland has analyzed society in terms of various classifications:[65] here
he returns to the original craft-centered categories of the first passus,
the categories which seem for some reason to have held high place in
Langland's mind.

The pardon, simply expressed, absolves the people *if* they do well.
The "if" and "that" and "but" clauses of condition are omnipresent
through this section.[66] The whole point seems to be that the pardon is
not simply a meed arrangement with some agent of the treasury of
merit, but an absolution deserved by good works. The image which
controls this passus, as agriculture had controlled the one before, and
pilgrimage the one before that, is the pardon itself, seen as a piece of
paper. The A-Text goes so far as to speak of Will as the scribe of the
pardon, rewarded by merchants for their marginal part in it: "And ȝaf
wille for his writyng wollene cloþis; for he copiede þus here clause þei
couden hym gret mede" (A 8. 43-44). This detail is delected from the
later texts, possibly to avoid the confusion which would result from the
involuted arrangement of Will as dreamer, observer, and copier of the
pardon, or possibly to avoid the misunderstanding which might have
arisen from Langland's ironic use of meed.

Piers's role with respect to the pardon is complicated on the surface,
but sense can be made of it.[67] The pardon is purchased first for Piers
for plowing with Truth's "teeme," then for the people who labor for
Piers. In the B and C texts the merchants show gratitude to Piers for
"purchasing" the bull of pardon: the hint of the Christ-like does not
suggest identification. Good laborers will have absolution like Piers's.
In C, if Skeat's punctuation is correct (which is admittedly dubious),[68] a
long speech against beggars and false "lollers" on behalf of the true
poor is put in Piers's mouth. In this speech Piers speaks Latin, and
winds up attacking rich friars and lax bishops who are "the cause of al
thys caitifte" (C 10.255). All these statements about and by Piers can be
reconciled without difficulty if we see Piers as the emblem of doing well

[65] The analysis of society is presented in terms of crafts in Passus 1, in terms of the seven deadly
sins in Passus 7 and 8, and in terms of sex and status in Passus 9.

[66] C 10.9, 13, 43, 45, 46, 54, 58, 62, 99, 161, 175, 176, 183.

[67] In the main I concur, as most recent students seem to do, with Frank's reading of the pardon
scene, *Speculum*, 26 (1951), 317-331. The recent article by Rosemary Woolf, "The Tearing of the Par-
don," in S. S. Hussey, ed., *'Piers Plowman': Critical Approaches* (London, 1969), pp. 50-75, moves with
strong reservations toward my view that Piers can be understood other than literally in the pardon
episode.

[68] If this is Piers's speech, he refers oddly to himself by name in C 10.186. Also the priest whom
Piers meets assumes that the plowman has no Latin, but the lines Skeat attributes to him,
presumably in the presence of the priest, are laden with Latin. It can be argued that Langland uses
Latin as a gloss on his text, and does not intend for us to think his characters literally know Latin.
The evidence is not conclusive on the basis of Skeat's text.

and especially as the representative of the order responsible for administering absolution.

The climax of the vision occurs at the famous *crux* in which a priest offers to translate the pardon into English. It should be kept in mind that the lines from the Athanasian Creed which are contained on the piece of paper, the "bulle" at which Piers and Will and the priest look, are *not* the pardon; they are merely a condensed version of the doctrine of absolution (mainly *in English*) which the whole first 281 lines of the passus have laid out. The paper with its Latin lines becomes a kind of allegory, like Langland's other lengthily named personifications, of a divine truth which has already been spelled out in some detail. I agree with Frank that the priest who cannot find pardon in Truth's message has missed the point, and further (with Burrow) that the priest's failure to understand true pardon corresponds to the palmer's failure to understand true pilgrimage.

Piers here, for the only time (discounting the brief insertion of Priesthood as hayward late in the poem), meets head on with the antitype of himself, the priest manqué. Naturally a dispute emerges. None of the texts bothers to expound precisely what the grounds of the dispute, or Piers's anger, are.[69] It is significant, however, that the C-Text deletes Piers's quotation from the Twenty-third Psalm and his avowal to be less solicitous aboud food, to make his plow hereafter "of preyers and penaunces." C omitted these lines (A. 8. 101-17; B 7. 116-29), I believe, because Piers's plow had already been depicted as penitential labor, and the sustenance it acquires as spiritual, so the "change" in Piers is redundant. I argue that B and A included the lines mainly to drive the point home one more time, as well as to open the theme, *ne solliciti sitis,* but that C deleted them really to leave open the nature of the change in Piers for later development, such as we find in the expanded version of B. Langland seems to have wished to add new dimensions to Piers, and gradually to have realized that the pardon-tearing episode hindered his expanding conception.

Space prohibits an entire reading of the poem in terms of this conception of the meaning of Piers. I would like to make a few suggestions about how this understanding of Piers affects other problems of interpreting the poem. First and most obviously, we should consider more closely the anti-clerical and anti-fraternal satire in the poem, since they are at the heart of the poem's meaning and by no means gratuitous or peripheral concerns. In the priesthood the social, the individual, and

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[69] Piers's irascibility may somehow derive from a motif associated with Moses, or from the "iratus arator" of the *Georgics,* 2, 207, or from the wrathful shepherd of Zacharias.

the spiritual and sacramental dimensions of the Christian scheme cross, and the orders of religious life constitute the focus of Langland's concern. In *Piers Plowman* we have the best attempt in letters to treat the class of priests in serious poetry, and we should try not to avoid this fact but embrace it.

Another topic is the question of vocation and its relation to talent and the division of grace, as well as the needs of society and the individual's drive toward perfection. Piers's two major entrances into the poem, in the pardon scene and in the Antichrist episodes, are both connected with the question of vocation. Piers as the symbol of perfect maintenance of God's work — tilling truth, being not solicitous — surely represents the answer to a problem which shows all the sings of being a personal concern of the poet's. Doing well involves acting well within one's craft. The whole question of lollers and lollards, of good and bad minstrely, needs to be raised again.[70]

A further suggestion is more tenuous. I have hinted a few times that Will and Piers are connected in various ways. Both are irritable, both become aged, both are connected (rather antithetically) with the clerical life, both decide to be not solicitous. A clearer understanding of Piers may help us unfold the meaning of Will. Most of the difficulties of the poem spring from our enormous uncertainty about the precise status and stance of the narrator. After all, this is why scholars from the beginning have tried to discover who Langland was — in hope of shedding light on the character Will.

Finally, fuller comprehension of the meaning of Piers may lead us to the solution of that most perplexing of problems, the structure of the poem. Stella Maguire pointed out the correspondences between the half-acre episode and the scene with Haukyn the active man.[71] This most provocative suggestion should be extended, I think, to include the final scene of the poem in which Piers is invested with the allegorical appurtenances of the Church — the resemblanches are equally remarkable. These three scenes — and perhaps the opening scene of the poem should be added — do provide a framework for the poem: in each case a sweeping picture of society is presented as a problem, and in each instance the vision is somehow interiorized. In the last three cases, Piers symbolizes a solution to the internal problems: first as plowman and provider, second as guardian of the Tree of Charity, and finally as reeve of Grace and defender of the castle of Unity — a barn become a castle which resembles the court of truth as Piers first describes it.

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[70] On vocations and minstrels see Donaldson, *Piers Plowman*, ch. 5.
[71] "The Significance of Haukyn, *Activa Vita*, in *Piers Plowman*," *RES*, 25 (1949), 97-109.

In the first of the parallel scenes, the narrator has a Hermas-like vision of Holy Church, not of Piers. She presents the alternative to the intransigency of the field of folk, but her statement of truth is abruptly undercut by the vision of Mede. Will fails to comprehend Holy Church's instructions, and Christian doctrine has to be "realized" for him in successively deeper visions until he understands. The situation has an analogue in the modern allegory, Lewis's *Pilgrim's Regress*, in which the dreamer fails to grasp the shorter way to truth presented by Mother Church. This skeleton by no means wholly satisfies our longing for structure in *Piers Plowman*, but may prove more useful than earlier attempts, before Frank's book appeared, to explain *Piers* in terms of the three "Do's".

The meaning of "tradition" can be cheapened or enriched in literature according to an author's abilities and his readers' knowledge and sensitivity. A traditional symbol can become tired and flaccid, or lively, powerful, and suggestive. An intellectual tradition can appear to burn out, or the traditions of an institution can become rigid and hampering. When men of intelligence and vision perceive this, and rekindle and revitalize and free the artifacts of history for their contemporaries and for future men, they are called reformers. Such was William Langland.

Yale University

POLITICAL WISDOM
AN INTERPRETATION OF *SUMMA THEOL.* II-II, 50*

Robert J. Mulvaney

THE notion of political wisdom (*prudentia politica*), as developed within Thomas Aquinas's treatise on practical wisdom[1] (*Summa Theol.*, II-II, 47-56), has not received sufficient attention, either from those interested in his theory of virtue,[2] or from those concerned more with his political philosophy.[3] This is possibly the result of simple neglect, but there is the more disturbing possibility that most commentators cannot yet bring themselves to the full realization that, unlike modern interpretations of "prudence", practical wisdom in Thomas, as all virtue, is social in character and directed more to the common good than to the good of the individual.[4] Since, for example, we have been warned by Pieper that "prudence" does not signify in its medieval usage a narrow self-seeking cunning,[5] it becomes all the more troublesome when even he neglects the social aspect of this virtue, as it is developed in the text under discussion.

What I propose to do in this article is to show that for Thomas Aquinas the position that practical wisdom directs the other cardinal

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[1] I use the term "practical wisdom" to translate "prudentia" as Ross uses it to translate "phronesis" in his translation of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, and for the same reasons. See note 4 below.

[2] See Th. Deman, O. P. *La prudence* (Paris, 1949), pp. 316-328, for a treatment of *prudentia politica* which misses what seems to me to be the chief point of the question. See also Josef Pieper, *Prudence* (New York, 1959), who does not discuss political wisdom at all. George P. Klubertanz, in his *Habits and Virtues* (New York, 1965), p. 221, n. 24, regards the division of four species of political wisdom as merely determined by the nature of medieval society.

[3] For example, Louis Lachance, *L'humanisme politique de Saint Thomas d'Aquin* (Paris, 1964) has much to say about Thomas's notion of political wisdom, but completely ignores Article 4 which serves as the key to my interpretation. Thomas Gilby in his *The Political Thought of Thomas Aquinas* (Chicago, 1958) remarks on the concept of "military wisdom" but fails to see its crucial dialectical significance.

[4] See ST 2-2, 47, 10. The word "prudence" in English almost invariably refers to egoism and is used as the contrary of the principle of utility. See Henry Sidgwick, *Methods of Ethics*, 7th edition (London, 1930), pp. 25-26.

[5] *Op. cit.*, pp. 14-15.

virtues is true at both the social and individual levels. The simple interconnection of the virtues is demonstrated elsewhere,[6] as is the well-known position that all virtue has a social dimension in the virtue of "legal" justice.[7] The more precise and extremely important point emphasized here in Question 50 is that, precisely insofar as they have a social dimension, the other cardinal virtues are guided, directed, "informed" by practical wisdom. In other words, justice is guided in its social dimension by "political wisdom"; temperance is guided in its social dimension by "domestic wisdom"; and fortitude is guided in its social dimension by "military wisdom".

By this move Thomas obviates the possibility of dichotomizing private and public virtue into practical wisdom and justice. Practical wisdom is a social virtue, indeed primarily so, since the common good enjoys primacy over the private good. It is this social dimension to wisdom that I wish to emphasize in this article. However, at the more abstract level of political theory, I wish also to show that a Thomistic theory of the state is incomplete without recognizing the implications of his theory of political wisdom. It seems that in the most abstract formulation of the theory of the state, a formulation necessarily preceding all constitutional questions, Thomas's intention is to show that the ideal state will contain ruler, citizenry, home and army as its constitutive elements, corresponding institutionally to the social extension of the four cardinal virtues. Finally, my interpretation will be seen to serve the purpose of solving an interesting historical puzzle, namely that, while depending upon Aristotelian and Stoic sources, Thomas's statement departs from both and reworks in a highly original fashion the sources in which he explicitly roots his discussion.

I shall proceed by explaining the place of the text within the entire treatise, and then by examining the content of each of the four articles within the question in light of three dominant concerns or motifs of Thomas's doctrine, the primacy of the common good, the interconnection of the virtues, and the all-important place of "command" (*imperium*) in the total consideration of practical wisdom. My interpretation of the historical and philosophical significance of practical wisdom in the treatise will follow and conclude this statement. The larger questions of the relationship between political wisdom and the treatise on virtue as a whole, or that between wisdom and Thomas's developed political philosophy, are obviously beyond the scope of such a brief account. But it should be remarked that the unity of Thomas's

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[6] The classic text is ST 1-2, 65. But see 1-2, 58, 4, for a clear statement of the connection between practical wisdom and the moral virtues.

[7] Also called "general" justice. See ST 2-2, 58, 5 and 6.

philosophy does indeed vitiate to an extent all piecemeal analysis, a warning to all of us, but especially to those who tend to use the *Summa* as an encyclopedia.

Let us notice first the place of political wisdom in the treatise on practical wisdom as a whole. According to Thomas's position in Question 48 on the "parts" of practical wisdom, political wisdom is a subjective part, or perhaps more properly, a set of subjective parts of the virtue of practical wisdom.[8] In modern terminology we might look upon this as the "extension" of the term "practical wisdom", or its "referent" (understanding Thomas's phrase "integral part" as translatable into "intension" or "sense"). Thus practical wisdom is applicable to the management of one's personal moral life and to the general affairs of the political unit, the state or city, especially to the government, the political organization of the citizenry, the home and the army. It should be noticed, however, that the notion of political wisdom enters into the actual *meaning* of practical wisdom, and is treated by Thomas within Article 47.[9]

Let us notice then the first appearance of the notion of political wisdom, Question 47, Articles 10-12, both because political wisdom seems to be an essential element of practical wisdom taken in itself, and because frequently the first things Thomas says about some issues emerge as keynote elements in the discussion.[10] As such the first and most striking aspect of political wisdom is that it embodies three of the dominant motifs of Thomas's theory of virtue: (1) that it is connected with other virtues in the system (Article 10); (2) That it has the common good as its primary object or goal (Article 11); (3) that it has an imperative role in public affairs as practical wisdom has an imperative role in private affairs (Article 12).

Thomas insists on the extension of the virtue of practical wisdom to the political context because any restriction of wisdom to the private sector alone offends both moral and intellectual virtue, charity and right reason.[11] If charity, in the words of Paul, is not self-seeking, then practical wisdom, connected with it, can similarly not be restricted to one's profit. Indeed even justice (at least "legal" justice) demands a

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[8] ST 2-2, 48, *art. un.*, *c.*

[9] We should today perhaps not distinguish so clearly *prudentia secundum se* (ST 2-2, 47) from *partes integrales prudentiae* (ST 2-2, 49). Both concern the meaning or sense (intension) of the term "practical wisdom", and are derived by a similar process of analysis.

[10] This is eminently true of the prologues, such as that to the *Prima secundae*, and that to the treatise on law. Notice also, however, internal to the questions themselves, Thomas's initial characterization of law as *"aliquid rationis"* (ST 1-2, 90, 1) and that of charity as *"amicitia quaedam"* (ST 2-2, 23, 1).

[11] ST 2-2, 47, 10*c*, and *ad* 1.

species of political wisdom, just as practical wisdom, narrowly speaking, is related to moral virtue. And it is a judgment of right reason that the common good is to be preferred to the good of the individual. Consequently, as the virtue of practical wisdom is connected with every aspect of a man's personal moral life, so must we say that the common affairs of political man require an extension of this wisdom into public life, which wisdom we can call political.

This interconnection of the virtues at both the private and public levels of man's moral life is repeated in the reply to the third objection of Article 10. Here Thomas insists that both temperance and fortitude have a public dimension, and that, therefore, all the more should practical wisdom and justice. All the virtues have both private and public vocations, and the connection between wisdom and moral virtue in the private sector is extended necessarily to the public sector as well. Although briefly stated here in Article 10, this interconnection actually prefigures the great role to be played by political wisdom in the total consideration of practical wisdom, as we shall see.

Still within the context of the introductory texts of Question 47, let us notice briefly that Article 11 emphasizes the primacy of the common good in the consideration of practical wisdom, and Article 12 examines in a preliminary way the relation of wisdom to the various governmental powers of the ruler and the citizen, highlighting the imperative nature of practical wisdom in the public realm. Taking his point of departure in Aristotle's statement "Political wisdom and practical wisdom are the same state of mind, but their essence is not the same",[12] Thomas insists that there are specific forms of wisdom, depending upon the forms of political organization within a community,[13] and that these are ordered according to the hierarchy of ends within that community.[14] Thus, because the common good is preferable to the good of the individual, so the form of wisdom which we call political, specifically distinct from the private practical wisdom of the individual, is to be preferred to it.

Finally, in the context of a discussion of the relative merits of the political wisdom of the ruler and the citizen, Thomas seizes the opportunity to underline the imperative role of the virtue of practical wisdom in whatever sphere of activity.[15] Thus he says that it is properly the function of reason to rule and govern.[16] This imperative role of

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[12] *Nicomachean Ethics*, 6. 8 (1141b23).

[13] ST 2-2, 47, 11c.

[14] *Ibid., ad* 3.

[15] ST 2-2, 47, 12.

[16] *Ibid., c.*

practical reason, at both the private and public levels, mentioned again almost immediately,[17] is essential to the Thomistic conception of the role of reason in human affairs, and clearly separates his position from all forms of moral or legal voluntarism. The Thrasymachan and Hobbesian conceptions of justice as identified with the pleasure of the ruler are implicitly rejected by this emphasis on the imperative role of wisdom.

Let us now turn to an analysis of the *locus classicus* of Thomas's discussion of political wisdom, recalling again that the three themes outlined above must be understood as functioning at every moment. There are four species of political wisdom, one outlined in each article of Question 50: "regnative" or legislative wisdom; "political" wisdom; domestic or "economic" wisdom, and military wisdom. The first of these, regnative or kingly wisdom, is that of the central legislative authority, the wisdom of the ruler. That such a form of wisdom is necessary follows from some of the considerations noted above, and explicitly referred to in this article. Practical wisdom has a direct reference to rule and command,[18] and wherever there is rule, there is a need for practical wisdom. Moreover, wherever one has the responsibility for the actions of others as well as for his own, a specific form of wisdom is required, that species of political wisdom called legislative or kingly. The ruler has responsibility for the common good as well as for his own. That wisdom directed towards the common good is the special political wisdom of the king. Moreover, and this will emerge as increasingly important, it is only because monarchy for Thomas is the best form of government that this virtue is called "kingly".[19] It is obvious that some similar form of political wisdom would be required whatever the optimum form of constitution. The notion is not dependent upon a special form of constitution, but on a practical necessity in public affairs: there is law and there is execution of law. The virtue par excellence of the lawmaker(s) is legislative wisdom.

To the objection that justice is more appropriately considered the virtue of the ruler, Thomas's answer is distinctive and important: all virtues require practical wisdom for their direction.[20] Even the execution of justice demands the virtue of wisdom. This repeated emphasis upon the interconnection of the virtues is here perhaps most striking because of its universality. Moreover, the preceptive aspect of prudence is located formally in the execution of the judgments of the wise man,

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[17] ST 2-2, 48, *art. un., c.*
[18] ST 2-2, 50, 1*c.*
[19] *Ibid., ad* 2.
[20] *Ibid., ad* 1.

following upon his deliberation.[21] Or, as we might say, the preceptive role of practical wisdom is found in the conclusion of the practical syllogism, the final application of the deliberations of the agent to the work to be done. The administration of justice, then, here specifically determined by the lawmaking faculty, requires the direction of political wisdom in the very execution of justice itself. The work of the city is first and foremost the work of wisdom, the rational direction of every work of justice.

This theme of the relationship between justice and practical wisdom is maintained in the second article on "political" wisdom. In fact the chief difference between the first two and last two articles of this question lies in the distinction between complete and partial social organisms. The virtue of justice then applies more to the first two, and the dialectic between justice and wisdom is more pronounced here.

"Political" wisdom, conceived here as a species of the general political wisdom distinguished from private practical wisdom,[22] is that virtue whereby the citizen governs himself in the execution of the common good, specifically as carrying out the commands of the ruler.[23] This obedience is never mechanical or irrational, since the subject is always a man, acting humanly, that is with self-rule and self-command. At the same time, this does not imply that the virtue of "political" wisdom can be reduced to the species of prudence whereby one rules oneself for one's own ends, any more than political wisdom in general is so reducible.[24] This is so because here too the common good is the object of the citizen's practical and political wisdom. Thomas's effort here is to steer between the extremes of totalitarianism and individualism. It is this specific virtue of "political" wisdom that makes of the citizen more than an individual accidentally related to the community, and less than a mere manifestation of the central authority. There is a participation in the ruling activity of the king by the subject who considers the same objects as the king in his preceptive wisdom, but in a less universal fashion.[25]

Consequently, much that was said of the appropriateness of legislative wisdom is true here as well, especially the impossibility of reduc-

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[21] ST 2, 2, 47, 8c.
[22] ST 2-2, 50, 2, ad 1. The same ambiguity is found in Aristotle, *Nic. Eth.* 6. 8 (1141b23-28), where it is, however, perhaps softened by the fact that *phronesis* alone is used for the more generic form of *phronesis politike*. Thomas does not use *prudentia* when he means *prudentia politica* in either the general or derived sense. I use the term "political" wisdom in quotations only when referring to the subspecies discussed here in Article 2, and not when referring to political wisdom in general.
[23] *Ibid.*, c and ad 1.
[24] *Ibid.*, ad 3.
[25] *Ibid.*, ad 2. See Gilby, *op. cit.* p. 293.

ing this species of wisdom to some other virtue, for example justice. The execution of commands of others might perhaps be considered far more within the domain of justice than the formulation of those commands. But, even here, in the common affairs of the good citizen, some virtue analogous to the kingly must apply, in the lowest and most particular execution of commands. A man's obedience, even as citizen, is always human.

This point is crucial in light of the reason given for distinguishing kingly wisdom from justice in Article 1. If the reason for distinguishing them lay only in the fact that justice is the execution of the precepts of the ruler's wisdom, then the virtue of the citizen might consist in justice alone. But Thomas insists that a special kind of political wisdom is required *in* the very execution of the king's commands. It must not be thought, in other words, that, at the social level, wisdom is the virtue of the ruler, justice of the ruled, and that possibly as a consequence, justice consists merely in blind obedience to the ruler's commands. An analogous situation is found, of course, in personal ethics, where the execution of the judgments of deliberation itself must be practically wise. This is what "command" means, the wise execution of the judgments of deliberative reason.

As I mentioned above, the first two articles of this question deal with political wisdom at the level of the complete or universal social organism, the city or state. But Thomas insists that a city is not simply an organization of individuals, but contains within it certain other partial social groups, both complete in their limited order and related to the total human good, and therefore subject to consideration in terms of practical wisdom in its political manifestation. The two subordinate organisms dealt with in the last two articles are the household and the army.

Besides the continued interest in questions of precept and the interconnection of the virtues, there is in these two last articles a greater emphasis upon questions of whole and part, organic relationships, limitations of authority in certain realms. There is a decrescendo of universality throughout this short treatise, from the universal political wisdom of the king to the sharply limited roles of the head of the household and the general of an army. Here too, in the context of the fourth article, on military wisdom, we find a consideration of political wisdom based on a analogy drawn from animal nature, the well known distinction between the concupiscible and irascible appetites. It is here that Thomas gives his clearest hint of the general import of this short treatise. The city too possesses an "irascible power" by which it repels its enemies and which is also subject to the directive authority of practical wisdom. It is in the context of an analysis of the relationship be-

tween partial and complete social organisms that this "organic" division
emerges, and it has much to say on the nature of political wisdom.

Let us consider then the third and fourth species of political wisdom,
domestic and military. Thomas bases his distinction of domestic wisdom
from other forms on what seems to him "manifest", namely that the
household maintains a middle point between the individual and the city
as a whole.[26] We may easily presume that for him this is a natural
division, and that his conviction that it is obvious rests upon this prior
conviction of the natural division of social parts. Further evidence that
this is true emerges from the fact that, earlier in his life, Thomas drew
even closer analogies with the city, in terms of distinguishing a specific
wisdom for the head of the household (*prudentia paterna*) from that of
the household in general.[27] That he specifically rejects this possibility
here[28] shows that the household is a subordinate organism in the total
civic body. Here more abstract considerations such as the relationship
of universal to particular rule are emphasized over analogies between
households and cities.[29]

If Thomas avoids analogies between households and cities, he main-
tains another one, far more interesting for the development of his
position, namely that between animal nature and the city. As we have
noticed, in Article 4, he isolates a species of military wisdom on the
grounds that, just as animal nature contains both a concupiscible part
to insure those things useful for its preservation, and an irascible part
to ward off enemies, so in human affairs, not only is a political wisdom
necessary to secure the common good, but also a military wisdom to
repel attackers.[30]

It is in the fourth article that we find discussion within this treatise of
the important distinction he holds between "art" and practical wis-
dom.[31] This distinction, maintained by Aristotle, is essential to the pro-
per understanding of Thomas's ethics as well. He distinguishes here
military strategics from military wisdom. The former is an art, and need
not be directed toward the common good. The simple satisfaction of
military success would satisfy the requirements of this art. But precisely
because military affairs have a relation to the common good, there is a
need for a species of political wisdom on the part of the military lead-

[26] ST 2-2, 50, 3c.

[27] 3 Sent., 33, 3, 1, 4.

[28] ST 2-2, 50, 3, ad 3.

[29] See Aristotle, Nic. Eth., VIII, 10, and Gauthier's commentary: R.-A. Gauthier, L'éthique à
Nicomaque, 3 (Louvain, 1959), p. 702.

[30] ST 2-2, 50, 4c. Thomas here, I think, means political wisdom in its largest sense, not "political"
wisdom, as subdistinguished from the other three species, the wisdom of the citizen as such.

[31] Ibid., 4, obj. 1. See also S. T., 1-2, 57, 4.

ers. Notice again that the exigencies of the common good require a reference to practical wisdom. Without this reference, the common good becomes the aggregate of the combined goods of the individual citizens, or worse, degenerates into the technical accomplishments of some special art, such as the art of military success.

Questions of the relation of military wisdom to other virtues, and a restatement of the importance of universality in the consideration of the object of practical wisdom are dominant in this last section of Thomas's little treatise. As we said above, military wisdom must be distinguished from matters of military strategy which is an art and not wisdom. Nor is it to be identified with the virtue of courage which consists in the execution of the precepts of military wisdom, much as justice consisted in the execution of the precepts of political wisdom generally. Moreover, although it may appear that military wisdom concerns only an aspect of the city's endeavor, in reality it concerns the total human good in its defensive aspect and is therefore not to be considered as qualitatively identical to business and the various crafts.[32] What we might call today the formulation of military policy, indeed probably the entire area of foreign affairs, is the domain of what Thomas calls practical, political, military wisdom.

It is this fourth article that demonstrates the general direction of the entire Question. Let us notice that there is an historical problem regarding the sources of these four species of political wisdom: Aristotle considered only three of them, omitting military wisdom,[33] and the Stoic source, Ps.-Andronicus, listed six others besides Thomas's four.[34] Plainly Thomas is not simply listing possible species of political wisdom, else why should he omit those of the Stoic? Nor is he adopting the Aristotelian division, based as this was upon the Athenian constitution.[35] Rather he has opted for a new four-part division, one not tied to any special constitution, but one possessing a distinctive rationale, making it appropriate for any constitutional program.

Let us recall three basic Thomistic positions, amply in evidence in these four articles. First let us notice again the importance of the interconnection of the virtues, defended explicitly in the *Prima secundae*. This position in turn is related to Thomas's emphatic conviction that practical wisdom is necessary for moral goodness.[36] And, indeed, if the virtues are interconnected, then growth in one implies growth in all, and possession of one implies possession of all. If one is wise, then one is

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[32] ST 2-2, 50, 4, *ad* 2.
[33] *Nic. Eth.*, 6. 8.
[34] J. von Arnim, *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta* (Leipzig, 1921), 3, n. 267.
[35] Gauthier, *op. cit.*, p. 500.
[36] ST 1-2, 57, 5.

brave, just and temperate. On the other hand, let us notice once again that every virtue in Thomas has a reference to the common good. Simply ascribing practical wisdom to an agent says nothing regarding the issue of the common versus the private good. Since Thomas holds the primacy of the common good, practical wisdom is primarily directed to it. Finally the preceptive role of practical wisdom is an essential element of it, understood in its very meaning. Wherever there is precept there is the exercise of practical reason; where it is just, that reasoning is wise.

On this basis, my position is that the thrust of Thomas's question 50 is in support of the following propositions: (1) that there is a species of practical wisdom for each of the cardinal virtues at the public level; (2) and that, since the cardinal virtues demand the postulation of a psychological basis in terms of rational, volitional, concupiscible and irascible parts, the city can be understood as capable of analysis in such a fashion and contains these four distinguishable "parts", as does the individual human being holding membership in it.

Thus, practical wisdom is the political virtue *par excellence*, and, as imperative action is its chief aspect at the individual level, so kingly command, the more universal imperative of the ruler, is its chief manifestation at the political level. Justice too has a prudential aspect, not only in the clear relation between equity and the prudential subvirtue of *gnome*,[37] but at the highest level of political activity, "legal" justice. Justice in the city demands for its direction, and on the part of *all* the citizens, "political" wisdom, the manifestation of practical wisdom in the political affairs of the citizens.

A city preserves, protects itself and grows too, and we should not be surprised to find a species of practical wisdom related to these activities, and again at the public level. Moreover, although Thomas does not mention it, a clear inference from his intention is the necessary connection between temperance and political wisdom, just as he clearly states a connection between courage and political wisdom. There is perhaps no greater form of domestic destructiveness than intemperance, and there is surely a relationship between domestic wisdom and temperance, as well as the more explicit connection between political wisdom in general and the concupiscible part.

The elevation of military wisdom to the eminence it enjoys in this discussion is not therefore some recollection of a peculiar medieval institution,[38] but the recognition that the virtue of courage has first and foremost a social significance, and that, at this social level, it is con-

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[37] *Gnome*, the virtue of judgment, determines the equitable, and serves as a link between practical wisdom and justice. See Aristotle, *Nic. Eth.* 5. 10 and 6. 11.

[38] See note 2 above.

nected with practical wisdom, just as much as it is at the private level. The city must protect itself, and this protection must be wisely deliberated, formulated and executed. This says much for the necessary surveillance of the military by the rulers of the city, as it does for the type of moral education required of military leaders. These men, it appears must be wise precisely *in* their bravery, for the city's general moral needs to be served. But we must beware of too specifically spelling this out here. Thomas's point is only to show that *any* form of polity must reflect the interconnected virtues classically described as cardinal.

There are consequently four, and only four species of political wisdom. Thomas's treatment of this issue is clearly not a simple embellishment or qualification of Aristotle's position. Aristotle reasons *a posteriori* here, and his division depends upon the validity of the Athenian constitution. Thomas reasons *a priori*, from a consideration of the public application of the theory of moral and intellectual virtue, abstracting from the particular context of any constitution. Independent as it is, therefore, of any constitution, it is not to be justified historically, but rather upon the general validity of his theory of the virtues. All that it says about the structure of the city is that it must reflect the moral psychology of the individual man. The individual is a micropolis (as well as a microcosm!), or perhaps, if the barbarism will be excused, the city is a meganthropos, and the virtues perfecting the one are not essentially different from the virtues perfecting the other.[39]

As such, it seems to me that Thomas's little tract on political wisdom is very powerful and persuasive indeed. All the richness of the virtue of practical wisdom can be understood at the micro — as well as at the macro — level. The central importance of experience, the need for education, the nagging uncertainty of our moral lives, as well as the ever present necessity to act, all these are features of the political experience as well as of the individual's experience. And, most importantly, as wisdom is the dominant and all-important individual virtue, so is it in its guise as *prudentia politica*. One cannot say with such facility that wisdom is a private, justice a public virtue. These are interconnected and wisdom without justice is empty, justice without wisdom blind, to extrapolate Kant's famous aphorism.

Perhaps in this context can the full force of the doctrine of the priority of the common good be felt. Usually interpreted in terms of the conflict between the individual and society, perhaps the real issue is a supposed conflict between wisdom and justice. But, if wisdom cannot be understood simply as the virtue of the individual practical intellect,

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[39] The obvious Platonism of this remark is intended (see *The Republic*, Book IV, especially 427c-444). The flavor of Question 50 is utopian and the reasoning is clearly *a priori*.

and if justice is (quite literally) incoherent without reference to wisdom, then perhaps the chief lesson to be learned here is to view the issue of the common versus the private good as a failure to appreciate the full force of the doctrine of virtue. A man *cannot* perfect himself in isolation, and his wisdom and strength must be reflected in the general virtue of the society at large. Nor can we point to evil men as "exceptions" in a society generally just. No society is perfected on majoritarian grounds, however useful majorities may be for getting things done. The moral failures and shortcomings of the citizenry imply moral failures and shortcomings in the entire social fabric, and as a man is weak and foolish, so is his community. The common good then is the common wisdom, without which all virtue is only apparent.

To summarize: The fiftieth question of Thomas's treatise on the special virtues is important, historically and systematically. It represents a solider and more abstract analysis of political wisdom than that offered by Aristotle, one more reminiscent of Plato's style of analysis, more utopian and less dependent upon local and temporal conditions. This analysis consists in a careful application of the virtue of practical wisdom, particularly its preceptive, relational and communal aspects, to the social order, in terms of society's effort to develop in terms of each of the cardinal virtues. Every social organism therefore bears analogies to the moral-psychological structure of the individual man, whatever the particular social constitution may be, and those virtues perfecting man perfect the social context in which he naturally finds himself. Finally the primacy of the *bonum commune* is reinforced, since the virtue of practical wisdom, far from perfecting only the individual, perfects the city at large, and justice, far from being only the virtue of the city, is, by its necessary connection with practical wisdom, the perfection of each of its citizens as well. To give the primacy to practical wisdom over justice *is* to say that the public weal has priority over private interest.

University of South Carolina.

PROOF OF AGE OF FEUDAL HEIRS IN MEDIEVAL ENGLAND

Sue Sheridan Walker

S INCE a minor's succession to a feudal estate in medieval England meant wardship and the family's loss of the profits of the estate, the heir's right to be considered an adult was a matter of the utmost legal, social and economic significance.[1] Fortunately the enormous bulk of English legal records which has survived provides a fairly exact picture of how feudal heirs established their majority.[2] The proof of age procedure in medieval England shows the extensive use of the jury in questions involving age and the inheritance of land and provides detailed evidence of the functioning of the jury in that period.

[2] A large body of legal and administrative records among the Public Record Office MSS have been examined for this study. The Curia Regis Rolls (KB 26) have been searched completely from KB 26/111 (16 and 17 Henry III, when the printed calendars end) to the end of the reign of Henry III — KB 26/232 — some 121 rolls. One hundred and eighty nine rolls of the Court of King's Bench (KB 27) have been searched completely for the reign of Edward I (KB 27/1 to KB 27/189); for the reign of Edward II the rolls of this class (KB 27/190-266) have been sampled so that 49 of the 76 extant have been examined. For the reign of Edward III only 60 of the 199 rolls (KB 27/267-466) have been searched but as they average 400 membranes a roll they yield a great many cases. Eighty rolls of the Court of Common Pleas (CP 40) have been examined for the reigns of Edward I, II and III. Because of the ruinous condition of the rolls these are approximately 70 per cent. of those "presentable", and a few that are not. Of the rolls for the Exchequer of Pleas (E 13) those from 1-30, covering the reigns of Henry III and Edward I, have been searched completely, and 35 on the 65 rolls for Edward II and Edward III have been examined. Some 250 of approximately 700 rolls of the Justices Itinerant (JI 1) have been studied; these are among the longest of the rolls and cover intervals within every reign from Henry III to Edward III and report from various sections of the country. They were selected to correspond to the years used in the other courts from whence cases might be brought to resolution by the Justices Itinerant. In terms of content approximately two thirds of the available material has been examined. Administrative records such as the Escheators' Accounts (E 136) and the Escheators' Files (E 153) for the reigns of Henry III to Edward III have been searched completely and more than half of the Memoranda Rolls (E 159 and E 368) have been examined. Other MSS in the P.R.O. which concern feudal wardship have been used but they do not bear on the subject of this paper.

Medieval English society had to devise means to prove the age of heirs to property based on living memory: there was no official system of recording births until the sixteenth century.[3] By the thirteenth century there were varying ages of majority for different classes of society. The knight came of age at 21, females of that class at 14 if married, at 16 if single; the socman's heir came to age at 15, and the burgess's son when he was of an age to count pence, measure cloth and conduct his father's business.[4] An heir had the obligation to prove his age when he came to his majority before he could obtain his property. It was customary for the heirs of Londoners to prove their age in the Hustings Court and other towns had similar arrangements.[5] This paper is concerned primarily with the feudal tenants in chief of the crown, but the practices which will be described are more extensive.[6]

Glanvill, at the end of the twelfth century, prescribed a jury of neigh-

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[3] Only a few parish registers antedate the year 1538, when Thomas Cromwell ordered them to be kept, J. Charles Cox, *The Parish Registers of England* (London, 1910), p. ix. There was some official registration of births in Roman times but it was not considered adequate for the establishing of age and proof was obtained through examination of the body, M. Pardessus, "Mémoire sur les différents rapports sous lesquels l'âge était considéré dans la législation romaine", *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 13, (Paris, 1838), 266-344; see especially pp. 268-269, citing *Institutes* of Justinian, Book I, Title XXII, and pp. 286-287 for the final termination of tutelage at 25 years of age. Feudal Europe set varying ages for the termination of wardship and inheritance of the fief but there seem to be no records to show how age was proven. See, for example, A. Esmein, *Cours élémentaire d'histoire du droit français*, 3rd ed. (Paris, 1898), pp. 185-287, where the author discusses heritability, the age of majority, wardship and its termination but he does not state how the age of majority was determined.

[4] Bracton, *De legibus et consuetudinibus Angliae*, ed. Samuel E. Thorne, 2 (London: Selden Society, 1968), 249-251, fol. 86, 86d. See further W. S. Holdsworth, *A History of English Law*, 3 (London, 1956), pp. 510-512. Henceforth cited as Holdsworth. English villagers probably had to prove their age when they came into the manorial court to pay their *gersum* or relief for their lands; see G. C. Homans, *English Villagers of the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1941), p. 109, p. 191 n. 21, the author does not, however, give any information as to how age was actually proven.

[5] See for example *Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls AD 1323-1364*, ed. A. H. Thomas (Cambridge, 1926), pp. 22-39, where the mayor and aldermen "examined the body and stature of Ralph". See *Calendar of the Fine Rolls 1273-1472* 20 vols. (London, 1911-1949), I, 506 for a Scottish burger's son proving his age by inquisition made by the mayor and bailiffs of Berwick upon Tweed. Henceforth cited as CFR. See also *Year Books of the Reign of King Edward I*, ed. Alfred J. Horwood, Rolls Series, Vol. XXXI (London, 1863-1879), Part IV, introduction p. xliv, concerning the customs of Ipswich.

[6] *Calendar of Close Rolls Edward III* 14 vols., 2 (London, 1896-1913), p. 213, for the custom in the earldom of Chester. In the jurisdiction of the Black Prince, which mirroded the royal procedure, there was an order to the keepers of the Black Prince's Fees in Devon and Cornwall to "proceed to take an inquisition of proof of age in the usual manner", *Register of Edward the Black Prince preserved in the Public Record Office*, 4 vols., 2 (London, 1930-1933), 19, fol. 12. The applicability of the practice to other wards to recover lands can be seen in statutes regarding lands — the Provisions of Henry III (AD 1259) and the Statute of Marlborough, Chapter XVI, *The Statutes of the Realm from Original Records and Authentic Manuscripts*, 11 vols., folio in-12, 1 (London, 1810-1828), 10 and 23. Henceforth cited *Statutes*.

bors to determine the age of heirs to property.[7] The jury in the thir-
teenth and fourteenth centuries — the period covered in this paper —
was a body of men sworn to give evidence upon some matter submitted
to them. English juries were of two types: the criminal jury and the civil
jury. The criminal jury was further sub-divided into juries of accusation
(presentment) or of proof (judgment).[8] The civil jury, as Maitland
wrote, could be one of assise (assisa), called in virtue of the original writ,
or of jurata, summoned by a "judicial" writ issuing out of the court
before which the action was proceeding.[9] Proof of age juries could
belong to either type of civil jury, depending on the circumstances.

There were three occasions when a feudal heir might expect that a
jury of neighbors would have to prove his age. In the first place, the
jury would make such a declaration as part of the inquisition post mor-
tem, sitting to determine which lands were held by the heir's late an-
cestor, of what lord they were held, and the name and age of the next
heir.[10] Secondly, litigation often made it necessary to determine if a
defendant were eligible for exemption from answering a suit because of
his minority (in medieval legal terminology — "having one's age")[11] or
because the point at issue turned upon the age of the heir. This proof
could be made by a jury or by the inspection of the judges. Finally at
the termination of wardship when the heir sought to recover his lands
from the guardian, a jury of neighbors were to prove the heir's age.
"Proofs of age" have been treated as the judicial query as to the
litigant's age and the inquest preceding livery of seisin,[12] but such proof
was also a part of the inquest post mortem.

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[7] *Tractatus de legibus et consuetudinibus regni Anglie qui Glanvilla vocatur*, ed. G. D. G. Hall (London, 1965), VII, 9 pp. 82-83.

[8] F. Joüon des Longrais, "La Preuve en Angleterre depuis 1066", *La Preuve*, 2nd part. *Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin*, 17 (Bruxelles, 1965), 210-211.

[9] F. W. Maitland, *The Forms of Action at Common Law* (1909 rpt. Cambridge, 1963), p. 35.

[10] For a description of the inquests post mortem see *Guide to the Contents of the Public Record Office*, 1 (London, 1963), 27-28.

[11] "Having one's age" is described in "Exceptiones ad Cassandum Brevis", George E. Wood-bine, *Four Thirteenth Century Law Tracts* (Oxford, 1910), pp. 163-164, 172-175. On the capacity of in-fants, see Holdsworth III, 513-520. In discussing the delays inherent in the complicated rules of process in a real action, Holdsworth states: "Infants might intervene and claim their age; and this would mean that the proceedings would be stayed until the infant had attained his majority", pp. 624-625. See also *The History of the English Law before the time of Edward I* by Sir Frederick Pollock and F. W. Maitland, reissued with a new introduction by S. F. C. Milsom, 2 (Cambridge, 1968), pp. 639-640. Statutes concerning when nonage of heirs should delay suits are primarily Gloucester, c, 2, *Statutes* I, 49 and Westminster II, c. 40, *ibid.*, p. 91. For cases in the plea rolls put off *sine die* due to minority or put off until majority, see note 27 below. See also D. M. Stenton, *The Earliest Assize Rolls AD 1202-1209*, Lincoln Record Society, vol. 22 (1926), p. 77, § 446, and introduction to *The memoranda roll ... 1199-1200*, Pipe Roll Society, 59 (1943), p. lxxxix, where the justiciar orders a minor to plead in spite of this.

[12] Pollock and Maitland II, 639-640; *Guide to the Public Record Office* I, 28. Before they came to

In the later part of the reign of Henry III the writ *diem clausit extremum* regularized post-mortem inquests and included a question as to the age of the heir to determine if a wardship resulted.[13] Confusion over age could lead to land being taken erroneously into wardship. Sometimes a jury would come to a resolution wonderfully vague and safe — such as that the heir was between 50 and 70 — a decision which would free the inheritor from the intrusion of the claims of wardship.[14] By 1259 there was in use a special writ — *de etate probanda* — to summon a jury to prove the heir had attained his majority and lead to the livery of seisin of the lands.[15] It became the custom by the reign of Edward I not only to record the verdict of the jury but to explain why it knew the heir to be of age. The records then begin to give the names of the jurors, their ages and their evidence.

No special writ regulated the request for an inquest of neighbors to prove the age of a litigant in a court case: the court simply issued to the escheator an order to prove the age in the county of birth.[16] The court often conjointly requested the inquest to determine the facts as to tenure and lordship as well as age. The result of the inquisition should have been recorded in the roll of the court which had made the request at the next stage in the proceeding;[17] sometimes the answer does appear

their majority and had to prove their age by inquest, some wards received their land so that they might serve the king militarily. Examples are Hugh de Courtney, son of Isabella, late countess of Albemarle, Great Britain, Public Record Office MSS Exchequer Memoranda Rolls E 159/71 (AD 1297-98) m 46 (Devon), henceforth cited as E 159/; Gilbert Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hereford, *Calendar of the Close Rolls Edward I* (London, 1900-1908), IV, 272, henceforth cited CCR Edw I, and his son in the next reign, *Calendar of Close Rolls Edward II* (London, 1892-1898), 10. Another reason to yield the land early was the shortness of the wardship as indicated by the Inquest Post Mortem. All the recipients had to put up security that the rent would be paid or find mainpernors, CFR IV, 5. Some examples of such grants: CCR Edw I, IV, 544-545 (in favor of Robert de Ufford), CFR I, 143 (in favor of John de Cogan), CFR III, 356 (in favor of John Lestraunge), CFR III, 367 (in favor of James le Botiller, who at first had difficulty in finding adequate security for the rent), CFR IV, 243 (in favor of John Lovel).

[13] See Hubert Hall, *A Formula Book of English Official Historical Documents*, 2 (Cambridge, 1908-1909), § 37, pp. 71-72, and introduction to *Excerpta e rotulis finium in turri Londinensi asservatis, Henrico tertio rege, AD 1216-1272*, I (London, 1835-1836), vi-vii.

[14] *Calendar of inquisitions post mortem and other analogous documents* 14 vols., 1 (London 1904-1954) § 199 the jury stated simply that "Ralph is his heir and is legitimate and of mature age".

[15] Hall, *Formula Book*, II, § 39, pp. 73-74. The form of the writ *de etate probanda* is laid down in the roll for 7 Edward I, CCR Edw I, I, 548-549. See also L. Hector, *The Handwriting of English Documents* (London, 1958), p. 13 n. 4. Various forms of the writ can be seen in *Registrum Omnium Brevium* (London, 1595), ff. 294-296d.

[16] An early form of this writ, given in Glanvill, Book 13, cap. 16, was issued when the tenant pleaded his age and the plaintiff contested it. The sheriff was instructed to summon eight free and lawful men to state on their oath whether or not the tenant was of age to plead. Hall, *Tractatus* pp. 159-160. See also *ibid.*, cap. 14, pp. 157-158.

[17] For example, verdicts as to age, Great Britain Public Record Office MSS KB 27/79 (AD 1283) m 22d and m 24d, henceforth cited as KB 27/; KB 27/80 (AD 1283) m 4.

later, sometimes it was added to the original report (space having been provided) and sometimes, unhappily, the results were not recorded.[18]

But more medieval cases were concluded than is generally recognized. The ending can often be found on the rolls of the Justices Itinerant and not on the rolls of the King's Bench or Common Pleas courts where the cases were begun. Often cases were settled at the local level on the basis of an inquisition, such as the inquisition as to age. Cases concerning disseisin are a pleasure to study because, thanks to their more expeditious procedure, they end quickly and the conclusion is less likely to be missed than in those cases which come to an end perhaps two reigns later than that in which they were initiated.

Many of the disseisin cases in the plea rolls came to involve a proof of age of the heir who was litigating. The question of age was raised because a common defense in disseisin cases was that the accused had taken the land in virtue of guardianship over the plaintiff as a minor heir to feudal property. In a number of cases in the plea rolls the jury found this claim true and found the plaintiff in mercy for false claim.[19] This happened so often one wonders whether the plaintiffs were uncertain about their own age or if they had received bad legal counsel.

In about half of the more than a hundred disseisin cases in the plea rolls which involved a minor, examined in the course of this research, the jury supported the allegations of the plaintiff and the defense of wardship on the part of the dissessor was quashed by reference to age and sometimes as well to tenure. The plaintiff recovered seisin and the defendant, the alleged guardian, was fined for the disseisin and charged damages for losses which the heir had incurred because of the detention of his land.[20]

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[18] For example, Great Britain Public Record Office MSS JI 1/55 (AD 1240-41) m 5d, henceforth cited as JI 1/; JI 1/699 (AD 1246-47) m 8 and m 15; Great Britain Public Record Office MSS KB 26/147B (AD 1251-52) m 19d, henceforth cited KB 26/; JI 1/1054 (AD 1275-76)) m 11; JI 1/367 (AD 1278-79) m 2; JI 1/1005 Part I (AD 1280-81) m 86d; JI 1/63 (AD 1285-86) m 8 and m 22d, and JI 1/924 (AD 1287-88) m 9d.

[19] For example JI 1/1188 (AD 1258-59) m 18d; KB 27/1 (AD 1272-73) m 24; JI 1/9 (AD 1275-76) m 9r and m 1d; JI 1/916 (AD 1278-79) m 1; KB 27/98 (AD 1286) m 14; KB 27/127 (AD 1291) m 61d; JI 1/464 (AD 1292-95) m 22d; KB 27/149 (AD 1296) m 44; JI 1/1/380 (AD 1307-16) m 31r and m 8d; JI 1/1/836 (AD 1309-16) m 11 and m 29; JI 1/308 (AD 1310-15) m 2.

[20] For example JI 1/1188 (AD 1258-59) m 14d; KB 27/15 (AD 1275) m 17; JI 1/189 (AD 1285-86) m 13 and m 22; JI 1/1/932 (AD 1287-88) m 23; KB 27/123 (AD 1290) m 60; KB 27/125 (AD 1289-90) m 77d (this case contains an interesting variation in conventional terminology, the word "tutorem" is used instead of "custodiam"); KB 27/129 (AD 1290) m 37; KB 27/169 (AD 1302) m 37, and JI 1/1400 (AD 1328-31) 54d (Linc) and 234d (Warr). There are, of course, many disseisin cases concerning minors in which the conclusion has not been found, for example: KB 27/41 (AD 1278-79) m 50d, which ends with an order for the jury to determine the age of the defendant; KB 27/127 (AD 1291) m 58 (case is supposed to end on the dorse, but it does not); KB 27/27 (AD 1276-77) m 17d; KB 27/174 (AD 1303) m 69 (a long space was left blank on the dorse for a verdict of the jury but it was not entered); JI 1/951 A (AD 1231-32) m 15; JI 1/1219 B (AD 1272-73) m 9, and JI 1/63 (AD 1285-86) m 24.

Without attempting to survey the complex body of law concerning nonage, some other types of litigation in which age must be proven should be mentioned. Cases in which an heir attempted to cancel a demise made during minority involved proof of age — if the heir were of age when the grant was made, the grant stood.[21] Certain cases of waste involving an attempt by an heir of age to recover damages from the guardian's depredations against the estate could involve age if the guardian claimed the depredations were caused by the heir or by a third party after the custody ended; the fixing of the time of actionable happening, therefore, involved proof of age.[22] When a former ward sued a writ of trespass against his guardian for harvesting crops after the infant came of age, the jury agreed that the heir was of age at the time of the asportation and consequently the guardian was in mercy.[23] Age was also an important factor in cases of legitimacy, in ecclesiastical suits relating to annulment of marriages contracted before the age of consent[24] and in cases relating to dower.[25]

In seeking to establish the age of an heir the court had several procedures at its disposition: the examination of the heir, consultation of records and a jury of neigbors; heirs born abroad could pay a fine in lieu of proof.[26] In many instances the establishment of age was necessitated by the minor's wish to obtain exemption from the obligation of pleading until he came of age. The plea rolls contain a great many references to minors having successfully claimed their age.[27]

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[21] KB 26/205 (AD 1272) m 21; JI 1/922 (AD 1278-79) m 6; JI 1/1005 Part I (AD 1280-81) m 82d and KB 27/142 (AD 1293-94) m 56. There is a case concerning a minor who claimed deforcement in JI 1/1085 (AD 1292-93) m 25d, but when the defendant was proved to have been the rightful guardian, the plaintiff was in mercy for false claim.

[22] For example, JI 1/932 (AD 1287-88) m 22 recto and JI 1/1055 (AD 1278-79) m 18 recto. In *Calendar of the Patent Rolls ... Edward I*, 2 (1893-1901), p. 195, the king pardons Richard de Harleye and his wife for the action the king could have against them for the waste of their wood as it appears that the waste was committed during their nonage when the land was in the hands of Robert le Strange by Henry III's grant. Henceforth cited CPR. Custodians of the lands in the king's ward were sometimes asked for the "ferm" after the majority of the heir and the termination of their custody. Their reply was to make reference to the heir's proof of age, homage and livery of lands, as in E 159/17 (AD 1297-98) m 15 and E 159/78 (AD 1304-05) m 11d.

[23] *Year Books 6 Edward II (1313)* Selden Society, Vol. 43 (1926), pp. 149-154 § 34 and introduction pp. xlvi-xlvii.

[24] See my essay on "The Marrying of Feudal Wards in Medieval England," in *Studies in Medieval Culture*, IV, forthcoming.

[25] *Year Books 7 Edward II*, Selden Society, Vol. 39 (1922) pp. 26-31 § 2; *Year Books 12 Edward II* Selden Society, Vol. 81 (1964) pp. 21-22.

[26] CFR I, 463; for a case which stated specifically that since the heir was born at Boulogne inquisition should not be made for proving the age of one born abroad, see *Select Cases in the Court of King's Bench under Edward I*, I, Selden Society, vol. 55 (1936), p. 139, § 94 (AD 1285).

[27] For cases of minors who won such exemption: Great Britain Public Record Office MSS Exchequer E 13/3 (AD1272-73) m 9d, henceforth cited E 13/ ; E 13/6 (AD 1277-78) m 7 (Linc); Great

Their exemption might have been based on the judge having realized
when the person came before the court that he appeared to have been
a minor, as in case in 1281 when Agnes was allowed to have her age as
"it seemed to the judges that the aforesaid Agnes is of the age of only
eight years."[28] Decisions like this were routine in obvious cases, such as
where one side claimed the heir was of age when to the justices he ap-
peared to have been no more than seven.[29] Many cases say "et videtur
justiciariis quod adhuc est infra etatem,"[30] but in some instances the
justices were uncertain as to the age of the minor, as in 1225 when they
put the case off until another day to see whether or not the heir would
have his age.[31]

When justices could not decide after inspection that the party was a
minor,[32] they sometimes required certification as to the party's age.[33]
Just what form this certification took was not explained, but perhaps
reference was made to other records. There was an instance in the
Hustings Court in London when the written proof of a will was in-
troduced to prove age.[34] Doubt about age often led the judges to have
the age proved, as in a 1200 case, by "preceptum est vicecomiti quod
faciat venire xij liberos ac legales homines ... ad recognoscendum si ipse
fuit etatis vel non scilicet de xxj annis".[35] There was a case in 1219 in
which the question of age was submitted to a jury when the defendant
claimed to be a minor and the plaintiff asserted he was 22.[36]

Britain Public Record Office MSS Common Pleas CP 40/4 (AD 1273) m 21 (Suht), henceforth cited
CP 40/; CP 40/6 (AD 1273-74) m 54d (Berk, Hunt); JI 1/55 (AD 1240-41) m 6 and m 11; JI 1/1045
(AD 1245-46) m 14; JI 1/10 (AD 1275-76) m 22d; JI 1/63 (AD 1285-86) m 13; JI 1/826 (AD 1285-86) m
19 and m 41; JI 1/382 (AD 1312-13) m 42; JI 1/682 (AD 1329-30) m 75d; KB 26/135 (AD 1249) m
19d; KB 27/101 (AD 1285-86) m 32, and 29 Chester Roll 10 (AD 1297-98) m 15 dorse. See also *Le
Liver des Assises ... Edward III* (London, 1580), fol. cxiii d — cxv r and *Hillarii Anno xliij Edward III*
(London, 1600), fol. 5 § 11.

[28] *Select cases ... King's Bench Edw I*, I, 85-86: "Et est infra etatem. Et petit quod etas sua sibi
allocetur et visum est iusticiariis quod predicta Iagnes non est nisi de etate octo annorum". See also
JI 1/1357 m 26 (AD 1313-14).

[29] *Curia Regis Rolls* (London, 1922 — to present), VII, 245; *ibid*. XI, § 1297; *Year Books Edward I*, RS
31A Part 5, pp. 366-367; *ibid*., Part 3, pp. 246-249; *Year Books 3 Edward II*, Selden Society, 20 (1905),
pp. 186-187.

[30] *Curia Regis Rolls*, XII, 351 § 1716; *ibid*., VIII, 337: "et sciendum quod Bartholomeus videtur esse
infra etatem, ..."

[31] *Ibid*., XII, 112 § 552: "ut tunc videatur si habeat etatem vel non". *Ibid*., VII, 226: "Et quia
justiciarii dubitant de etate sua, datus eis a die Pasche ... et interim se certificent".

[32] *Ibid*., XI, 260; *ibid*., XII § 552; IPM, III, § 427, V, § 420. See Bracton, *De Legibus*, ed. G. E.
Woodbine (New Haven, 1915-1942), IV, f. 424b-425. The inspection of the body in England was not
as searching as that among the Arabs. For the Arabic legal criterion to determine majority (i.e.
postpubescent), see *Das Kitab al-hual fil-fiqh (Buch der Rechskniffe) des Abü Hätim Mahmüd ibn Al-Hasan
al-Qazuïni*, ed. and transl. Joseph Schact, (Hannover, 1924), p. 27 (IV, 62).

[33] *Curia Regis Rolls*, IX, 125 (Essex), and XI, 431 § 2152; *ibid*., VIII, 226.

[34] *Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls ... 1364-1381* (Cambridge, 1929), p. 114 (10 December,
1369).

[35] *Curia Regis Rolls*, I, 362 (Kent).

Throughout the period under consideration the judges used their eyes to determine age when, seemingly, it should have been apparent. But in a case of entry in gavelkind in the reign of Edward II, Bereford expressed some stringent doubts as to the efficacy of such determination: "you will get no decision from us, for if he were here we could not tell whether he was fifteen years old, or more or less".[37] The most frequent recourse to determine age was to a jury of neighbors.

The writs *de etate probanda*, the reports of the full inquest with the evidence of jurors and any subsequent writs or determinations as to the validity of proofs given, were entered on the plea rolls of the King's Bench[38] and were also returned into the Chancery. The Chancery versions have been calendared in the series known as the *Inquisitions Post Mortem and other analogous documents*. What in the middle ages was administrative duplication now happily provides the historian, given the state of preservation of the rolls, with complementary records. Proof of age in the plea rolls sometimes duplicate inquests which have been calendared, but often they provide proofs of age not found in the Chancery series.[39] The accounts in the manuscripts of both classes are, of course, more extensive than the abbreviated versions in the modern calendars; the manuscripts, for example, give the age of the juror and how far he lives from the place of birth of the heir so that the competency of the juror can be better determined.[40] Through the use of the original sources information can be obtained about the inquest's procedure that is not to be found in the calendars.

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[36] *Ibid.*, VIII, 10-11 (Sussex); a similar case, *ibid.*, IX, 9.

[37] *Year Books of 5 Edward II*, Selden Society, Vol. 33 (1916), pp. 130-132 § 3. *Year Books of Edward III*, Rolls Series (1883-1911) 31B, Part 15, pp. 282-285, for a discussion of whether or not an inquest can be used to prove age or must be decided by inspection of the persons in court.

[38] For examples of writs to order proofs of age entered on the plea rolls: KB 27/118 (AD 1289) m 11; KB 27/140 (AD 1294) m 1 (for Henry de Percy); KB 27/145 (AD 1295) m 1d (for John Dyne) and m 19 (for John Munceus); KB 27/147 (AD 1296) m 7 and m 16d (for Matilda de Cadurcis); KB 27/149 (AD 1295-96) m 30 (for Roesia and Elizabeth Shotesbroke); LB 27/212 (AD 1313) m 70d; KB 27/213 (AD 1313) m 15 and KB 27/214 (AD 1313) m 111d (these last three for Elizabeth Deen); KB 27/234 (AD 1282-83) m 76.

[39] For example KB 27/114 (AD 1287-88) m 47 (proof of age of Galf. de Lucy); KB 27/136 (AD 1293) m 5 (Henr. de Lelyun); KB 27/140 (AD 1294) m 4 (Joanna daughter of Jordan le Forester); KB 27/145 (AD 1295) m 25 (Henry de Erdyngton); KB 27/151 (AD 1297) m 3 (John Meryet) and m 36d (Robert de Touny); KB 27/154 (AD 1298) m 43 (Hugh Prenill); KB 27/162 (AD 1300) m 44 (Thomas Grele) and m 8 (Adam de Everingham); KB 27/170 (AD 1302-03) m 35 (Jacob de Bohun); KB 27/178 (AD 1304) m 118 (Anketmnis Saluayn); KB 27/185 (AD 1306) m 48 (Herbert de Sancto Quintine); KB 27/215 (AD 1314) m 26r/d (Elizabeth Deen, heiress of Edmunt de Gatton). The printed calendars IPM mention most of these heirs in some context but do not give the proof of age.

[40] All the proofs cited above in note 39 show the domicile of the juror and its distance from the place of birth, except KB 27/145 (AD 1295) m 25; KB 27/151 (AD 1297) m 36d and m 3 (the same roll but a different hand).

The proof of age jury which the writ *de etate probanda* summoned consisted normally of neighbors from the county of the heir's birth. Only men were permitted to testify; they were chosen because they knew the age of the heir in question. The important testimony of persons such as mid-wives was admitted only second hand; a juror would testify that he knew of the birth of the heir because the mid-wife had told him.[41] The jurors were not drawn exclusively from the knightly class but included tenants of the manor, servants and townsmen who might possess the required information. Relatives of the heir were not excluded from the jury. The guardian of the infant, although not a juror, was supposed to be present either in person or represented by an attorney; the guardian's assent to the correctness of the inquest was often the final proof that the heir had attained his majority, Maitland observes that the juror remembered by a series of coincidences that linked the heir's birth to something the juror clearly recalled.[42] But some of these recollections were not accidental, they were stimulated by the parents of the child or by others for the purpose of facilitating memory to ensure a later successful proof of age. The writing down of the date of the birth in a parish service book or chronicle or the giving of gifts to those who witnessed the birth fall into this category.

The whole of the complicated arrangements for the custody of the land of the heir of a major magnate can be seen in the manuscript version of the proof of age of Edward Burnell in Michaelmas of the first year of the reign of Edward II.[43] Burnell and many of his jurors stood in an especially close relationship to the crown, but the types of proof involved were typical. The wardship of the body and lands of the heir of Philip Burnell belonged to the crown, but by royal demise much of the land was entrusted to Walter de Bello Campo and Alice de Bello Campo, Roger de la Mare, John and Bartholomew Badelsmere, Roger Mortuo Mari, John Wogan and the executors of the testament of Isabella, who was the wife of John de Vescy and Robert De Espannia. The Burnell heir had many ecclesiastics and knights to attest to his age. First among clerical witnesses was the Prior of Hertford, who recalled that at the time of Edward's birth the king and Roger, the Abbot of St. Albans, were in Langley for the feast of the nativity of Mary and saw Matilda, the mother of the heir, with the child. At the time of the heir's baptism, the king and the Duke of Brabant were in the county. Eleanor, the sister of the king, lifted the child from the font and he was given the same name as the king. The prior concluded his testimony as to the age

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[41] For example KB 27/150 (AD 1297) m 29d.
[42] Pollock and Maitland, II, 640.
[43] KB 27/190 (AD 1307) m 13r/d, not calendared.

of this well-placed baronial heir with the statement that three years later he was made Abbot of Hertford and since then 18 years had elapsed. The rector of Assherigg and the Prior of Welemondesley both corroborated this testimony; the latter connected the birth to his stay in London with Robert Burnell, the chancellor, and hearing someone say that he had a child the same age as Philip Burnell's boy Edward, who was born on a certain day. The knightly witnesses gave more conventional recollections with less name-dropping; they recalled such things as marriages or the wardship of a relative, now of age, who was the same age as Edward Burnell, and similar coincidences, all to the effect that the heir was indeed 21.[44] More cryptic in his report was the scribe who recorded the proof of age of William de Brianzon, a ward by the king's commission in the custody of the Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield. Instead of repeating the writ, he drew a wavy line down to the witnesses' statements and neglected to relate the class of most of the jurors. He did, however, record the final question as to the disposition of the heir's marriage, the resolution of which was necessary before livery of the heir's land.[45]

There are a number of instances when jurors gave as a reason why they knew the age of an heir their having seen the vicar of the church record the birth. In the 27th year of Edward III's reign, for example, a vicar was seen to write "the day and hour of the said Walter's birth in a psalter still remaining in the church."[46] Jurors' testimony frequently included dates in missals; one juror said that "in their presence" the vicar wrote in the calendar of a certain psalter of the church the day of the heir's birth and "by the said writing her age is manifest."[47] In another case the rector entered the date of the heir's baptism in the missal of the church.[48] Robert de Touny's birth was entered in the chronicle of the Prior of Westacre, according to jurors who saw the entry.[49]

Jurors sometimes would fix their memory by a document written at that time about something else. One juror signed a concord relating to the disposition of a marriage about the time of the baptism of the heir

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[44] *Ibid.*

[45] KB 27/181 (AD 1305) m 53, not calendared. Edward Burnell's proof of age ended with a statement that he was married to a Despenser in accordance with the King's wishes, KB 27/190 m 13r/d. *Year Books 12 Edward II* Selden Society, 81 (1964), pp. 119-122. Delay in making payments for relief could delay livery after age was proven, see the case of John de Hastings in the memoranda rolls E 159/56 (AD 1282-83) m 3d, and regarding the relief of Roger de Fraximo and Matilda his wife in E 159/78 (AD 1304-05) m 15 and m 38.

[46] IPM X, § 119.

[47] *Ibid.*, § 263.

[48] *Ibid.*, § 195; similar references to births enrolled in church books, *ibid.*, § 201, § 274; XI, § 383, § 384 and § 389.

[49] KB 27/151 (AD 1297) m 36d.

in question.[50] Alan de Heppescote testified that John, son and heir of Richard de Cramlyngton, a royal ward in the custody of Henry Fox by the king's commission, was of age and knew it because a certain John de Treuevyk made him a letter obligatory for 40 shillings "in the said chapel on the day on which John was born," and since making the obligation, as was evident by its date, 21 years and more had elapsed.[51] In another proof of age inquest, taken in the forty-fifth year of Edward III's reign, several of the jurors said that Agnes, the daughter of Eustace, son of Nicholas de Burneby, was of age because on the day of her birth the Abbot of St. James-without-Northampton sold them a grange at Watford for £ 20 down, and "for security he made them a writing obligatory sealed with the common seal of his house and dated from that day."[52] Written proof obviously was highly regarded and was used where it was at all possible. It is surprising that more new fathers did not make deeds with people on the day of baptism to facilitate proof.

But through the judicious presentation of gifts parents often did make a point of fixing the time of birth on the memories of potential jurors. Jurors would recall that a father or a godfather gave them a reward when they brought news of the child's birth.[53] Some of these gifts, by the recipients' own admissions, were with a view to a future proof of age. Two jurors said they each received "a bow and six barbed arrows, feathered with peacock's feathers that they might remember and bear witness to the birth of the said Edmund." Another juror visited Isabel, mother of Joan, while Isabel was in her child bed and "she gave him a silk purse that he might bear witness and remember the age of her daughter" Joan. Another juror remembered the date of the birth for on the same day "John Strech, knight, the father, gave him a cart-load of wood to witness and bear in mind the age of his son John." This same father gave another juror who hunted with him a "white

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[50] KB 27/154 (AD 1298) m 43. Many other concords are mentioned in the manuscripts as a way of fixing recollection.

[51] IPM VII, § 695. In this and in subsequent volumes there is a marked increase in the number of proofs by reference to something written. In vol. VII, for example, § 90 contains three witnesses who recollect because of something written. John le Moyne knew the age from the date of the "testament" of his father, who died when the heir was born; William Teclyne, steward to the heir's father, knows the date of birth from the date on the rolls of expenses he kept for the purification of the mother, and John Crublie knows the date by the date of a charter for a tenemenent in Mortone — he took seisin on the day of the heir's birth; *ibid.*, § 169 contains six references to written proof.

[52] *Ibid.*, XIII, § 141. For events connected with payment of a loan, KB 27/171 m 35d; the payment of a ferm KB 27/215 m 26 r/d.

[53] IPM IX, § 61: "a good sword" was given so that he might remember the birth of the heir; *ibid.*, VII, § 245 and 249: the juror received a robe from the father for annoucing the baptism.

greyhound to bear in mind his son's age," though the second juror made no mention of "bearing witness," perhaps feeling it was better unsaid.[54] The giving of most of these presents contained a strong element of prudence as well as a sharing of the parents' joy, for it is clear that it was a common and understandable practice to single out a few people and fix the event in their memory by associating it with a memorable gift from the family of the new-born child.[55]

Accordingly, baptismal ceremonies were planned to invest the baptism with more than a sacramental character. Baptisms were events which gave notoriety in the medieval sense to the date of the birth of the heir. Many proof of age jurors remembered having seen "the child lifted from the font,"[56] or having attended the party which followed. One witness remembered the age of the son and heir of Robert de Stallings because that juror alone of all the neighbors was not invited to the party and was angry.[57] A Richard Alisaundre, "aged 50 years and more," said that Agnes, the heir and wife of John de Estbury, was of age, being 15 years and more. He recollected this because he had been present at the time of birth and had been asked by the girl's father to be her godfather, "which he utterly refused ... as it was possible for him ... afterwards to marry the said Agnes."[58]

The more spontaneous oral recollections, however, mainly characterized the proof of age inquests. The oral accounts are lively and entertaining. Often some event in the jurors own lives recalled the age of the heir. They may have had a child of about that age;[59] they, or some member of their family, had married at about the time of the heir's

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[54] *Ibid.*, IX, § 601; *ibid.*, XI, § 379 and 390.

[55] *Ibid.*, IX, § 244: a knight received a black horse; *ibid.*, III, § 437: the juror, who was a butler, received some land from the grandfather for bringing the news of the birth, and *ibid.*, VII, § 538: an aunt gave the juror "a silk purse with a half a mark" for bringing the news of that heir's birth.

[56] For example, *ibid.*, VII, § 170, the juror saw the child lifted from the font by two persons he names, likewise, § 171; *ibid.*, § 174 and *ibid.*, IX, § 61; the juror attended the baptism, *ibid.*, VII, § 161, 174, 303, 309; the juror himself lifted the child from the "sacred font", *ibid.*, § 166 and 174; the juror's wife lifted the child from the font, *ibid.*, VI, § 62, 336, 432, 434, 483, *ibid.*, VII, § 171 and 309, the juror attended the feast of purification of the mother; *ibid.*, § 249 the juror was sent to Ypres to buy cloth to make robes for the purification feast.

[57] *Ibid.*, IV, § 328.

[58] *Ibid.*, XIII, § 141.

[59] In KB 27/140 (AD 1294) m 4 one juror had a child the age of the heir and the heir's parents came to the baptism; two other jurors had daughters born at that time. In KB 27/114 (AD 1287-88) m 47, apart from the usual children the same age, one juror had a ward the same age as the heir and the juror had already given him back his lands as to one of full age. In KB 27/136 (AD 1293) m 5 the juror's nephew was born at the same time as the heir, his sister-in-law and the heir's mother were pregnant at the same time; the nephew is 21 and therefore the heir in question must be of age. See also IPM II, § 652, VII, § 690, IX, § 61 and § 679.

birth;[60] a member of their family had died at that time.[61] Professions of religion were frequently mentioned.[62] Some jurors recalled the cries of the mother when the child was born;[63] many of the fathers were out hunting with the jurors on the day of the birth.[64] Occasionally jurors alluded to the previous determination of the heir's age, made at the time of the father's death. One knew the heir was of age "because the father of the said Geoffrey died about Whit Sunday four years ago, and an inquisition was then made which said that the said Geoffrey was 17." The heir was now twenty-one years of age.[65] Because saints' days were conventional means for dating for this period, many jurors stated that the heir was born on a day closely connected to the celebration of a certain saint's feast.[66]

The jurors would sometimes mention historical events. The age of Maud, daughter and heir of Nicholas de Haversham, was proved to be 17 by the fact that she was born on the feast of St. Lawrence before the first of St. Edmund, on which day Edward II had been crowned.[67] One

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[60] For example, KB 27/154 (AD 1298) m 43; KB 27/171 (AD 1303) m 35d; KB 27/215 (AD 1314) m 26r/d (this evidence is on the dorse) and on the latter roll on the recto the juror's daughter was married at that time; in KB 27/178 (AD 1303-04) m 118 the juror's sister was married; KB 27/150 (AD 1297) m 29d married his wife 21 years ago at the time of the birth (Calendared IPM III, § 429); KB 27/150 m 14 a third person married a widow whose previous husband was known to the juror.

[61] For example in KB 27/215 (AD 1314) m 26d the juror's father died, another in KB 27/145 (AD 1295) m 25; in KB 27/136 (AD 1293) m 5 one juror's mother died and another juror lost a relative who made him his heir; IPM VII, § 695 a juror's sister died on the day of the heir's birth and her death is entered in the calendar of the chapel; IPM XIII, § 289 similarly records the death of the juror's son.

[62] IPM XIII, § 141, the brother of two of the jurors "took the habit of religion in the priory of Chacombe"; IPM IX, § 122 another juror's son was made a canon in the priory of Gisburn in the same month as the heir's birth, *ibid.*, § 243; a juror's son became a friar, another juror's daughter became a nun, *ibid.*, VII, § 164.

[63] For example, *ibid.*, VI, § 754; *ibid.*, VII, § 245, 484; *ibid.*, IX, § 125; in *ibid.*, VI, § 335 one juror had to rush for a doctor to attend the mother.

[64] *Ibid.*, VII, § 86.

[65] *Ibid.*, II, § 697, (manuscript version KB 27/114 m 47). The inquest post mortem can be found in the same volume of IPM § 524.

[66] The heir in KB 27/136 (AD 1293) m 5 was born on the feast of St. Blaise, as nearly all the jurors mention. For two others born near the same feast day, KB 27/170 (AD 1302-03) m 35 and KB 27/185 (AD 1306) m 48. In KB 27/151 (AD 1297) m 19 Mary de Mohun was born on the eve of the Conception of the Blessed Mary (calendared entry IPM III, § 430), her sister Elizabeth wasn't born on a saint's day and the jurors are less convincing — KB 27/151 - 36 (calendared IPM III, § 431). John de Mares was born on Christmas day — KB 27/150 (AD 1297) m 29d (calendared IPM III, § 429). In KB 27/154 (AD 1298) m 43 and continued on the whole dorse in another hand, the heir was born near the feast of the Ascension but only a few jurors mention the Ascension; some talk about the feast of Pentecost, which was proximate. In KB 27/162 (AD 1300-01) m 44 the heir was born two days before the feast of St. Lawrence; for another born near the same feast, KB 27/181 (AD 1305) m 53.

[67] IPM II, § 738.

juror recalled the date of a birth because he was coming from the bat-
tle of Stryvelyn and spent the night with the child's father, when he saw
the infant in his cradle.[68] The birth or baptism of the heir in question
might coincide conveniently with an event designed to be memorable.
Six of the jurors at the proof of age inquest of one Richard, son and
heir of William Quintyn of Wycheford, in the king's ward, remembered
the infant Richard's baptism in the parish church on January 29, 25 Ed-
ward III, because they were all in the church on that day with the Earl
of Devon at a reconciliation with the Abbot of Malmesbury. This they
knew precisely by the date of an indenture between the earl and abbot,
which remained in the keeping of one of the jurors.[69]

Pilgrimages abroad helped date the heir's birth for some jurors,[70] but
while most pilgrims were bound for Santiago, the church in which the
heir was baptized was at times the object of a local pilgrimage. Eight
jurors, whose names and ages were given, said that Walter, son and heir
of Bevis Waryn, was born at Bexe and baptized in the church there on
the feast of the Assumption 23 Edward III. This they knew because the
church was dedicated in honor of the Assumption and they were there
on that day "in one company as pilgrims."[71]

Fires or accidents often served to fix the birth in the witnesses' minds.
A proof of age juror in the reign of Edward II remembered because on
the day of the baptism of the heir in question, he lent his house to a
chaplain to hold his first mass feast and on that same day, his kitchen
was burned.[72] Another juror in the following reign recalled that at
about the time of the heir's birth the whole grove of Westpechorn was
"set on fire by accident and the greater part burned that day and all the
neighbours came by common hue and cry to extinguish the flames."[73]
In the proof of age of John, son of Richard Tempest, one of the jurors,
now forty-one, recalled that he was in school at Clyderhow and "on the
morrow of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist next before the said
birth" he was so badly beaten that he left the school and from the day
of that beating, twenty-one years had elapsed."[74] There are frequent

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[68] *Ibid.*, VII, § 695.

[69] *Ibid.*, § 289. The juror was executor of a will at the time of the birth in KB 27/150 m 14.

[70] Pilgrims bound for or returning from Santiago at the time of the heir's birth, KB 27/181 m 53
and in IPM III, § 430, 487 and 618; *ibid.*, VI, § 338; *ibid.*, VII, § 85 and 394 and many other entries;
ibid., IX, § 245, 246, 247 and 390 (two jurors go on pilgrimage), 491, 670, 672 (two jurors) and
several more in this volume. Occasionally a juror will refer to his father's journey to the Holy Land,
ibid., III, § 484, or to going on a pilgrimage to St. Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, *ibid.*, § 618,
VI, § 240, another pilgrim in KB 27/178 (AD 1304-05) m 18.

[71] *Ibid.*, XIII, § 288; a chapel dedicated KB 27/178 m 118.

[72] IPM V, § 357.

[73] *Ibid.*, VII, § 394; more fires in KB 27/178 m 18 and KB 27/215 m 26 r/d.

[74] IPM IV, § 239.

recollections of death by violence and the consequent summons of the coroner. A juror in York connected the birth of the heir with the death twenty-one years ago of his brother, William, who "in going toward the schools at Oxford was killed by misadventure."[75]

Proof of age witnesses appear to have been accident prone, the victims of mishaps that harmed the body but sharpened the memory. The jury panels often recollected one or more accidents of the following sort. As proof of the age of Margery, wife of Thomas Bocland, Adam, aged forty-three, remembered the age of the heir

> because at the Purification next after the said birth as he rode to the market of Newcastle upon Tyne his horse stumbled upon a small stone on the road, and he fell and broke his right leg, 15 years ago.[76]

In another case

> Geoffrey de Witele of Stoke ... on the same Thursday on which the said John was born, he fell from his horse and broke his left arm, 21 years ago.[77]

In that same proof

> Henry de Het of Stoke ... says the like, and knows it because on the eve of St. Lawrence, 14 edw. II, he fell from his cart and broke his right leg.[78]

The prevalence of these accidents are among the reasons why some scholars have impugned the validity of these recollections.[79] Certain stock recollections, it can be assumed, were merely formal, utilized to give an acceptable form to the proof. Although some of the recollections may have been quasi-fictional, they gave support to the jurors' honest conviction that the heir in question was indeed of age.

The juror need not place his recollection at the point of the birth or baptism; some would remember seeing the heir at a later date. Nine jurors fixed the age of William Trenchefoyl at twenty-two because "when John de Metyngham and his campanions sat in the eyre at Shyreburn the said William was six years of age." They added that they had seen him frequently at his father's house.[80] Some heirs had the good fortune to be born when the assize jury came to town.[81]

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[75] *Ibid.*, VII, § 701. More violent deaths in *ibid.*, IX, § 245 and 679.

[76] Ibid., IV, § 58.

[77] *Ibid.*, VII, § 633.

[78] *Ibid.*, § 633; for more broken legs in the same volume, § 543, 692, 693, 694.

[79] Notice by R. C. Fowler and Miss M. T. Martin, *English Historical Review*, XXII (1907), pp. 101-103, 526.

[80] *IPM.*, IV, § 238.

[81] KB 27/136 (AD 1293) m 5; inquisitions regarding the royal forest in KB 27/190 (Ad 1307-08) m 13d.

No one ever seems to have cross-examined the jurors, even to ask how one could be so sure that 21 years had elapsed since he broke his left elbow on the way to the baptism. Yet jurors at times would contradict one another. In one case a juror who was related to the guardian claimed the heir was not of age, but this did not seem to affect the proof.[82] Jurors would give contradictory information as to age. This happened more often in proofs of age for females, because if single they must be 16 and if married 14; the jurors would get muddled as to how long ago they should place the birth.[83] The initiating writ would ask the royal officer to inquire, for example, whether the said Geoffrey, who was born and baptized at Sullesbyre, and was in the kings's wardship, was of full age as he says or not,[84] yet no one listed in the *Inquests Post Mortem* seems to have failed to have had his age proved. There are, however, a few notices in the plea rolls that a certain heir was not of age.[85]

Among those occasional inquests of age which subsequently were proved to be false were two in the 7th year of Edward I. In the plea rolls of the King's Bench[86] is the notice about Roger Sunbray, who proved his age though he was not 21. Roger was accused of having maliciously, by suborned testimony, established a false age. His goods and chattels were to be distrained and his body was to be brought before the court. The conclusion of this case has not been found but probably he made his peace with the king as did the second deceitful ward, Walter de Trailly, son and heir of John de Trailly, who held in chief of Henry III. Walter was found to have defrauded the king of his wardship. Immediately after the death of his father, Walter "came to court and gave the king to understand that he was of full age and exacted restitution of his lands." The king granted him a writ of Chancery,

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[82] *IPM.*, VII, § 393.

[83] For example, *ibid.*, II, 498.

[84] *Ibid.*, § 697.

[85] JI 1/136 (AD 1292) m7 (Emma, daughter of Robert); IPM VII, § 393, a man having the same surname as the guardian "says the said Margery ought not to have her lands because is not of the full age ... and demands enjoyment of the issues of the land." We do not know what happened to the case. In 1290 an escheator who had declared an heir not to be of age was overruled, seemingly as the result of an inquest. The king ordered the escheator to deliver the lands in question to the heir. CCR Edw I, III, 109.

[86] KB 27/47 (AD 1279) m 23r. Though the record of the proof of age inquest may not be so marked, Britton declares: "if our echeator or sheriff perceives that fraud has been practised upon us in the aforesaid proof, he shall defer the delivery of seisin until we have taken attaint against the twelve first jurors. And if they are attainted of false oath let them be punished as shall be mentioned in the chapter concerning attaints. And if they have been falsely accused, let the accuser be punished by imprisonment and fine, which may be great or small in proportion to the malice of the offender." *Britton*, ed. F. N. Nichols (Oxford, 1865), II, 20-21, fol. 168.

enabling him to prove his age by inquest. This he did, and received his lands. Some years later a letter patent recited that "now it is shown for certain that Walter was then three years short of his full age, whereby his marriage and the issues of his lands for that time ought to have belonged to the King." When informed of this discovery, "the said Walter and his friends and the jurors of the said inquisition, taking it to heart that they had made a false oath in this matter, and repenting thereof, have supplicated the king to pardon them their trespass; in consideration of a fine of 100 marks which the said Walter has made, the King pardons him, his friends and the said jurors of their trespass."[87] The discovery of such fraud was, however, quite rare.

More detailed than the calendared entries, the manuscript versions of the jurors' statements provide more precise evidence to establish age. A juror might say he agreed in substance with a certain person who had already given his testimony but he felt that the testimony should be revised in this or that particular.[88] In one case a juror asserted it was before and not after a certain feast day because his own son was born after the feast day and after the baptism of the heir in question. A juror might go on to provide proof, not very picturesque, but giving, in the aggregate, a basis for more credence to the assertion that the heir was of age; one example of many was that of the juror who explained that five years after the heir's baptism he (the juror) became the parson of such a place and it had been 18 years since his election, therefore the heir must be of age[89] — a dull but believable and verifiable fact.

The credibility of the jurors' testimony was undoubtedly enhanced by their testifying under oath, "sub sacramentum," as the formula read. And there were well known penalties for false verdicts by jurors. The crown, as Fleta records, actively sought to discover those "who have agreed or procured that jurors of inquests into the age of heirs should declare such heirs to be of full age, whereas they were not, whereby the king has lost the wardship and marriages of those heirs."[90]

The testimony of a jury of neighbors as to the age of heirs to real property was vital to the operation of the land law. The defective nature of having to "prove one's age" in this fashion is obvious but in the absence of official records, the type of inquest employed was a

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[87] CPR 1272-1281, pp. 320-321; a similar case in 1358, CFR VII, 59; allegations of packing a proof of age jury, CCR Edw III, II, 479.

[88] KB 27/169 (AD 1302) m 29, in the proof of age of Peter de Malu Luca (there is no calendared proof of age) several jurors make moderate corrections of previous evidence, none of which alters the "fact" that the heir was of age.

[89] KB 27/190 (AD 1307) m 13r, or the resignation of the vicar KB 27/162 (AD 1300-01) m8.

[90] Fleta, Vol. II, ed. H. G. Richardson and G. O. Sayles, Selden Society, Vol. 72 (1955), p. 50.

refined and reasonably just system, especially since there were punishments for the giving of false evidence and interested parties did have the right to appeal. The system did not end with the period covered in this research, it continued into the Tudor period. Indeed, as Hurstfield observes, the faulty keeping of parish registers meant that juries were used to determine age until the nineteenth century.[91] Since the establishment of age was essential in the conveying of property in the feudal system, the vast amount of material which survives relating to proof of age is informative concering landholding, legal procedure and social life. The study of the procedure for proof of age uncovers another important legal and administrative use of the jury in medieval England.

Northeastern Illinois University.

[91] Joel Hurstfield, *The Queen's Wards* (London, 1958), Chapter 9 "Coming of Age," esp. pp. 157, 158, 161, 169-170. Hurstfield suggests that the living memory type of proof persists up to the end of the 17th century. See also H. E. Bell, *An Introduction to the History and Records of the Court of Wards Liveries* (Cambridge, 1953), pp. 83-84.

THE GALICIAN-VOLYNIAN CHRONICLE AS A SOURCE OF MEDIEVAL GERMAN STUDIES

George A. Perfecky

THE Middle-Ukrainian[1] Galician-Volynian Chronicle (GVC) — the most important historical source of events in thirteenth century southwestern Rus' — has been exposed to scholarly scrutiny only twice in the field of medieval German studies: (a) the first time still in the 19th century by I. Scharanewitsch[2] mainly as a source of Austrian history, and (b) the second time more than half a century later by I. Svencic'kyj[3] as a linguistic digression on dialectal Middle High German historical phonology in an article devoted to the Slavic lexicon and syntax of the chronicle. Being a historian, Scharanewitsch discussed the events dealing with 13th century Austria and other medieval German lands which found their way into the GVC, but he failed to render all the original passages containing this information in a German translation. Although he pointed out many mistakes made by the chroniclers dealing with these "foreign affairs", he deprived German medievalists — without the knowledge of Eastern Slavic languages and especially medieval Church Slavonic and East Slavonic — of the opportunity of comparing the "German" passages of the GVC with contemporary German sources. In an attempt to remedy this situation, I will cite here in the first half of this article my English translation[4] of all references to Germans and medieval German lands in the chronicle. At the same

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[1] For an analysis of the specifically Middle Ukrainian and general East Slavonic vernacular features which penetrated the literary Church Slavonic in which the chronicle was written, see my "Studies on the Galician-Volynian Chronicle" in *The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.*, 12, no 33-34 (New York, 1972)—a series of articles on the language, authorship and composition, chronology, bias, and bibliography of the GVC.

[2] Scharanewitsch, I., *Die Hypathoschronik als Quellen-Beitrag zur österreichischen Geschichte* (lviv, 1872).

[3] Svencic'kyj, I., "Mova Halyc'ko-Volyns'koho litopysu", *Voprosy slavjanskogo jazykoznanija*, 2 (Lviv, 1949), 123-135 ('The Language of the Galician-Volynian Chronicle", *Problems of Slavic Linguistics*).

[4] The translation of these references is taken from my translation of the entire chronicle entitled *The Galician Volynian Chronicle (Hypatian Text) — An Annotated Translation*, published for Harvar University's *Series in Ukrainian Studies* by Wilhelm Fink Verlag (Munich, 1973).

time, because I am not a historian, but a Slavic philologist and translator of medieval Slavic texts, I turn to my German colleagues of medieval German history for comments on the accuracy and/or inaccuracy of the chroniclers' account of German affairs from the point of view of Western historiography. In the second half of my article, I will attempt to complete Svencic'kyj's digression by elaborating on his examples and adding a few of my own which he apparently missed by not going through the entire chronicle. Because the GVC has forced me to be a "visitor" in the field of Middle High German, I beg the indulgence of specialists in this field for any oversimplifications or omissions I may have inadvertently made.

A. References to Germans and German lands

The following passages containing these references fall conveniently into three main subdivisions: (1) the history of Austria and fate of the Babenbergs, (2) the history of the Holy Roman Empire, and (3) a reflection of the *Drang nach Osten* — specifically pinpointing the areas where German settlers were found. The most important are the historical references to Austria. In fact for the chronicler, as will be seen from the following examples, Austria is "the German land".

(1) References to Austria and Babenbergs

a. (1236/37) 6743 (1235)[5] ... At that time the [Holy Roman] Emperor Friedrich [II] had gone to war against the [Austrian] Archduke [Friedrich II Babenberg]. Danilo and his brother Vasilko wished to come to the Archduke's aid, but since the [Hungarian] king [Bela IV] forbade them, they returned to their land.

b. (1248?) 6760 (1252). The Hungarian king sent [an envoy] to Danilo requesting him to come to his aid, for he was waging war with the Germans. Danilo set out to help him and come to Požg.[6] [In the meantime] German envoys had come to the Hungarian king, for the [German] emperor was already in possession of Vienna, and the Rakusian and

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[5] The first parentheses is (1) the *correct* date of the event described in the chronicle (The reconstruction of the spurious chronology of the Hypatian text of the GVC was the main contribution to the study of the chronicle of the great Ukrainian historian M. Hruševs'kyj. See his monograph "Xronol'ogija podij Halyc'ko-volyns'koji litopysy" in *Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva imeny Ševčenka, 41* (Lviv, 1901), 1-72 — "Chronology of the events in the GVC", *Notes of the Ševčenko Scientific Society*). What follows is (2) the hypothetical year since the Creation given for this event by the chronicler, followed by (3) the transformation of the latter into A.D., the second parentheses. In the translation missing words, historical identifications, and substitutions of nouns for pronouns (and *vice-versa*) for the sake of clarity have been enclosed in brackets.

[6] Medieval East Slavonic name for Bratislava, German — Pressburg.

Styrian lands, and the [Austrian] Archduke [Friedrich] had already been
killed. The names of the envoys were: the emperor's voyevoda[7] and
bishop Žaloš Purs'kij, known as Sol's'kij; Harix Poruns'kij; and Otto
Haretennik Petovs'kij.[8]

c. (1252) 6762 (1254) ... After the death of the [Austrian] Archduke called
Friedrich [II], who fought and defeated the Hungarian king [Bela IV],
but was killed by his boyars[9] in battle, a great dispute arose among the
powerful nobles over the title and possessions of the slain Archduke
[particularly] over the Rakusian and Styrian lands. And the Hungarian
king and the Czech king [Přemysl Ottokar II] fought each other for the
possession of these lands. The Hungarian king sought aid for he wished
to conquer the German land and requested Danilo to send him his son
Roman that he might give him the Archduke's [niece Gertrud Baben-
berg][10] in marriage and [with her] the German land. [Thus] he entered
the German land with Roman, gave the Archduke's [niece] to him in
marriage, and concluded a treaty with him which we did not write
down here because of its great length.

d. (1253/4) 6765 (1257) ... Then, as we had mentioned previously, the
[Hungarian] king [Bela IV] made a solemn promise to [Danilo's son]
Roman, but he did not keep it. He abandoned him in the city of
Ineperec[11] and went away; he [had] promised to [help] him [in Austria],
but did not [keep his promise], for he had treachery in his heart: he
wanted [Roman's Austrian] cities for himself. He had sworn a solemn
oath before God to Roman and his wife that after he had conquered
[this] German land, he would give all of it to Roman. However, since
[Roman's] wife knew [Bela's] character, she made him swear on the
cross, but he never came to [Roman's] aid. [In the meantime] Archduke
[Přemysl Ottokar II] repeatedly attacked [Roman in Ineperec]. Once he
came with a great force and both sides fought [fiercely]. He camped
[only] a thousand paces away, but could not take the city. Therefore, in
an attempt to ingratiate himself [to Roman] he said: "Leave the
Hungarian king, for you are my relative and kinsman, and I will share
[this] German land with you. The Hungarian rex — that is — king is
promising you many things, but he will not keep [his promises]. But I
speak the truth. I will give you my [spiritual] father — the Pope — and
twelve bishops as witnesses who will testify that I plan to present you

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[7] Equivalent to today's general.

[8] These envoys were first identified by Scharanewitsch, p. 60.

[9] Noblemen.

[10] As shown by the brackets, Gertrud Babenberg was the Archduke's niece and not his sister as
the chronicler claimed.

[11] Medieval East Slavonic name for the castle of Himberg.

with half of the German land". But Roman replied: "I have sworn an oath to my 'father' — the Hungarian king — and [therefore] cannot follow your advice for if I were to break my oath, I would bring shame upon myself and commit a [grievous] sin". He dispatched [a messenger] to the Hungarian king [to relate] everything that the Archduke said and promised him and to request aid from him. But he did not send him any aid, [for] he wanted [the Austrian] cities for himself. [Instead] he promised to give [Roman] other cities in the Hungarian land. However, since [Roman's wife] knew his cunning ways, she said [to his envoy]: "[First] he took my son for his daughter and is holding him hostage, and now [he] wants our cities, while we suffer [under siege] and die of hunger for his sake". A [peasant] woman would go and buy food secretely in the city of Vienna and would bring it back with her [to the besieged city]. The hunger [in the city] was so great that the people wanted to eat their horses. [Finally] Princess [Gertrud] advised [her husband] Prince [Roman] to go to his father [Danilo for help]. But he was surrounded [by the Archduke's army] and could not leave [the city]. Verenger, whose last name was Prosvel[12] and who had campaigned with Roman, pitied him, came with his troops, and led him [safely] out of the city.

(2) REFERENCES TO THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

a. (21. VI. 1208) 6715 (1207) The great [Holy] Roman Emperor[13] was murdered at the instigation of his brother-in-law. He had asked his sister to find him an ally. Since she was not able to help him in any way, she gave her daughter in marriage to Ludwig, the Landgraf's son, for he was a strong man and an ally of her brother. The latter is now known as Saint Elizabeth; before this her name was Kinga. After her husband's death she devoted her life to God and [that is why] she is called a saint.

b. by the term "German lands" (if not a reference to Western Europe in general):
(1232) 6739 (1231) ... From [Galič] the king advanced upon Volodimer'. When he came to Volodimer', he was amazed [by what he saw] and said: "Such a city I did not find in the German lands", for armed soldiers were astride its ramparts and both the soldiers and their shields glistened like the sun.

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[12] He has been identified as Berengar Preussel by Scharanewitsch, p. 69.

[13] The chronicler's confusing treatment of the murder of Philip Hohenstaufen has already been analyzed by Scharanewitsch, pp. 43-44, 51.

(3) REFERENCES REFLECTING THE *DRANG NACH OSTEN*

a. Germans at the Hungarian Court
(1213) 6718 (1210) ... The Hungarian king released Volodislav [Kor-miličič] and gathering many soldiers, marched against Galič. When they stopped at the Lelesov monastery, his unfaithful boyars wanted to kill him; they murdered his wife (28.IX.1213), and his brother-in-law barely escaped with his life. The Patriarch of Aquileia and many Germans were also murdered.[14]

b. Templar Knights at Dorohyčyn, Volynia
(1238) 6743 (1235) ... [Thereupon] Danilo said: "It is not right for our patrimony to be in the hands of the Templar [Knights] renowned as Solomon's [warriors]", and Danilo and Vasilko marched against them in great force. They took the city [of Dorohyčyn] in the month of March, captured their elder Bruno and his soldiers, and returned to Volodimer'.

c. Germans in Silesia
(1240/41) 6746 (1238) ... When Mixail learned that Kiev was captured, he fled with his son to Kondrat in Poland. But when the Tatars approached [Poland], he could not endure staying there and went to the Vorotislavian land.[15] He came to a German city called Sereda.[16] When the Germans saw [his long wagon-train], they killed his people, took away [many of his wagons], and killed his granddaughter.

d. Germans on the Baltic, in Riga
1. (1249-51) 6760 (1252) ... Danilo and Vasilko sent Vykont among the Jatvingians and Žemoitans and to the Germans in Riga. Vykont won over the Jatvingians and half of the Žemoitans with silver and many gifts. The Germans, however, sent word to Danilo that only for his sake would they make peace with Vykont, for he had killed many of their brethren. Thus, the German [Teutonic] Knights promised to come to Tevtivil's aid ... When Mendog learned that the [Teutonic] Knights, the bishop [of Riga, Nicholas], and all the soldiers of Riga wanted to help [Tevtivil], he became frightened and sent [an envoy] to the Grand Master [of the Teutonic Order, Andrew Stirland] in Riga. [Mendog] won him over with many gifts, that is — he implored [the Grand Master] to side with him. He had sent him much gold and silver, [many] gold and silver vessels of [great] beauty, and many horses, and promised him even more than [what he had already given him], if he would kill or drive off Tev-

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[14] The chronicler's second confusing presentation of "foreign affairs" and the role of Germans at the Hungarian court of Andrew II was analyzed in detail by Scharanewitsch, pp. 53-54.

[15] Silesia. Its main city was Vorotislav (Wrocław, German — Breslau).

[16] Polish Środa. German name unknown.

tivil. But the [Grand Master] insisted that he first send [envoys] to the Pope and be baptized, for otherwise he could neither save his soul nor defeat his enemies... The Bishop [of Riga] and the Provost Viržan informed Tevtivil [that Mendog and the Grand Master were planning to kill him]. They felt sorry for him, for they knew that if Tevtivil had not been driven out, the Lithuanian land would have been in their hands and would have had to accept Christianity. [Since the Grand Master] Andrew was responsible for the fact that the Lithuanians did not become Christians, he was banished from his order by his brother knights.

2. (1287) 6794 (1286). All the Lithuanians and Žemoitans marched against the Germans [in] Riga. But [the Germans] learned [of their coming] and hastily flocked into the cities ... [In the meantime] when the Germans of Torun' heard that all the Žemoitans [had] marched on Riga, they advanced upon Žemoit', [thus] helping their countrymen. They took countless [prisoners], killed [many] others, and thus came home with a great number of captives.

e. Germans as mercenaries
1. of Mendog in Lithuania
(1251) 6760 (1252) ... The next day the Germans rode out [of the city of Voruta] with their crossbows, but the Rus'ians and Polovcians showered them with arrows, and the Jatvingians attacked them with their spears.
2. of Henry of Silesia in Cracow, Poland
(winter 1288/9) 6798 (1290) ... In Cracow he [left] his garrison [made up of] Germans [who were] his best retainers.

f. Germans in Bohemia
(1253) 6762 (1254) ... That evening they deliberated whether to march upon Osobologa, Herbort [Fulstein's castle], or to return home. But Herbort sent Danilo his sword as a sign of his surrender.

g. Germans on Prussian soil
(1276) 6784 (1276) Compelled to flee from the Germans, the Prussians left their land and came to Trojden.

h. Germans as inhabitants of Volodimer' in Volynia
(1288) 6797 (1289) ... Thus he was mourned by the entire vast [population of Volodimer']- men, women, and children, [among them] Germans, Surožians, men of Novgorodok, and Jews, [who] wept as during the fall of Jerusalem ...

Outside this classification are a reference to Holland and a reference to Germans as a people:

a. (1287) 6793 (1285). [It was rumored] that in the land of the Germans [17] the sea overflowed its banks and inundated the country because of God's wrath. More than sixty thousand people drowned and one hundred and eleven stone churches were inundated, not counting those made of wood.

b. (April 10, 1289) 6797 (1289) ... [Prince Mstislav] lived in peace with the surrounding lands — the Poles, the Germans, and the Lithuanians — ruling over his land, [which extended] from the Tatars to the Poles and the Lithuanians.

B. ANALYSIS OF GERMAN NAMES AND TITLES

In his digression dealing with examples of dialectal MHG historical phonology that found their way into the GVC, Svencic'kyj [18] made no distinction between examples that actually reflected MHG and examples that showed East Slavonic (E S1) reflexes of MHG. He also did not state that the examples were limited to personal and geographical names and titles such as "Archduke". Furthermore, his examples were not presented in the chronological order found in the chronicle. In restating Svencic'kyj's examples and adding my own, I will make the above-mentioned distinction, and the examples will appear in the order found in the GVC. The first example, which in my translation I have rendered as "Ludwig, the Landgraf's son", is found under the Hypatian year 1207. The Hypatian text, however, has *Ludovik Lonokrabovič*. Svencic'kyj's only explanation was that *Lonokrabovič* is derived from *Landgrafovič*, which is not a precise phonetic explanation, while the form *Ludovik* he presented without any explanation at all. The two forms, however, give us a wealth of information. On a morphological level *Lon-o-krab-ovič* (the suffix *-ovič* carries the meaning "son of") was treated by the chronicler as an E S1 compound noun whose two main parts are joined by the linking vowel *o*. On a phonetic level *Ludovik* shows the unvoicing of final $g > k$, common to both E S1 of that time and MHG, and reflects MHG *Ludowig*, which is turn comes from OHG *Hluodowig*. On the other hand, *Lon-o-krab-ovič* shows us E S1 *o* in *Lon-* for MHG short *a* in *Land* — as well as the reduction of final $d > t > $ # (zero). The second part of the compound *-krab-* for *-graf-* shows the MGH alternation of velars k/g and labials b/f.

The next interesting example, which was not explained by Svencic'kyj, is the title *Herzog* "(Arch)duke", which appears as *hĕrcik* twice un-

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der 1235 and once under 1254, but as *hěcjuk* once under 1252, three times under 1254 and twice under 1257. Both forms, show the unvoicing of final $g > k$, common to both E S1 and MHG. The prevailing form *hěrcjuk* shows MHG long *o* rendered by E S1 *u*, which was the closest sound to it. In the less frequently used form *hěrcik*, however, the chronicler inadvertently substituted the E S1 suffix *-ik* for *-uk*, which was foreign to him. The "Archduke" in question was Friedrich Babenberg, and his name, found under 1235 and 1254 as *Fridrix* ($x = ch$), is a reflection of the MHG form.

The MHG *Heinrich*, also not treated by Svencic'kyj, is rendered under 1238 and 1290 by the E S1 form *Indrix*, which shows the following changes: initial $h > \sharp$, monophthongization of $ei > i$, and an inserted *d* by analogy with the E S1 name *Kondrat*, which is also found in the text of the GVC and has nothing in common with German *Konrad*, but is derived from Greek *Kodratos*, which in turn comes from Latin *Quadrātus*.[19] Similarly untouched by Svencic'kyj is the E S1 *Veden'* "Vienna", found under 1252, which reflects the MHG *Wieden*.[20]

Svencic'kyj, however, did a magnificent analysis of the MHG elements found in the names of the German envoys to the Hungarian king which appear in the text under 1252: "the emperor's voyevoda and bishop Žaloš Purs'kij, known as Sol's'kij (i.e. "The Salty", G.P.), Harix Poruns'kij, and Otto Haretennik Petovs'kij." Giving credit to Scharanewitsch, who was the first to identify these envoys as the "Erzbischof von Salzburg; Heinrich von Brunne-Heinricus de Prunne; Otto Hardegen von Pettau — Hertnidus de Betowe,"[21] Svencic'kyj then proceded to show that these names exhibit the MHG alternation of labials, velars, and hushing with hissing consonants.[22] Thus, on the basis of the MHG alternation of *-burg/-purch*, i.e. labials b/p and velars g/ch, we find the E S1 *Pur-s'kij* with *ch* reduced to $\sharp$, while for the MHG *brunn-/prunn-* and *bettow-/pettow-* we find the E S1 *Porun-s'kij* and *Petov-s'kij* respectively. On the other hand, the alternation of hushing and hissing consonants $ž/z$ and $š/(t)s$ can be seen from the juxtaposition of *Žaloš/Salz*.

The last three examples which follow are mine and have not been treated by Svencic'kyj. The first example -the E S1 *prebošč* "provost",

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[19] Fasmer, M., *Etimologičeskij slovar' russkogo jazyka*, 2 (Moscow, 1967) p. 309. (*An Etymological Dictionary of the Russian Language*)

[20] Rudnyc'kyj, J, *An Etymological Dictionary of the Ukrainian Language*, 1 (Winnipeg, 1969), 414. Under the year 1257 this word appears also in the form *Vjaden'*, which could be either a scribal error (it appears only once!) or the orthographic alternation of Church Slavonic ę or *ja* vs. E S1 *ě* or *e*, since one of the alternations of *ě* in the GVC was *e* i.e. Vjaden'/Věden'/Veden'.

[21] Svencic'kyj, p. 128.

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 129.

which derives from OHG and apparently also MHG *probost* via the
palatalization of *st* to *šč* and the substitution of prefixes *pre-* for *pro-* is
also found under 1252. The second — the name *Herbort* (found under
1254) — is a very likely reflection of the MHG form, while the third —
the MHG *Himberg* — appears under 1257 as E S1 *Ineperec*, treated by the
chronicler as a compound noun consisting in *In* + E S1 linking vowel *e*
+ *per* + E S1 suffix *-ec*. In its transformation to E S1, *Ineperec* has un-
dergone the change of initial $h > \#$ and that of $m > n$, but has faithfully
kept the MHG alternations of labials *b/p* and velars *g/ch*, with *ch*
reduced to $\#$ just as in Svencic'kyj's examples discussed above. Because
it is an example which has both E S1 reflexes of MHG and actual MHG,
Ineperec forms a most fitting conclusion to the presentation of these
features in the GVC.

La Salle College, Philadelphia

ZWEI REDAKTIONEN DES KOMMENTARS ZUM APOSTOLISCHEN GLAUBENSBEKENNTNIS VON SIMON VON TOURNAI

Nikolaus M. Häring s.a.c.

IN seiner Ausgabe der *Disputationes* des Simon von Tournai bietet Joseph Warichez[1] eine Liste der Werke des Magisters von Tournai, unter denen er einen Kommentar zum Apostolischen Glaubensbekenntnis anführt, der in den Handschriften 74 (s.xiv) und 147 (s.xiii) der Stadtbibliothek von Brügge erhalten sei. Er dankt auch unter anderen "M. l'abbé de Poorter, bibliothécaire à Bruges, M. le Dr. Kirchner, bibliothécaire à Berlin, qui m'ont permit d'examiner à loisir à Tournai les manuscrits de leurs dépôts".[2] Am Ende seiner Einleitung schreibt Warichez: "Nous y joindrons, en *Appendices,* le court exposé sur le *Symbole des Apôtres,* conservé dans deux manuscrits de la Bibliothèque communale de Bruges".[3]

Bei genauerer Prüfung stellt sich heraus, dass der von Warichez edierte Text, den er als "court exposé" bezeichnet, durchaus nicht kurz ist, denn in dem von ihm angeblich benutzten Kodex (Brügge 74) umfasst der Kommentar die Folien 86v-95v der Handschrift, aus der Warichez etwas mehr als eine Kolonne ediert hat ohne anzudeuten, dass der Kommentar in Wirklichkeit beträchtlich länger ist.

Die beiden Handschriften in Brügge sind beschrieben in dem von A. de Poorter herausgegebenen Katalog der Bibliothek.[4] Die Handschrift 74 hat 95 Blätter und enthält "Nicholaus super Lucam" (f. 1-79), eine Notiz zum Choralgesang (f. 79v), ein leeres Blatt (f. 80-80v), einen anonymen Kommentar zum Vaterunser (f. 81-86) und schliesslich einen

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[1] Joseph Warichez, *Les Disputationes de Simon de Tournai,* in *Spic. s. Lov.,* 12 (Louvain 1932), S. xxxiii-xxxiv.

[2] Seite lvi. Brügge hat zwei Handschriften der *Disputationes* (193, f. 1-92, und 194, f. 1-52). Die andere Handschrift muss Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibl., 74 (Phillipps 1997), f. 25-98v gewesen sein.

[3] Seite xli.

[4] *Cat. gén. des manuscrits des bibliothèques de Belgique* II: A. de Poorter, *Cat. gén. des manuscrits de la bibl. publique de la ville de Bruges* (Gembloux-Paris, 1934), 89-90 und 187-188.

Kommentar zum Apostolischen Glaubensbekenntnis (f. 86v-95v), der ausdrücklich Magister Simon von Tournai zugeschrieben ist: "Expositio magistri symonis tornacensis super simbolum." Die Handschrift ist datiert: s. xiii-xiv.

Die Handschrift 147 stammt aus dem 13. Jahrhundert und hat 190 Blätter. Sie enthält den Kommentar des Gilbert von Hoyland zum Hohen Lied (f. 1-166v: PL 184, 11-252), denselben anonymen Kommentar zum Vaterunser (f. 166v-174v) und den gleichen hier allerdings anonymen Kommentar Simons zum Apostolischen Glaubensbekenntnis (f. 174v-190v). Die auf dem linken Rand (f. 174v) von Charles de Visch (gest. 1666) notierte Bemerkung trägt das Datum 1628 und ist bei Warichez (S. 299) abgedruckt. Beide Handschriften (74 und 147) stammen aus dem ehemaligen Zisterzienserstift Dünen (Les Dunes) in Flandern.

Warichez wusste nicht, dass zwei weitere Exemplare dieses Kommentars in der Stadtbibliothek von Arras erhalten sind mit der Signatur 952 (721) und 981 (399).[5] Eine Prüfung dieser beiden Handschriften ergibt folgenden Bestand. Die Handschrift 952 enthält die *Historia euangelica* aus der *Historia scholastica* des Petrus Comestor (f. 1-21v), Simons Kommentar zum *Quicumque* (f. 22-32) und zum Apostolischen Glaubensbekenntnis (f. 32-38), beide anonym, einen Trinitätstraktat Gilberts von Poitiers (f. 38-40) und einige *Tabule astronomice* (f. 41-65) spätern Datums. Die Handschrift stammt aus dem 13. Jahrhundert und gehörte einmal einem Propst der Kathedrale von Amiens, "Magister Enguerranus de sancto Fusciano", der das Buch den Zölestinern von Amiens schenkte, während sie noch im 1389 gegründeten Kloster Sankt Antonius waren. Im Jahre 1634 zogen sie aus dem baufälligen Sankt Antonius Kloster nach Saint-Martin-aux-Jumeaux in Amiens um. An einem früheren Datum (1628) wurde das Buch der Bibliothek der Abtei Sankt Vedastus (Vaast) in Arras einverleibt, wo die Signatur A. 150 war.

Die zweite Handschrift 981 gehört der zweiten Hälfte des 12. Jahhunderts an und ist leider dadurch sehr verstümmelt, dass eine Reihe von Folien verschwunden sind. Teile der Handschrift stammen von einem zweiten Schreiber. Ihre Geschichte ist die gleiche wie die der vorherigen Handschrift. Sie gehörte einmal dem Magister Enguerranus, der Propst von Amiens war. Er schenkte sie den Zölestinern. Später wurde sie der Bibliothek von Sankt Vedastus eingegliedert.

Der Inhalt ist wegen der Verstümmelung nicht immer leicht zu erfassen. Der Kodex enthält zunächst eine Beschreibung der neun Engelschöre (f. 1v), die man gegen Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts oft dem

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[5] *Cat. gén.*, in-quarto, 4 (Paris, 1872), 158 und 287.

Johannes Scottus Eriugena zuschrieb. Es folgen einige *Questiones* (f. 2-4) und Simons Kommentar zum *Quicumque* (f. 5-13) und zum Apostolischen Glaubensbekenntnis (f. 13-19v). In beiden Kommentaren fehlt eine Anzahl von Folien. Auf f. 20-23 findet sich das Fragment eines Kommentars zum Vaterunser, dem ein kurzer Kommentar zum *Canticum Simeonis* (f. 23), eine Erklärung des Messkanons (f. 23v-28v) und des Hohen Liedes folgen (f. 29-39).

Darauf folgt die *Summa sententiarum* (f. 39-51v), in der jedoch wegen der Verstümmelung die ersten 17 Kapitel fehlen. In dieser Ausgabe war der Ehetraktat des Walter von Mortagne noch nicht Teil der *Summa*. Nach der *Summa* folgt Hugos *De sacramentis* (f. 52-85), wo sich weitere Spuren der Verstümmelung zeigen. Die Handschrift endet mit einem Trinitätstraktat (f. 85v-95v), der aus der Schule Gilberts von Poitiers stammt und ebenfalls verstümmelt ist.

Wenn man nun den Text der Handschriften vergleicht, entdeckt man sehr bald Varianten, die sehr bedeutend sind. Um den Vergleich durchzuführen, genügt es, die Handschrift 952 von Arras und 147 von Brügge heranzuziehen. In der Einleitung schreibt Simon:

MS Brügge, Bibl. mun. 147, f. 147, f. 174v	MS Arras, Bibl. mun. 952, f. 32
Unitas autem ecclesiastice pacis bipertita est et ex opposito duplex est diuisio. Est enim unitas fidei. Omnium enim fidelium una est fides. Est et unitas dilectionis. Vnde scriptum est: *Erat autem eis cor unum et anima una.* Cor unum ad idem credendum. Anima una ad se mutuo diligendum et sibi inuicem consentiendum. Rumpitur autem quandoque unitas fidei ut quando aliquis fidelis tantum nomine et non re ecclesiastice fidei contrarium credit. Et hec diuisio dicitur heresis. Scinditur et quandoque unitas dilectionis per fratrum discordiam. Et hec diuisio uocatur scisma.	Est autem unitas ecclesiastice pacis bipertita et ex opposito est diuisio duplex. Est unitas fidei. Omnium enim fidelium est una. Est etiam unitas dilectionis. Vnde scriptum est: *Erat eis cor unum et anima una.* Cor unum ad idem credendum. Anima una ad mutuo diligendum et ad inuicem consentiendum. Si uero rumpitur unitas fidei ut si quis nomine fidelis fidei catholice credit contrarium, fit diuisio que dicitur heresis. Si uero scinditur unitas dilectionis per fratrum discordiam, diuisio dicitur scisma.

Es ist ganz eindeutig, dass hier eine Überarbeitung des Textes vorliegt. Als zusätzliches Beispiel mag die Überleitung zum Text des Glaubensbekenntnisses dienen:

MS Brügge, Bibl. mun. 147, f. 174v	MS Arras, Bibl. mun. 952, f. 32
Et est simbolum generalis professio omnium fidelium. In quo Petrus	Hoc autem simbolum quoniam est omnium fidelium generalis professio

exordium sumens ab auctoritate et
unitate unius dei ait: Credo in deum
patrem omnipotentem factorem celi
et terre. Et notandum quod non dixit:
opinor uel scio ...

(processio MS) apostoli ab unius dei
auctoritate sumentes exordium in
persona singulorum aiunt: Credo.
Non aiunt: scio uel opinor ....

Man sieht hier, dass der Text in Brügge dem Apostel Petrus den ersten Glaubensartikel zuschreibt. In gleicher Weise kommen später die übrigen Apostel zu Wort. Dagegen werden die Apostel in dem Text von Arras (952) nicht einzel mit Namen angeführt. Wenn wir uns nun fragen, welcher von den beiden Texten der ursprüngliche ist, könnte man darauf hinweisen, dass z.B. die etwas unglückliche Konstruktion "ab auctoritate et unitate unius dei" verbessert ist zu: "ab unius dei auctoritate".

Manche Sätze der Handschrift von Arras tauchen nicht in der Handschrift von Brügge auf, z.B. der Satz: Scire autem est causas rei nosse quare sic sit. Noscuntur cause intellectu sed (scilicet MS) esse res ut est ex causis noscitur ratione. Inchoatur ergo scientia intellectu, et ratione perficitur (Arras 952, f. 32). Beispiele dieser Art von Unterlassung oder Erweiterung liessen sich leicht vervielfältigen.

Die Tatsache, dass der Text von Brügge der ursprüngliche und der von Arras eine Überarbeitung ist, die Simon selbst vorgenommen hat, geht aus mehreren Hinweisen hervor, die sich auf den Kommentar zum *Quicumque* beziehen. In der Handschrift Arras 952, f. 32v lesen wir: Nota singulariter dici deum, non pluraliter deos. In quo asseritur creatoris unitas quam naturali indagine philosophi inuestigauerunt. Que etiam multiplici auctoritate utriusque docetur testamenti quemadmodum edidimus in *alterius simboli expositione* super illum articulum: "Fides autem catholica hec est ut unitatem in Trinitate et Trinitatem in unitate ueneremur." Diligens inquisitor dictam ibi disputationem ad hunc quoque locum transferre potest.

Diese *Disputatio* findet sich ausführlich in Simons Kommentar zum *Quicumque*.[6] Die entsprechende Stelle in der Handschrift von Brügge 147, f. 175v lautet:

Et nota quod singulariter dicit in deum, non in deos. Per quod designatur unitas creatoris quam naturali indagatione philosophi perscrutati sunt. Que etiam multiplici ueteris testamenti auctoritate manifestata est. Et attende quod fides ...

Aus dem Vergleich geht klar hervor, dass Simon seinen Kommentar zum Apostolischen Glaubensbekenntnis überarbeitete, nachdem er den

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[6] *Bibliothecae Casinensis Florilegium*, 4 (Montecassino, 1880), 326: Ecce unum deum esse de ratione liquet. Idem constat de auctoritate tam ueteris quam noui testamenti.

Kommentar zum *Quicumque* geschrieben hatte. Im weiteren Verlauf der Erklärung kommt Simon auf den Manichäer, auf Platon und Epikur zu sprechen und fährt dann fort (Arras 952, f. 34): Hos autem errores Manichei Platonis Epicuri obuiare rationi ostendimus et eos probauimus in *expositione simboli Athanasii* docentes unum esse rerum principium.

Die Besprechung dieser Irrtümer nimmt im Kommentar zum *Quicumque* viel Raum ein,[7] aber von Epikur spricht Simon dort nicht. Dagegen erwähnt er sowohl die Manichäer und Platon wie Epikur in der ursprünglichen Form des Kommentars zum Apostolischen Glaubensbekenntnis (Brügge 147, f. 178v).

Bei der Behandlung der Inkarnation lesen wir in der Handschrift von Arras (952, f. 34v): Quare autem sit incarnatus et utrum inceperit aliquid esse necne ea incarnatione et utrum carnem assumpserit in uirgine uel non, plenius declarauimus in *alia nostra editione simboli Anastasii*[8] super illum locum: "Sed necessarium est ad eternam salutem ut incarnationem quoque domini nostri Ihesu Christi, etc." Ibi uero dicta ad hunc quoque locum possunt transferri.

All diese Punkte sind im Kommentar zum *Quicumque*[9] recht ausführlich besprochen. In einer etwas anderen Gestalt, textlich gesehen, sind sie bereits in der ursprünglichen Form des Kommentars zum Apostolischen Glaubensbekenntnis klargelegt (Brügge 147, f. 180-182), aber ohne irgendeinen Hinweis auf den Kommentar zum *Quicumque*.

Später lesen wir in Arras 952, f. 35: Natus ex Maria uirgine de qua et in qua carnem assumpsit ut in *simbolo Anastasii* plenius enodauimus. Auch diese Frage ist im Kommentar zum *Quicumque* erläutert.[10] Die Klärung findet sich bereits in der ursprünglichen Redaktion des Kommentars (Brügge 147, f. 181).

Ein letzter Hinweis auf den Kommentar zum *Quicumque* findet sich beim Worte *mortuus*, das mit sehr wenig Worten erledigt wird: Vtrum autem in morte desierit esse homo queri solet. Quam questionem, iudicio nostro, diremimus in *simbolo Anastasii* (Arras 952, f. 35).

Das bestätigt sich beim Durchlesen des Kommentars.[11] Die Frage ist bereits in der ersten Redaktion behandelt (Brügge 147, f. 183).

Aus diesen Vergleichen ersieht man deutlich, dass Simon von Tournai einen Kommentar zum Apostolischen Glaubensbekenntnis verfasst

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7 *Bibl. Cas. Floril.*, 4, 326.
8 Die Verwechslung von Athanasius und Anastasius ist relativ häufig.
9 *Bibl. Cas. Floril.*, 4, 338-339.
10 *Bibl. Cas. Floril.*, 4, 338.
11 *Bibl. Cas. Floril.*, 4, 344.

hat, dessen Urform in zwei Handschriften erhalten ist: Brügge, Bibl. mun. 74, f. 86v-95v und 147, f. 174v-190v, beide aus dem ehemaligen Dünen (Flandern). Weitere Kopien sind mir bis jezt nicht bekannt. Später schrieb Simon seinen Kommentar zum *Quicumque*, der noch in wenigstens dreizehn Exemplaren handschriftlich erhalten ist. Danach überarbeitete er den Kommentar zum Apostolischen Glaubensbekenntnis und berief sich auf seinen *Quicumque*-Kommentar an jenen Stellen, die er nicht noch einmal behandeln wollte. Diese Redaktion ist ebenfalls in zwei Handschriften nachweisbar: Arras, Bibl. mun. 952, f. 32-38, und 981, f. 13-19v. Beide waren einmal Eigentum eines weiter nicht bekannten Magister Enguerranus, der Propst an der Kathedrale von Amiens war. Leider ist die zweite Handschrift sehr verstümmelt. Da Simon in der zweiten Redaktion den *Mons Martyrum* (Arras 952, f. 37v) erwähnt, den auch Alanus von Lille nennt,[12] darf man wohl annehmen, dass sie in Paris geschrieben wurde. In der ersten Redaktion ist Montmartre nicht erwähnt. Weitere Handschriften sind im Augenblick nicht bekannt. Wann diese Werke verfasst wurden, ist eine noch ungelöste Frage. Eine Ausgabe der Kommentare ist in Vorbereitung.

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[12] Alanus von Lille, *Summa; ed* P. Glorieux, in *Archives d'hist. doctr. et litt. du moyen âge*, 20 (1953), 255.

THE BOROUGHS OF BURTON-UPON-TRENT
AND ABBOTS BROMLEY
IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

John Walmsley

THE elevation of scores of manors and vills, and parts of manors and vills, to borough status is one of the most prominent economic features of thirteenth century England.[1] Numerous lords, lay and ecclesiastical, were caught up in the great urban boom and found themselves voluntarily and involuntarily enfranchising the principal manors on their estates. Even a small estate like that of Burton Abbey was affected. At the turn of the century the principal manor of Burton was formally enfranchised by abbot William Melbourne (1200-13),[2] as was the manor of Abbots Bromley soon afterwards by abbot Richard de Lisle (1222-29).[3] A study of these two ecclesiastical boroughs provides the historian of municipal institutions with interesting contrasts in origins, evolution and outcome. The enfranchisement of Burton seems to have been the culmination of a steady movement in a burghal direction for at least a century, whereas the enfranchisement of Abbots Bromley appears to have been more premature and hastily opportunistic. The borough of Burton-upon-Trent was eventually to succeed; that of Abbots Bromley declined into oblivion, as did many other mesne boroughs created in the late twelfth and first half of the thirteenth centuries.

A study of these two boroughs should also shed some light on the problem of what constituted a borough, especially a "free borough," in the thirteenth century. What exactly constituted a medieval English borough has, of course, been a controversial issue since Gross's time, if not before.[4] Central to the great debate of Gross, Maitland, Stephenson,

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[1] See G. H. Martin. "The English Borough in the Thirteenth Century" in *TRHS*, 5th Ser., 13 (1963), 123-44; and E. Miller, "The English Economy in the Thirteenth Century: Implications of Recent Research" in *Past and Present,* 28 (1964), 27.

[2] BM, Add. Ch. 27314; BM, MSS, Loan no. 30 (the Burton Cartulary), fol. 74r.

[3] Bn. Cart., fol. 102r.

[4] C. Gross, *The Gild Merchant* (Oxford, 1890). Gross's main contribution to English municipal history was his de-emphasis of the part played by the gild merchant in the formation of boroughs. Instead, he stressed the importance of the emancipation of the borough organization from that of the shire.

Ballard, Bateson, Tait and others is the fact that the very word borough
(and therefore the concept) meant different things at different times
and, no doubt, in different places.[5] The eleventh century Domesday
borough was not the same thing as the thirteenth century *liber burgus*,
which in turn was not the same thing as the fourteenth and fifteenth
century parliamentary borough. The criteria on which borough-making
was based evolved and changed, as did the motives for borough-
making. The great spate of borough-making in the thirteenth century
was primarily the work of enlightened seigneurial lords, who an-
ticipated advantage and profit in commuting more fully villein services
and obligations, transforming tenements into more lucrative burgage
plots, and laying claim to the profits from markets, fairs, tolls and
burghal jurisdiction. This is, however, only part of the story, for quite
often lords were compelled to grant discontented villages the burghal
privileges of nearby towns to discourage migration and revolt.

Domesday Book records but three boroughs in Staffordshire — Staf-
ford itself, Tamworth and Tutbury.[6] Neither Burton nor Abbots
Bromley is particularly distinguishable from any other manor in the
Staffordshire Domesday. Only the place-name of Burton (O. E. *burhtun*)
signifying a *tun* by a *burg*, or a fortified manor, suggests that Burton
might have been of some military or strategic importance before the
eleventh century.[7] The foundation of a monastery there c. 1002 gave
Burton added significance. Situated just south of the confluence of the
Rivers Dove and Trent, Burton also provided the main communications
link between lowland Staffordshire and lowland Derbyshire. The first
documentary hint of borough status at Burton appears to be in Henry
I's charter of liberties to Burton Abbey, which includes, among other
(conventional) things, privileges *in burgo et extra burgum*.[8] The phrase is a
very general one and for lack of further detail it is difficult to say in

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[5] F. W. Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond* (Cambridge, 1897), essay two, "The Boroughs."; C.
Stephenson, *Borough and Town* (Cambridge, Mass., 1933); A. Ballard, *British Borough Charters 1042-
1216* (Cambridge, 1913); M. Bateson, *Borough Customs* (Selden Society, xciii, 1904); J. Tait, *The
Medieval English Borough* (Manchester, 1936); A. Ballard and J. Tait, *British Borough Charters 1216-1307*
(Cambridge, 1923).

[6] DB, i, fols. 246a, 246b and 248b. Stafford and Tutbury are recorded explicitly as boroughs.
Tamworth is not described as a borough in DB, but a total of twelve burgesses in Tamworth is
recorded in the entries for Wigginton and Drayton Bassett, to which manors they belonged. See
VCH for Staffordshire, iv, pp. 22-3. Another ten burgesses said to have been in Tamworth belonged
to the royal manor of Coleshill, Warwickshire (DB, i, fol. 238a).

[7] E. Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names* (4th edition, Oxford, 1960), p. 77,
and W. H. Duignan, *Notes on Staffordshire Place-Names* (London, 1902), p. 29.

[8] Bn. Cart., fol. 12v. It is also printed in S. Shaw, *The History and Antiquities of Staffordshire* (London,
1798), i, Burton Appendix, p. 1. The full and rather conventional phrasing of the confirmation
should not be taken too literally: *cum soco et saca et tol et them et infongentheof, et omnibus consuetudinibus
in burgo et extra burgum et in luco et in plano et in aquis et in viis et extra vias et in omnibus rebus.*

what sense Burton was a borough at that time. However, the Burton Abbey surveys of abbot Geoffrey's time (1114-50)[9] afford a glimpse of town life at Burton in an embryonic stage in the first quarter of the twelfth century, with at least a dozen references in both surveys to almost landless men, such as goldsmiths, carpenters, dyers, masons, and the like who paid from sixpence to eighteenpence for a dwelling or tenement with an occasional acre or half acre. The abbey's need for a nucleus of landless, mobile men was no doubt as important as Burton's position on the Trent in the early stages of urbanization. But there is no mention in the early twelfth century surveys of burgesses, burgages or a borough at Burton.

Despite the scantiness of the records it seems that the twelfth century was the formative period in Burton's urban history, and there is evidence to suggest that towards the end of the century Burton was considered, in one respect at least, to be a borough. A grant by abbot Nicholas (1188-97) to William, a smith of Burton, of one burgage which the same William had bought from the daughters of a certain Ambrose "to hold as Ambrose had done"[10] suggests that transactions in land held by burgage tenure were being made before William Melbourne's notification that King John had granted him permission to make a borough at Burton.[11] And again, Burton is described as a *novo vico* in a late twelfth century composition between Robert, son of Hugh of Okeover, and the abbot of Burton (c. 1180-90).[12]

The early history of the borough of Burton-upon-Trent with respect of customs and privileges has to be compiled from a variety of sources. According to abbot William Melbourne's rather brief notification, all who accepted burgages between the Great Bridge at Burton and the New Bridge at Horninglow were to pay an annual rent of 12d per burgage (a burgage being defined as twenty-four perches by four). It is essentially a notification of the abbot's intention to introduce burgage tenure to the manor of Burton. There is nothing in this notification nor in the earlier, twelfth century evidence about fairs, markets or borough customs. The earliest references to a fair and a market at Burton are to be found in the Burton Annals, *sub anno* 1226, and in the *Calendar of Charter Rolls* (1227), which give identical accounts of Henry III's confirmation of an annual three-day fair (to celebrate the feast of St. Mod-

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[9] Bn. Cart., fols. 28-36. Survey B of 1114 and Survey A of c. 1126-7 are printed in parallel by C. G. O. Bridgeman in *SHC* (1916), 212-47.

[10] Anglesey 38, as catalogued by I. H. Jeayes in *SHC* (1937).

[11] Burton probably became a borough in the first half of William Melbourne's abbacy. It is referred to as such in Assize Roll, 5 John (1204): *Burgus de Burton, Nichil dicit nisi de pannis unde assisa non servata est.*

[12] Bn. Cart., fol. 49; and Anglesey 236.

wen) and a weekly Thursday market as long as they were not to the detriment of neighbouring fairs and markets (*ita quod non sint ad nocumentum vicinarum feriarum et vicinorum mercatorum*).[13] It should be added, however, that this was alleged to be a confirmation of an earlier grant by King John. A tenure roll of Offlow Hundred (c. 1255) confirmed the abbot's right to a market, tolls, fairs twice a year and a free court for all pleas except withernam (illegal distraint of goods), without mentioning a borough at all.[14] Lastly the Burton Cartulary contains a version of William Melbourne's notification entitled *Carta Burgi de Burtona*. This states that the King (presumably John) granted Burton the customs and privileges pertaining to a borough and that the abbot granted the burgesses of Burton tenure by hereditary right (*iure hereditario habeant*). The burgesses were also to enjoy those customs and liberties of the burgesses of Lichfield which they, the burgesses of Burton, wished to choose. Payment of an annual rent of one shilling per burgage was to be made in two equal instalments at Christmas and Easter.[15]

About twenty years after William Melbourne had obtained royal permission to make a borough at Burton, abbot Richard de Lisle (1222-29) was granted the right to make a borough in the manor of Abbots Bromley and to hold an annual three-day fair there on the feast of St. Bartholomew.[16] The newly-created burgages rendered the standard rent of one shilling in two equal instalments, and the burgesses of Abbots Bromley too were to enjoy the liberties and customs of Lichfield. The abbot of Burton, however, retained pannage rights in respect of the burgesses' pigs, and the right to the tithes of recently-bought or recently-acquired pigs (*de novo emptos porcos aliquos vel aliunde perquisitos*), an obligation which could be commuted at the rate of 1d for one-year-old pigs and 1/2d for six-month-old pigs. Other agricultural rights of the Abbots Bromley burgesses, more in their own interests than in the abbot's, were free common in the woods and fields as long as they kept beyond the demesne fences and did not impede progress on the abbot's lands (*ita tamen quod non fuit impedimento quin possimus condicionem nostram meliorare pro voluntate nostra*); free common in fishponds, marshes, assarts, parks, hedges and all other easements; a reasonable allowance of deadwood for seven years at the discretion of the abbot's forester for building houses and fences and for firewood (*husbote, haibote, furbote*);

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[13] *Annales Monastici*, vol. i (Rolls Series, 1864), pp. 236-7; *CChR*, i, p. 42. St. Modwen's feast day, 5 July.

[14] BM, Harl. Ch. K. 10. This is the only reference to a biennial fair at Burton. It may include an indirect reference to the Abbots Bromley fair.

[15] Bn. Cart., fol. 74r.

[16] Bn. Cart., fol. 102r. St. Bartholomew's feast day, 24 August.

and the right to grind their corn wherever they wished before bringing it into Abbots Bromley. A weekly market is not included in this *Carta Burgi de Bromlege*, but its existence is confirmed, as it is in the case of Burton, in the Burton Annals and the *Calendar of Charter Rolls*.[17]

In contrast with the enfranchisement of Burton that of Abbots Bromley comes as a surprise. Only with difficulty can a case be made out for Abbots Bromley's elevation to borough status. It was not situated on an important highway or waterway, nor does it seem to have been an important economic or administrative centre. On the other hand, it could be argued that Abbots Bromley was handily situated a short day's journey from four sizeable towns — Burton to the east (9 mi.), Stafford to the west (12 mi.), Uttoxeter to the north (5 mi.), and Lichfield to the south (10 mi.). These towns it would have been able to serve with surplus agricultural and woodland commodities, but that was about all. Abbots Bromley achieved no special distinction in any trading or commercial sphere, but something must have motivated the abbot of Burton and/or the villagers of Abbots Bromley to press for borough status in the 1220s.

There is, of course, no clear statement why the manor of Abbots Bromley became a borough or on what its prosperity was based. Judging from the changes that took place between 1114 and c. 1126 at the time of the Burton Abbey surveys, Abbots Bromley seems to have been the most likely manor of the Burton Abbey estate in Staffordshire (with the exception of Burton itself) capable of rewarding the abbot with surplus wealth in the form of burgage rents, tolls and jurisdiction derived from burgage tenure. There are two indications in the twelfth century surveys that Abbots Bromley was prosperous, even different from the other manors described. First, it provides us with a very early example of communal leasing of a manor (Survey B: *Hoc manerium habent homines ad firmam pro lxx s.*; Survey A: *Hoc manerium excepto luco quem Abbas retinuit in manu sua habent ad firmam usque ad xx annos pro c. solidis Aisculf presbyter, Godwinus, Bristoaldus, Leuricus et Ormus.*); secondly, the few *villani*, or week-workers, described in Survey B had become *censarii*, or rentpayers, by the time of Survey A. [18] A century later, with the example of Burton before them, it is possible that the descendants of this particularly large rentpaying element at Abbots Bromley were in a position to match their longstanding economic prosperity and independence with social and legal status as holders of burgage

[17] See n. 13.

[18] Bn. Cart., fols. 28-36.

[19] According to M. Deanesly in the preface of *SHC* (1937), xxxvi, the *censarii* were "the predecessors proper of the burgesses."

tenements.[19] The manor's enfranchisement would have served two purposes: financial satisfaction for the abbot and convent at a time when landlords were in dire need of ready cash, and the acquisition of "free" status for the richer peasants of Abbots Bromley at a time when nonservile labels were at a premium.[20] The balance of interests between the two parties was a delicate one. A market and fair would provide further opportunity for the burgesses of Abbot Bromley, but the abbot, as has been seen, was careful not to lose complete control of his rights in the borough, in the manor, or in the neighbouring woodland.[21] In this respect the short distance between Abbots Bromley and Burton would have been to the abbot's advantage.

The introduction of burgage tenure by the abbots of Burton to essentially rural communities, which previously held land in villeinage and free socage only, seems to have been the most fundamental element in the grants of borough status to Burton and Abbots Bromley. Further grants of fairs and markets, and exemption from tolls and tallages appear to be subordinate to the essential privilege of holding free tenements at a money rent. In its most advanced form this freedom (in contrast to manorial unfreedom) meant being free to partition, sell, alienate or bequeath one's property at will or at least to dispose of it according to the customs of the borough. It also meant being free from manorial services and customs, such as merchet, heriot and relief. In reality and in most seigneurial boroughs, especially ecclesiastical ones, restraints of sale, pre-emption rights in the lord's favour, and leasehold burgages were not uncommon limitations to this freedom.

The charter material for a study of burgage tenure at Burton-upon-Trent and Abbots Bromley is reasonably good. The Burton Cartulary includes a few charters of note, but the most valuable source in this connection is the Anglesey collection (or Paget Muniments), from which a good deal can be gleaned concerning the customs, privileges and peculiarities of burgage tenure at both places.

Two early thirteenth century charters of William Melbourne's time reveal standard practice. In the one, a grant of a burgage at Burton to Gilbert of Kingstone (3 mi. north-west of Abbots Bromley), it is made clear that the twelvepence annual rent was in lieu of all services and dues, presumably manorial ones, and that Gilbert and his heirs were free to grant or sell the burgage to anyone "as is the custom in any free

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[20] See R. H. Hilton, *A Medieval Society* (London, 1967), pp. 49-50, 75 and 135, for the financial crisis of the lower and upper aristocracy; pp. 127-31, for problems of the free peasantry and legal changes.

[21] A century earlier Abbot Geoffrey (1114-50) too had been careful to exclude the wood from the communal lease of Abbots Bromley.

borough" as long as the rent remained payable to the Abbot.[22] In the other, a grant to William a dyer of Tutbury, plain land in Burton seems to have been in the process of becoming a burgage tenement when a moiety of land (*medietatem terre*), which had belonged to Roger the chaplain, was granted to William and his heirs as a free burgage (*sicut liberum burgagium*) for sixteenpence per annum.[23]

Both of the above grants to outsiders appear to be freely alienable and inheritable but this is not the case in all the surviving burgage transactions. In 1260 abbot Lawrence (1229-60) granted Elias of Abbots Bromley a *cultura* (a furlong?) called "Calverecroft" and 1 1/2 roods of land in Longley to hold in burgage in the borough of Abbots Bromley (*in burgagio in burgo de Bromley*) for an annual rent of 2s 6d and suit of court at the portmoot, or borough court. This burgage was given to Elias for his lifetime or less if he changed his profession, in which case the tenement reverted to the abbot in its entirety except for the preceding year's crops.[24] In 1269 Lawrence fitz Walter and Matilda, his wife, were granted a burgage in Burton for their lifetime and were not free to sell or assign it, in part or whole, to anyone.[25] One of the shortest leases was that granted to John de Keel by abbot John of Stafford (1260-81) — a burgage in Abbots Bromley for a term of twelve years from 1272 to 1284 at a rent of 2s 6d per annum, 6d of which was payable to the Abbot and 2s to the Chapel of St. Mary in Burton.[26]

For the most part widows of burgesses at Burton and Abbots Bromley were entitled under Common Law to one-third of their husband's property. There is no evidence in the Burton material of the development of freebench whereby a widow might be entitled to half or even all of a burgage. Of course, the tendency of the widow's dower was to fragment burgages and this is probably why there are so many widows' quitclaims of burgages and parts of burgages in the abbot's favour for money payments and corrodies. It was in the abbot's interest to maintain and control complete burgages. A few examples will suffice. Aubrey, the widow of Robert Frowart of Burton, quitclaimed to the Church of Burton all her third-share of her husband's one and a half burgases near the New Bridge at Horninglow (c. 1260-80).[27] Another widow, Matilda of Ilam, quitclaimed all her husband's (William of Okeover) burgage, saving for herself a chamber in the western section and a third of the curtilage, or courtyard, for as long as

[22] Anglesey 51.
[23] Anglesey 52.
[24] Anglesey 165 (notification); Anglesey 166 (lease).
[25] Anglesey 193.
[26] Anglesey 219.
[27] Anglesey 229.

she lived, for which she paid a 1/2d a year to the almoner and performed unspecified services for the Abbey.[28] Another woman, Lecia the daughter of William of Coventry and widow of Richard Francis of Abbots Bromley, relinquished her claim to a burgage which apparently abbot John of Stafford then sold to her son, John. For this quitclaim Lecia received three shillings from the abbot.[29]

Several burgage charters of Abbots Bromley and Burton clearly distinguish between a burgess's liberty to dispose of his burgage at will on the one hand, and the abbot's perpetual claim to dues and customs from the property, irrespective of its change of ownership, on the other. This has already been seen in the terms of William Melbourne's grant to Gilbert of Kingstone, whose burgage rent remained payable to the abbot whatever Gilbert or his heirs did with the burgage.[30] In the following instances this stipulation was put into practice. Adam Coffin of Burton (c. 1260) granted John le Strange and his heirs half a burgage in Burton for 24s to be held free and quit of Adam and his heirs, but the annual rent still had to be paid by the purchaser of the burgage, John le Strange, to the almoner of Burton Abbey on Adam's behalf.[31] Likewise John Chulle (temp. Edw. I) sold his burgage to Henry, son of Robert of Lavender, for 5s and Henry was obliged to continue the annual rent of 15d to the Abbot.[32]

It has been noted that burgage rent was paid in lieu of manorial obligations and customs, but burgage tenure also involved extra-manorial, or burghal duties.[33] In the Burton charters the demands made of the burgesses, beyond payment of rent and repeated prohibitions against the sale of burgages to Jews and ecclesiastics other than the abbot of Burton, are not given in any great detail.[34] We know little, for example, about the responsibility for the maintenance of Burton Bridge, a task usually allotted to burgesses who lived in the vicinity of a bridge. At Burton, as far as one can tell, the abbey was responsible for bridgework until quite late in the thirteenth century.[35] At Abbots Bromley, as has been seen, Elias's obligation to attend the portmoot is

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[28] Anglesey 343: *salva tamen michi quamdiu vixero camera illa in parte occidentali cum tertia parte curtilagii et est sciendum quod pro camera ista quam ad opus meum retineo persolvam annuatim quamdiu vixero elemosinario de Burthonie qui pro tempore fuerit unum obulum.).

[29] Anglesey 218.

[30] See above p. 9, n. 22.

[31] Anglesey 157.

[32] BM., Add. Ch. 27319.

[33] Anglesey 51: *pro omni servicio*; Anglesey 186: *pro omni servicio seculari exactione et demanda salva forinseco servicio sicut ceteri burgenses facere consueverunt*; Anglesey: *pro omnibus.*

[34] Anglesey 186: *...exceptis Judaeis et omnibus viris religiosis preter dominum Burthonie.*

[35] CPR, 1281-92, p. 115 (1284): John de Norff', a monk and keeper of the works of the bridge, was granted protection, with clause *rogamus*, for two years to beg alms for the re-building of Burton Bridge, which had been damaged by floods.

mentioned as one of the conditons of his tenure.[36] The fairly regular portmood consisting of the burgesses with the abbot's seneschal presiding (for there is no evidence of a mayor or alderman at Abbots Bromley) would have merged twice a year with the less frequent manorial court.[37] There is no mention of a portmoot at Burton itself, which is not surprising since the manorial court at Burton met every three weeks. Burghal problems, which were at times confused with manorial issues, could easily be kept under the abbot's close sur-veillance.[38] There is even less information about the abbot's obligations towards his burgesses in both boroughs. Clearly it was in the abbot's in-terest to encourage existing commerce and trade and to provide boroughlike amenities, such as a court for squabbles between burgesses. This is what probably lay behind William Melbourne's promise to William of Tutbury to defend and protect him as his free and faithful burgess (*In omnibus quoque que ad nos pertinent predictum Willelmum manutenebimus et protegemus pro posse nostro sic liberum et fidelem burgensem nostrum*).[39]

At their inception both boroughs were undoubtedly more agriculturally than commercially oriented, Abbots Bromley more so than Burton. The extremely rural nature of the borough of Abbots Bromley is brought out clearly in Richard de Lisle's charter and elsewhere, such as in grants of arable acres attached to burgages. On the other hand, the Burton charters of enfranchisement are not nearly as detailed, nor is there the same emphasis on rural customs and privileges. To be sure, Burton was a rural borough but the indications are that it was considerably less rural than Abbots Bromley. Judging from the use of place-names as surnames in charters, rentals and sur-veys both places recruited a large number of their burgesses from within a fifteen mile radius: Kingstone, Tutbury, Rolleston, Repton, Donington, Chartley, Sandon, Drointon, Dunstal, Fauld and so on. This is not remarkable but the conspicuous absence of the abbey's own manors from this list is.

It is difficult to assess the size and importance of either borough at the end of the thirteenth century, although there is some useful and comparable evidence. Soon after the creation of the two boroughs the burgesses of Tutbury, Lichfield, Stafford and Tamworth joined together to complain to the King's itinerant justices that the markets

[36] See above, pp. 9-10, n. 24.

[37] Anglesey 171; and *Select Bills in Eyre, 1292-1333,* edited by W. C. Bolland (London, 1914), pp. 68-9, in which reference is made to the abbot's court at Abbots Bromley in 1293.

[38] Anglesey 182, and William Salt Library, Stafford, D/1734/2/3/112a, fol. 27v and fol. 33r. For a case of burgage tenure arising in the Burton manor court see fol. 29v (s.a. 1292) and Lawrence le Swon's acquisition of half a burgage in Burton.

[39] Anglesey 52.

and fairs of Burton and Abbots Bromley were detrimental to their own established ones. As a result of an enquiry the justices decided that the markets and fairs of the two new boroughs did not coincide with their neighbours' and for a "certain fee" declared that the boroughs of Burton and Abbots Bromley were "free".[40] It was not an unusual practice on the part of fully-fledged towns to oppose the creation of new, potentially rival markets and fairs, and in this instance the opposition is more an indication of the plaintiffs' fears for the future than an indication of the meteoric rise of Burton and Abbots Bromley.[41]

There are, however, some clear indications that the borough of Burton was prospering more than Abbots Bromley towards the end of the thirteenth century. The enfranchised area of Burton was extended twice in thirteen years (1273 and 1286); there was a rapid rise in burgage rents in the second half of the thirteenth century, and considerable evidence of partitioning of burgages. Finally, there is a very detailed list of burgage tenements preserved in the William Salt Library, Stafford, which gives a reliable idea of Burton's size in 1319, at the close of the period under review.[42]

The early thirteenth century notification of William Melbourne was simply a note of his intention to create burgages in part of the manor of Burton, from the Great Bridge in Burton to the New Bridge in Horninglow. Although the advantages of burgage tenure were no doubt fully exploited in the first half of the thirteenth century, it was not until 1273 that the first official extension to the enfranchised area of Burton was made, when abbot John created burgages on both sides of "Bradeweye" (Broadway, now High Street).[43] In 1286 the borough was further extended when abbot Thomas Packington created burgages from John Norris's house in Burton to the King's highway (Icknield Street).[44] During this period of extension and expansion it appears that burgages were fragmented and rents soared high. In the charters of the last quarter of the thirteenth century rents of twelvepence per burgage, as stipulated in Melbourne's notification (and, curiously enough, in Thomas Packington's deed of enfranchisement), are extremely rare. In-

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[40] A full account of the complaints of the burgesses of Tutbury, Lichfield, Stafford and Tamworth, the enquiry and decision of the King's justices may be found in Bn. Cart., fol. 11r (on an attached membrane) and fol. 91v: *data quadam summa pecuniae inrotulaverunt in rotulis suis villam de Burton liberum esse burgum et eiusdem mercatum et feriam.*

[41] The justices appear to have been right about the fairs not coinciding, but the weekly markets of Abbots Bromley and Tutbury were both on Tuesdays. Burton's market was held on Thursday, Tamworth and Stafford on Saturday, and Lichfield on Tuesday and Friday.

[42] William Salt Library, Stafford, D/1734/2/3/112a. fols. 16-24.

[43] BM., Add. ch. 27315.

[44] BM., Add. Ch. 27316; Bn. Cart., fol. 103v.

stead, rents of 2s 6d,[45] 4s 6d,[46] and even 8s 0d[47] per burgage are not un-common. In one notable case where the traditional rent was maintained an extraordinarily high entry fine of 24s was exacted.[48]

The first comprehensive view of the borough of Burton comes from a rental of 1319 described as the farm of burgage, free and villein tenements in Burton (*Firma Burtonie tam burgagio quam libere tenentium et nativorum facta et examinata per vetera instrumenta et sacramenta fidedignorum in festo Sancti Michaelis anno Fratris Willelmi de Bromlega Abbatis secundo*).[49] This *firma burgi* of Burton is a list of rentpayers and tenements of a wide variety. It is arranged street by street (*secundum ordinem*), with rents due directly to the Abbot entered in a right-hand column next to the main text and the names of claustral receiving departments, such as the almonry, infirmary and kitchen, in the left-hand margin. The rental is incomplete in two respects: one folio (fol. 25) is missing, having clearly been ripped out, and blanks have been left for many of the rents. This means that any estimate of the size of Burton, based on the number of burgages, burgage-holders and their rents, will be on the small side.

Eight streets are recorded in the rental — "Bradeweye", "Dad-dieslone", "Newestrete", "Cotteslone", "Cattestrete", "Siwardesmore", "Newebugging", and "Anlastoft". In all, more than 400 tenements of one sort or another are listed. With the omissions mentioned above it would be reasonable to reckon that there were about 500 heads of households in Burton at the end of the first quarter of the fourteenth century, or a total population in the region of 1,500. The predominant type of holding was the *burgagium*, of which there were 327. Although many of these tenements were held by the same tenant, it should not drastically upset our population estimate, for at least a third of the burgages had been subdivided into halves, thirds and occasionally four-ths. In addition to *burgagia* several other types of holdings are men-tioned, though they are not described. The most numerous are *placia* (45) and *messuagia* (27). Others include *perticula, tenementa, curtilagia,* and *cotagia*. The differences between these various holdings, particularly be-tween *placia, messuagia* and *burgagia* are not always clear. As in a smaller rental for Abbots Bromley (discussed below) some of the terms are in-termixed quite freely. All of them, however, appear to be connected in some way with burgage tenure.[50]

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[45] Anglesey 226 (1260-80).

[46] Anglesey 223 (1272-80).

[47] Anglesey 315 and 351 (1280-1305).

[48] Anglesey 186 (1262).

[49] See n. 42.

[50] A burgage (*burgagium*) was the traditional plot of land free from manorial obligations and subject to the obligations of burgage tenure; a plot (*placia*) seems to have applied to a small section

The rents from all these burgages, town plots and tenements were assigned directly to spending departments within Burton Abbey's obedientiary system, although it must be re-emphasized that many of the rents have in fact been omitted. In the light of these omissions the following breakdown of rents due from the burghal tenements of Burton should be increased by 20-25% to give a total annual revenue of about twenty-five to thirty pounds:

	£	s	d
The Abbot	17	5	9-3/4
Almoner	1	15	0
Convent		6	0
Kitchen		19	2
Infirmary		7	3
Sacristan		4	10
Chamber		1	0
Prior		3	0
St. Mary's Chapel		10	0
	21	12	0-3/4

The borough of Abbots Bromley was much smaller than that of Burton and the evidence for its development much scantier. It is impossible, for example, to provide a picture of a gradually extended burghal area, as in the case of Burton. But a late thirteenth century fragment of a rental which records rents due to the Abbot of Burton from the burgesses of Abbots Bromley gives a fair indication of the size of that borough, or rather the number of burgesses there, c. 1280. This Abbots Bromley rental has been tentatively catalogued by Jeayes as a list of rents in Burton in the fourteenth century. From a comparison of the names of burgesses in the Anglesey charters, however, both in the main body of the charters and in the witness lists, it seems that this fragment records payments due from the burgesses of Abbots Bromley between 1260 and 1305, and probably, c. 1280.[51] A grant, previously mentioned, by abbot Lawrence to Elias de Fenneshay of a *cultura* called "Calverecroft" in 1260 and the rental's record of apparently the same tenant in possession of a plot called "Alurecroft" for an identical rent of 2s 6d per annum renders c. 1260 as the earliest date assignable to the rental.[52] Fur-

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of a burgage; a messuage (*messuagium*) was a town dwelling or house without reference to the land attached to it; a portion (*perticula*), normally rentable at about 1d per annum, was probably a small *placia*; a curtilage (*curtilagium*) was a courtyard; a cottage (*cotagium*) was a small messuage; and a tenement (*tenementum*) seems to have been a general term.

[51] Anglesey 604.

[52] See above, pp. 9-10, Anglesey 166. Of course the Elias de Fenneshay of the rental could have been the son or father of the Elias of Anglesey 166, but it is being argued that the accumulative personal name evidence is overwhelmingly in favour of the late thirteenth century as the date of the rental's compilation.

thermore, a John Lete is recorded in the rental as the holder of three acres for 4s, while in a later charter (*temp.* abbot Thomas, 1280-1305) Isabella, the widow of John Lete, is granted her husband's lands in Abbots Bromley.[53] This would place the rental no later than 1305. Other internal evidence points to a fairly central dating between 1260 and 1305. Stephen de Brocholis, a fairly unusual name, held *sontputis* (a saltpit?) for 12d per annum according to the rental and was also a fairly regular witness to charters between 1270 and 1305.[54] The same Stephen de Brocholis is recorded as the lessee of *Sontputtes* for 12d per annum in a notification independent of the rental, to which a William Bassi, a one burgage holder of the rental, was a witness.[55] Several other tenants of the rental, including Hugh the carpenter, Elias de Fenneshay, Henry de Glascote and Robert Wulgar,[56] can be identified in late thirteenth century Anglesey charters. Accumulatively then, despite the dangers of trying to prove identity of persons from identity of personal names, the personal name evidence points to c. 1280 as the date of the rental's compilation.

There is no rubric or heading to this list of rents but it appears to be a complete list as far as burgage tenants are concerned drawn up in two neat columns. Plots of town land are referred to as *placia*, *burgagia* and *acras in burgo*, and the tenants and their holdings are indiscriminately intermingled. Burgage rents were still generally a shilling a year, a *placium* rented for sixpence but a few did cost a shilling, and each acre *in burgo* invariably cost one shilling. In all, fifty-three tenants are listed paying a total of £3 15s 4d a year, made up as follows:

tenements	rents
38 burgages	45s 10d
9 *placia*	7s 6d
14½ acres *in burgo*	14s 6d
4 miscellaneous[57]	7s 6d
	£3 15s 4d

It would seem then that in terms of both burgage tenements and burgage rents that Abbots Bromley with its forty or so burgage-holders

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[53] Anglesey 296.

[54] E. g. Stephen de Brocholis was a witness to Anglesey 202 (1272), 218 (1260-80), 248 (1283), and 284 (1280-1305).

[55] Anglesey 325.

[56] Anglesey 322, 219, 286 and 304 respectively.

[57] E. g. "Alurecroft" and "Sontputis".

and four pounds annual rent was about one-tenth the size of the
borough of Burton.

   The dividing line between a *placium*, a *burgagium* and acreage *in burgo*
must certainly have been thin, if not obscure. The annual rents in some
cases are similar and the size of an acre *in burgo* was the same as that
stipulated for a burgage, namely four by twenty-four perches. In the
absence of contemporary elucidation it may be hazarded that an acre *in
burgo* was a cultivated acre within the confines of the borough but
lacked a dwelling of any sort, and that a *placium* was a diminutive form
of burgage with limited obligations. Even this is probably putting too
sharp a definition on the terms, for we find *placia* and *burgagium*
meaning the same thing.[58]

   The list of burghal rents from Abbots Bromley, which has the ap-
pearance of being complete, is followed by an incomplete list of free
tenants in Abbots Bromley. This second list names only two *liberi tenen-
tes*, Henry son of Stephen and Stephen de Brocholis. The latter held six
acres of the Abbot's demesne for 4s 8d rent and two appearances a year
at the manorial court of Abbots Bromley, all this in addition to his
burgage tenement for which he paid a shilling and did service at the
portmoot. Despite this rather abrupt end to the Abbots Bromley rental,
the document is still sufficient to reflect the extent of the burghal
aspects of the manor. As for the agricultural aspects of the manor of
Abbots Bromley we can be sure that they figured large. An extent of
Easter 1307 shows that the total demesne arable at Abbots Bromley was
651 acres, or land for eight ploughs,[59] a considerable increase in
agricultural activity since the time of Domesday Book, when there was
land for one plough in demesne and one in the hands of the villeins.[60] It
also provides some contrast with Burton, whose demesne arable
remained uncannily stable — two ploughlands at the time of Domesday,
two in both the early twelfth century surveys, and two in the 1307 ex-
tent (191 acres).[61]

   By the beginning of the fourteenth century the borough of Abbots
Bromley was still a fairly small market town with an elite of three or
four dozen burgesses with strong manorial ties and interests. The few
references in the late thirteenth century rental to a dyer, a tanner, a
potter, a skinner, a forester, a miller and the like does not suggest a
strong urban tradition or influence. On the other hand, the borough of

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[58] Anglesey 220 and 286.
[59] D1734/2/3/112a, fol. 4v.
[60] D 8, i, fol. 247b.
[61] D 1734/2/3/112a, fol. 1r.

Burton-upon-Trent with its sharply rising rents, the extension of its en-
franchised area into adjacent satellite manors, or suburbs, which were
later to be known as Burton Extra, and its commercially and militarily
strategic position on the River Trent was becoming a town of con-
siderable proportion and note.

Macquarie University, Australia

'DANCUS REX' IN ENGLISH

Rachel Hands

THE early Latin treatise of 'Dancus Rex' on the care and management of hawks is claimed as the first known western work of its kind. Its origin is obscure: if the knowledge and practice of falconry came from the East, then this very early handbook on the subject may owe its material, or at least its inspiration, to some oriental treatise. This question does not seem yet to have been examined in any detail, but it is in any case of little relevance to a study of the later history of the text.

To judge from the number of extant copies, the book had some considerable popularity, although not always in its original form. It is found in most manuscripts in conjunction with a second treatise, amending and augmenting it, and attributed to one 'Guillelmus falconarius', and it seems that at an early date the two were put together to make a single work. It seems too that it is in this way that the Dancus material was best known, for eleven of the fourteen extant manuscripts take this form. The Guillelmus text has been dated and localised, but we have no similar knowledge of the earlier text.

'Dancus Rex' is unidentified, and may well be no more than a fictitious authority invented to give weight to the contents of the work, his suitability for the purpose being made clear by the claim in the prologue that he was the world's greatest expert in the sport. Guillelmus is more mundane, being a falconer, brought up and living at the court of King Rogerius. This king has been identified[1] as Ruggiero II (1095-1154), king of Sicily from 1130, and the date of the Dancus text must therefore be no later than the first half of the twelfth century. The redactor responsible for the linking of the two treatises is unknown, but it is thought that the work in this form also comes from the Norman court in Sicily, probably during the second half of the same century.

The popularity of the treatise, usually in its revised form, is implied as observed above by the number of manuscripts extant. In his edition

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[1] By Antonio Ceruti, 'Trattato di falconeria testo di lingua inedito del secolo XIV', *Il Propugnatore* ii, 2 (1869), 229.

in *Cynegetica* IX,[2] Gunnar Tilander presents a collation of fourteen Latin copies, and mentions translations into Italian, French. Portuguese, Spanish, Catalan, Swedish and English. These translations however are not always complete, sometimes wanting several paragraphs, and sometimes consisting of no more than isolated paragraphs incorporated apparently at random into some other work. English is listed last by Tilander, and is particularly poorly represented, for only twelve paragraphs are cited, occurring in a somewhat garbled translation as part of the late fifteenth century *Boke of St. Albans*. These passages had been discussed earlier by Tilander in an article[3] which set out the twelve passages in Latin and English, and provided a short commentary. It is the purpose of the present article to show that a few more such parallels may be found, and to examine in a little more detail the way in which the material reached England.

Since the publication of Tilander's original discussion in 1949, work of this kind has been made considerably easier by the appearance of several recent volumes of *Cynegetica* concerned with hawking. In his edition of Dancus in 1963, Tilander included also the text and collation of the Guillelmus manuscripts, and the treatise of Gerardus Falconarius, again a work produced in the Norman court in Sicily in the early twelfth century. This volume was followed by the treatises of Grisofus Medicus and Alexander Medicus, and later by editions of the French and Spanish translations of Dancus.[4] The easy access to various Latin treatises and to some of the Dancus translations which has thus been provided has allowed comparison of a type which before was impossible, and has not only revealed rather more parallels between Dancus and the *Boke of St. Albans* than Tilander had listed, but has shown too that material from other Latin treatises appeared also in England, although apparently to a lesser extent. At the same time, an examination of two other English texts has shown that it is not only in the *Boke of St. Albans* that such parallels occur.

The texts considered are as follows:

LATIN

1. Dancus Rex, early twelfth century, quoted from the fifteenth century text printed in *Cynegetica* IX, i.e. MS lat. 368 of the Musée Condé, Chan-

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[2] *Dancus Rex, Guillelmus Falconarius, Gerardus Falconarius*, ed. Gunnar Tilander, *Cynegetica*, 9 (Lund, 1963).

[3] 'Traduction anglaise de Dancus', *Studia Neophilologica*, 22 (1949-50), 194-207.

[4] *Grisofus medicus, Alexander medicus, deux traités latins de fauconnerie de XII° siècle, Cynegetica*, 10 (Lund, 1964); *Traductions en vieux français de Dancus rex et Guillelmus falconarius, Cynegetica* 12 (Karlshamn, 1965); *Traduction española de Dancus rex y Guillelmus falconarius, Cynegetica*, 14 (Karlshamn, 1966); all ed. Gunnar Tilander.

tilly. This is not that used by Tilander in his article, where he quotes from MS lat. 7020 of the Bibliothèque nationale. Neither text is entirely satisfactory here, since in his discussion of the manuscripts Tilander shows that they fall into two main groups, which he calls CNTPVXY and BEFMOUZ from the letters by which he refers to the manuscripts, and of which the former, including both the manuscripts cited above, is more reliable and probably closer to the original. He also shows that his English parallels, and indeed most of those from other languages also, are based on texts similar to those of the second group. It is therefore sometimes necessary, in establishing further parallels, to quote an additional reading taken from those presented in his collation.

2. Guillelmus, early twelfth century, also quoted from Tilander's MS C, i.e. lat. 368, Musée Condé, as printed in *Cynegetica* IX. The treatise occurs in all the Dancus manuscripts except three from the BEFMOUZ group; the remainder arrange themselves in the manner already established by the Dancus text. At the end of the treatise, Tilander prints a number of remedies which are added to one or two of the manuscripts. Five of them, CXNP and Z, have additions of this kind, and all have been taken into consideration, even though only MS Z comes from the BEFMOUZ group (see no. vii).

3. Gerardus, early twelfth century. Again a popular work, collated by Tilander in *Cynegetica* IX from twelve manuscripts, several of which also contain the Dancus or Dancus-Guillelmus treatise. Tilander shows that it too is a product of the Norman court in Sicily, but apart from this, and the fact that material from it occurs in later translations of Dancus-Guillelmus, it appears to be independent.

4. Alexander, probably also twelfth century.[5] Again independent of Dancus, but in one case it occurs in manuscript together with Gerardus. One paragraph is quoted here (see no. ix).

FRENCH (quoted occasionally for comparison)

1. Dancus-Guillelmus. Two French translations are known, neither directly derived from any extant Latin text, both printed by Tilander in *Cynegetica* XII:

> MS fr. 12581, Bibliothèque nationale; thirteenth century. Closest to Tilander's Latin MS E (Biblioteca Etense, Modène, MS 15; early fourteenth century).
> MS fr. 25342, Bibliothèque nationale; fifteenth century. Closest to Latin MS U (Biblioteca Vaticana, MS reg. lat. 1446; fourteenth

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[5] See *Cynegetica*, 10, pp. 33f. The Grisofus treatise is not included here, since no English parallels have been found.

century), but presenting only certain paragraphs of each treatise, arranged together in a different order, and incorporating material from Gerardus.

2. *Les Livres du Roy Modus et de la Royne Ratio*, mid fourteenth century. A long work, partly prose and partly verse, dealing with both hunting and hawking in great detail and at great length. Very popular: edited by Tilander[6] from thirty-two manuscripts. Quoted here only for comparison with earlier works (see no. vii).

ENGLISH

1. *Prince Edward's Book*, (PEB), mid fifteenth century. A treatise on hawking, occurring in several manuscripts, of which two of the most complete versions associate the work in some way with 'Edward, Prince and King of England'.[7] It contains a few passages which may be traced to Dancus, one or two of them appearing also in the *Boke of St. Albans*, for much of which this manuscript treatise has clearly provided the source.

2. British Museum MS Harley 2340, ff. 23^r-45^r, mid fifteenth century. This forms the second of the series of three treatises on hawking of which this manuscript is composed. The first, in a different hand, is the best known version of *Prince Edward's Book*, although not that used by the compiler of the *Boke of St. Albans*. The third, in the same hand as the second, is a version of the miscellaneous collection of hawking and hunting lore (in this case concerned chiefly with hawking) which, from the colophon in this Harley text, I have termed the 'J B' treatise.[8] Like *Prince Edward's Book*, it occurs in several manuscripts, but unlike that work, it seems to derive nothing from Dancus. The second treatise does not as far as I know appear anywhere else; nor do I know of any printed

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[6] *Les Livres du Roy Modus et de la Royne Ratio,* ed. Gunnar Tilander, *Société des anciens textes français* (Paris, 1932).

[7] BM MS Harley 2340, ff. 1R-22V, printed by T. Wright and J. O. Halliwell, *Reliquiae Antiquae,* 1 (London, 1841), pp. 293-308, and A. E. H. Swaen, '*The Booke of Hawkyng after Prince Edwarde Kyng of Englande* and its relation to the Book of St. Albans', *Studia Neophilologica,* 16 (1943-4) 1-32, has the colophon *Here endith the booke of haukyng after Prince Edwarde, kyng of Englande;* Bodleian MS Rawlinson C 506, ff. 310^r-21^r (unprinted) has *Here endith the boke off haukyng Afftir Prynce Edwarde.* York House MS 45, pp. 259-83, in possession of H.R.H. the Duke of Gloucester, extends its version of *Prince Edward's Book* by the addition of other material at the end, moving from one to the other without a break. Since the final leaf of the last gathering is missing, it is not possible to tell whether or not this extended version had a similar colophon. The hands of these three manuscripts belong to the second half of the fifteenth century, but there seems to be no satisfactory means of dating their original, and the colophon might be taken to refer to any of the first four post-Conquest King Edwards.

[8] Juliana Berners and *The Boke of St. Albans'*, *Review of English Studies*, New Series, 18 (1967) 373-86.

edition. The text, providing at least one Dancus parallel, consists chiefly
of remedies for the diseases of hawks, with the colophon *Thes medicyns
affore writin Ben expressely preuyd in Fay*. A considerable portion of the
material has been copied twice over, although with some variation.

3. *The Boke of St. Albans* (St. A), 1486. A book of 'hawking, hunting and
blazing of arms', printed by the Schoolmaster Printer of St. Albans, and
largely compiled from earlier manuscript works on the three subjects.

An examination of these texts reveals occasional similarities of a type
which can scarcely be taken as irrefutable evidence of borrowing by
one writer from another. Into this category come such passages as the
advice that a hawk should be allowed to bathe only every third day:

> Guillelmus 27: De balneo. Noli balneare eum nisi de tertio in tertium
> diem, quia, si tu balneas, superbit et fugit.
>
> *Prince Edward's Book* (MS Rawlinson C 506, f. 311 V): and euery iij day in
> somer and one of weke yn wynter let your hawke bath yf it be mery
> wedur, and not ell.
>
> *Boke of St. Albans,* sig. A4 V: whan thyn hawke shall bathe hym. And
> euermore ech thridde day let thyn hawke bathe hym. all the somer if it be
> mere wether. and onys in a weeke in wynter if it be fayre wether. and not
> ellis.

Here there is clearly borrowing by the St. Albans compiler from some
version of *Prince Edward's Book,* but the similarity between the English
texts and the Guillelmus passage is scarcely more than a basic similarity
of content, and such an overlap in material of this nature is often
inevitable. A more striking example, but one which is again, I think, no
more than the result of two authorities using a common tradition, oc-
curs between Guillelmus and the second Harley treatise:

> Guillelmus 14: De tinea. Quando habet ineam, sic medicare opportet:
> Extrahe sibi tineam, scinde coreum cum acu ubi est tinea et invenias
> setam similem equi et extrahe et cave ne frangatur. Et postea unge ibi de
> aloe ne tangat cum rostro et lava eum aqua rosacea totum si potes. Et si
> non potes, lava locum ubi est morbus, et sanabitur.
>
> Harley 2340, ff. 32V-33R (repeated on ff. 43V-44R): A medycyn for þe
> fysworme in þe bake of a hawke For sche wyll schake hir mych and whan
> sche hath schakyd hir sche wyll draw to þe plase þat þe worme is in and
> þer sche wyll pyke and all to draw hyr fedyrs. for þe worme is on þe bake.
> and sche wyll draw to þe place where the hawke fechys hyr hoyle to var-
> nych hir with all and whan þe worme cummyth to þat place sche schall
> neuyr varnych hyr mor. and þan sche wyll dye sone aftyr. þer fore lat
> holde þi hawke and loke on þe bake on hyr. and þu schalte fynde a long
> rede stryng betwene þe flech and þe skyn; go wayte þe hende nexte þe
> crope and take a pyn and þer as þu mayst se þe hende of it breke þe skyn
> and put in þe pyn and gedir up þe hede and sett on gowde holde, and so
> draw hym owte for he is a fote long, and more and also grete as a horse
> here. and than stepe þe hole with hoyle de bay and with salte and latt hyr
> never bath ne flye. vij. nytys aftir and than sche wyll be hole.

The two passages are memorable chiefly for the image of the horse-hair, but the correspondence between them is hardly enough to establish Guillelmus as the source of the Harley text.

Closer parallels, however, of the type presented by Tilander, may also be found. Some of these reveal unmistakable signs of borrowing, even allowing for the fact that there may have been several intervening texts, and the Latin source may be represented by a late manuscript which does not belong to the group from which the English translation arose. At the same time, there are a few rather more doubtful cases, where the similarity is probably best attributed to the fact of a common oral tradition, until further evidence can be produced to prove a direct influence. It must be remembered that in material of this sort, even completely independent accounts of a well-known practice are likely to coincide in wording to a considerable extent, and the difficulty lies in determining at what point such correspondence may cease to be dismissed as mere coincidence, and may be taken as evidence of closer connection. Apart from a few passages included for comparison, it is thought thal all of the following parallels may be regarded as the intentional re-use of one authority's material by another, but the difficulty of determining this with any certainty is well demonstrated, particularly by some of the final passages quoted.[9]

(i)   Dancus 11

Quando habet lapidem in magone. Quando vides quod ipse accipit carnem cum rostro et statim eam proicit, tunc habet lapidem in magone. Sic medicare opportet: Accipe passeres et gariofores et trita et misce pulverem de garioforis et trita et misce pulverem de garioforis cum passere et da ei comedere. Et in alio die da ei pupionem. Et si utetur, sanabitur.

St. A. sig. C7ᵛ

A medecyne for hawkys that haue payne in theyr croupes. Ye shall take fayre Morsum and poudre of gelefre: and meddill it to gedre. and yeue it to yowre hawke to eete. and if she holde it past the secunde day after. she shall be hoole.

(ii)   Dancus 13

De lumbricis. Quando vides falchonem proicientem lumbricos, sic medicare debes: Accipe limaturam ferri et pulverisa carnem porcinam et da ei comedere uxque in tertiam diem, et sic sanabitur.

St. A. sig. B7ᵛ-8ʳ

A medecyne foor an hawke that castys wormys at the foundement what wormis that thei be. Take the lymayll of Iren: and medyll it with flesh of poorke and yeue it to the hauke. ij. days for to heete, and she shall be hooll.

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[9] Latin and French passages are taken from the texts established by Tilander, with his emendations silently adopted. All English texts are quoted from the original, with contractions silently expanded and occasional additions to the punctuation. *Prince Edward's Book* is quoted from the Rawlinson MS, as this seems closest to the text used by the compiler of the *Boke of St. Albans*.

(iii)   Dancus 19[10]

Contra podadram. Recipe kartam bombacinam, incende eam et cum ea coque plantam pedis falkonis et mitte stare eum supra petram inunctam cum anxungia veteri et da ei comedere mures tantum.

St. A. sig. C3[v]

A medecyne for the podagre. ... and if that auayll nott, Seth the cuttynges of a vyne. and wrappe it a bowte the swellyng. and let hir sit vppon a colde stone and anoynt hir with butter or freshe grece. and she shall be hooll.

(iv)   Dancus 29 (from l. 6)[11]

De morsu bestie. Si aliqua bestia mordebit falchonem, sic medicare opportet: Depila eam ubi mordicata est, et si est parva plaga, amplifica eam cum araxorio, et calefac butirum et unge eum. Et postea fac atractum de thure et de rasa et cera et de sepo, et unge ibi.

PEB, Rawl. C 506, f. 318[v]

For an hawke þat is bet of a best take feþeris of away and yf it be bott lytill with a rasur kut hyt and anoynt hit with hote botour þen take olybanum, rosyn, vaxe and talowe and confye all þese to gedir and anoynt þe sor with þis oyntement till it be hole.

(v)   Dancus 23

De vulneribus. Quando habes falchonem vulneratum super pennam ubi nascitur, sic medicari opportet: Accipe albumen ovi et oleum olive et misce in simul et unge ubi est vulnus, et custodias eum ab aqua ne tangat ibi. Quando vis mutare, lava cum vino calido et fac ita donec habuerit crossam. Et si videris quod tangat sibi vulnus, pone ibi de aloe. Et si videris quod vulneratus sit sub alla vel in pectore vel in costatum vel in coxa, mitte ibi stupam crossam bene tritam cultello donec cum mala carne corrodatur. Postea accipe thus et ceram equaliter et sepum et pinguedinem, et distempera omnia in olla ad ignem, et hoc erit attractum. Quando vis ungere, fac illud calidum et unge cum pena donec faciat crossam. Et si videris quod sit de mala carnositate quod non liberatur, accipe de viride ere et mitte ibi donec mala caro corrodatur. Postea vero accipe unguentum album et mitte ibi, et sanabitur.

PEB Rawl. C. 506, f. 317[v]

For hawkys iwoundyd Take away þe feþerys abowt þe wounde and take þe whyte of an egge and oyle of oylyfe and medyll hem in fer and anoynt þe wounde and kepe it wythe wlake vyn on to þe type þat ye se ded flessche and put on þe wounde Enscompe small vn to þe type þe ded flesch be wastid and after take encense and clene waxe as moche of on as of an oþer, and confye hem to gedur and when ye wyll anoynt hit

St. A. sig. C4[r-v]

For hawkis that ben wonded. Take a way the federis abowt the wonde and take the while of an Egge and Oyle of Olyue. and medill it to geder. and anoynt .the wonde and kepe it with white wyne. vnto tyme ye se ded flesh. and then put in the wonde Escompe sall vnto tyme the dede flesh be wastyde. after take encence: and clene as myche of that oon as of that oder. medill it in fere. and whan ye will anoynt the scoore heete yowre

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[10] The main *St. Albans* remedy for the podagre and its Dancus parallel was observed by Tilander and quoted in his article. This remedy is added as an alternative in the *Boke of St. Albans,* and appears in the margin of Dancus MS U.

[11] Heading from MS B; similar headings appear in MSS O, Y and E.

heet hit and anoynt hit with a penne till þe skyn growe azen and yf ӡe se dede flesche þer on and ӡe wolde it be deliueryd take bete grece and brenne it to powder and put vp on þe wonde till ded flesch be consumyd away and þen anoynt it with þe oyntment aforeseyde and he shal be hole.

oyntement and anoynt it with a penne tyll the tyme the skynne grow ayenne. and if ye se dede flesh ther on: and woll haue it a way Take venecreke and then anoynt itt with this Oyntement afforsayde and she shall be hooll.

(vi)   Gerardus 20

Quando inpenescit, debes dicere: Volatilia tua sub pedibus tuis.

PEB Rawl. C. 506, f. 319ᵛ

Also in þe morowe tyde when ӡe goo owt and hawkyng sey In nomine Domini volatilia celi erunt sub pedibus tuis.

Gerardus 21

Quando mane de pertica aufers. Quando mane de pertica tollis, sic dicas: Iniquus homo ligavit, Dominus per adventum suum absolvat.

Also yf your hawke be rebukyd of any man sey quem iniquus homo ligauit dominus per aduentum suum soluit.

Gerardus 24

Propter aquilam. Propter aquilam dic: Vincit leo de tribu Juda, radix Davit, alleluia.

Also lest she be hurt of þe heyron sey Vicit leo de tribu iuda radix dauid alleluia.

(vii)   Guillelmus 44
   (addition at end of MSS C, X)

Si vis quod astures mutentur bene. Accipe serpentem et mitte in olam cum aqua et fac bulire cum furmento ita ut nichil remaneat de serpente. Postea accipe de dicto furmento et da comedere duabus gallinis nigris et de dicta aqua furmenti distempera furfur et da comedere per decem dies, et dicte galline da comedere astori.

Guillelmus 40 (MS fr. 12581, Bibl. nationale.)

Et, quant tu vues tost faire muer un faucon, si pran un grant serpent et le cuis en une paële ou il ait grant planté de iaue, et le cuis si bien que toute la char li chiee des os. Et puis si pran dou fromant dou meillor que tu porras avoir et le cuis en l'iaue ou li serpens sera cuiz, et pran II gelines ou III bien granz et les metez en une jaole et lor donez a mangier de cel blef. Et eles plumeront toutes et demorront toutes nues por le venin qui sera ou blef qu'eles auront mangié. Puis prenez de ces gelines et en donnez a mangier a vos faucons, et il mueront tantost et giteront hors lor pennes et revanront bones et grans.

Le Roy Modus 98, ll. 32-52

Encore, pour plus tost un faucon estre mué et despoullié de toutes ses panes a une fois, le peut on faire en ceste maniere. L'en prent une coulleuvre, et est tres bien batue d'une verge de coudre tant que elle est morte, puis est decoupee par bougons et sont ostees la teste et la queue, et tout l'autre est mis en un pot de terre neuf, plain de ble et eaue clere de fontaine, et est fait boullir tant que toute la substance de la coulleuvre soit en l'eve; puis soit celle

eaue puree en un autre vesel, aprés l'en prent de biau fourment et est mis dedens celle eaue, qui doit doit estre bien chaude, si comme elle vient du feu, et doit tremper le fourment tant que l'eve soit bien froide et que le fourment soit bien enflé, puis soit mis en haut lieu sec pour sechier. Et de ce fourment soit donné a une geline a mengier par neuf jours, et de celle geline donnés a mengier a vostre faucon une gorge ou deus; et quant vous li dourrés, que il soit fort et gras, et tantos se muera et getera toutes ses panes et toutes ses plumes, et se depullera aussi comme a une fois.

St. A. sig. C2^{r-v}

PEB Rawl. C 506, f. 320ᵛ

To mewe an hawke blyve Hastely to mewe an hawke I shall tell wery medycyn þat ȝe leue yf ye assay; seke yn wodys oþer in mareyse tyll ye have. ij. snakes oþer adderes for þei ben well better; take an smyth of hir heddes and þe ende of hir tayles, þen take an newe erþen pott þer neueur was vsyd. and cut hem in to smale gobettes and put hem þeryn and let it stronliche seþe all a grett leyer so þat þer com oute þer of no breþe and let it seþe so long þat þe flesch turne in to mete. þen cast it owt and do away þe bonys and gede þe grece and put yt yn a fayr clene vessill and as ofte as yowe fede your hawke anoynt her mete þere yn and lett her ete os myche as she woll and she shall sone mewe thowe it were yn fleyng tyme; a noþer Take an stryke of þe hed and þe tayle and seþe whete with her and fede hennys with þe whete and yefe þe hennys to your hawke and she shall sone mewe.

To make an hawke to mew tymeli with owt any hurtyng of hir. Now I shall tell yow verray true medecynes for to mewe an hawke hastyly that ye shall beleue for trowthe and ye will assay theym. Ther be in woddys or in hedgis wormys calde edders that ben Redde of nature. and he is calde vepera. and also ther be snakys of thessame kynde. and they be verri bitter. Take .ij. or .iij. of theym and smyte of ther hedes and thendys of theyr taylis. Then take a new erthen pot: that was neueur vsed. and cut them in to small gobettys. and put thossame therin. and let hem sethe stronglich. a grete while. at good layser. and let the pot be couered. that no ayre com owte of it ner no breth and let it sethe so long that the saame colpons seth to grece. then cast it out and doo a way the bonis. and geder the grece. and put it in a clene vessill. and as oft as ye fede yowre hawke: anoynt her meete therin. and let hir ete as moch as she will. and that meete shal mewe her at yowre awne will. A nother medecyne. Take whete: and put it in the brothe that thedderis weré sothen in. and when ye se the whete begynnyth to cleue: take it owt and fede hennys or chykynnes therwith. and fede yowre hawke with thessame polayn.

(viii)   Dancus 9¹²

De   pediculis.   Quando   vides falchones   habere   pediculos,   sic

Gerardus 17

Quando habet pediculos. ... Item, argentum vivum, pulverem carbonis

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¹² The Dancus-St. Albans parallel has already been observed and quoted by Tilander, but is repeated here in order that the Gerardus and Harley passages may be added.

medicari opportet: Accipe argentum vivum et bacile unum et mitte sputum hominis et cinerem et misce insimul donec argentum morietur, et accipe assungiam veterem et misce hec omnia et unge eum in sumitate capitis, et accipe fillum lane et liga ad collum eius, et sic occides eos.

cum sputo hominis confice, filum laneum intinctum sub assellas eius liga, et moriuntur.

Harley 2340, f. 40ʳ

anoþer medycyn for vermyn. Take qwhyke syluyr and put it in a noystyr schell. and sle it with fastyng spodyll tyll it be blake and put þer to þe ȝolke of anege. and than take a lyst of wolen cloþe and leyt apon þe lyst wele styrde to gedyr and lat it lye tyll it be drye. and than cut þe lyst and sewe sum þer abowte þe hawkes wyngys nexte þe body and a bowte þe neke and abowte þe tayle nexte þe body and abowte þe legges and as þu sest nede.

St. A. sig. B5ʳ

A medecyne for an hawke that is lowse. Take quycke siluer and put it in a bassien of brasse. and do ther to saladyne: and askys. and medyll it wele to geder. tyll all the quycke siluer be dede. and medyll therto fat of bonnys. and anoynte the hawke ther with. and hang it aboute hir necke tyll it fall a way. and that shall slee the lies.

(ix) Alexander 2

Ab anelitu festinanti ... Ád idem, pulverem piperis et interruscum arboris nucis et festucam malve et radicem raphani et lardum simul coque et post ut ceram exprime, et, cum fuerit coagulatum velud pasta, in crepusculo do ei comedere et da auripigmentum tres pillulas.

PEB Rawl. C 506, ff. 315ᵛ-6ʳ

For an hawke þat trauelyth vpon þe teyne ... þe for take a quantite of þe reddenesse of hasyll with powdur of rasue and pepyr and sum what of gynger and with fresch grece make .iij. pylettes and holde þe hawke by þe fyre and when she felyth þe hete þen make hir swolowe þis .iij. pylettes by strenkyth and knyt þe beke fast þat she kast hit not owt and do so iij. tymes and of þe teyn she shall be hole.

St. A. sig. B6ᵛ-7ʳ

A medicine for an hawke that hath the teyne ... Take a quantyte of the Redenesse of hasell with the poudre of Rasne and peper and somwhat of gynger. and make thereof in fresh grece .iij. pellettys and hole the hawke to the fire and when she felith the hete. make hir to swalowe the .iij. pellettys by strength. and knytte fast her beke. that she cast it not owte and do so thries. and she shall be safe.

With the reservations made above (p. 7), the majority of these parallels may be taken as examples of something more than the independent re-use of a common tradition. Nos. i-v show the greatest correspondence between Latin and English, and at least some of the discrepancies can be attributed to misunderstanding on the part of the English translator, while no. vi is a good example of the way in which

re-used material may become thoroughly garbled and yet remain recognisable, if perhaps no longer efficacious.

No. vii is of interest for several reasons. The Latin remedy, forming one of the additions to the Guillelmus manuscripts C and X, is one which seems to have been particularly prevalent among austringers and falconers. It is in some ways similar to one in Dancus, also used by the *Boke of St. Albans*,[13] where again the middle portion of a snake is cooked until falling apart, but in that case the result is then spread on peacock flesh and fed to the hawk for eight days, to be followed up at the end of this period by choice pieces of chicken. In the remedy quoted in no. vii, the feeding of the cooked snake to the hawk spread on its usual food seems to be a *Prince Edward's Book* addition, later copied by the printed work, the 'correct' method being that given by the English texts as an alternative, i.e. the feeding of hens with wheat soaked in the broth, and the subsequent giving of the hens to the hawk. The English version is considerably more detailed than the Latin, but the remedy occurs sufficiently often for something of its development to be traced. The thirteenth-century French translation of Dancus-Guillelmus (MS fr. 12581, Bibl. nat.) includes the Guillelmus additions to MS C, and the passage quoted shows that expansion and elaboration had already begun. In his introduction to this text, Tilander refers to the reappearance of the same remedy in *Le Roy Modus,* and in his note on the passage in *Modus* he gives several other instances of its use in other works. I have here quoted the *Modus* passage chiefly in order to illustrate the continuing development of the remedy, but there are one or two close similarities between it and the English, not found in the Latin and French Guillelmus (e.g. the instruction to cut off the snake's head and tail) which seem to suggest that in the case of this particular remedy it is some text or version of *Modus* which is the *Prince Edward's Book* source.

Recurrence of material is also shown in no. viii. Remedies for lice or vermin on hawks are very common and very varied, ranging from methods of trapping and removing them as they crawl upon the outer surfaces of the hawk's feathers to various means of destroying them (as here) while they still infest the hawk. Variants of this remedy involving quicksilver are found elsewhere (e.g. *Modus* 100, ll. 17-29; cf. also the *Master of Game,* ch. 13, where it is recommended for hounds that are mangy), but between the four examples quoted here there are similarities close enough to suggest at least that Dancus is the source of the two independent English versions, and possibly also of the brief instructions in Gerardus.

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[13] Dancus 7, *St. Albans* sig. C3^{r-v}. Item 7 in Tilander's article.

In the final example (no. ix), the Alexander passage is scarcely close enough to the English to be claimed as a source, although the details of the remedy are sufficiently similar to *Prince Edward's Book* and the *Boke of St. Albans* to provide an explanation of the obscure phrase *poudre of Rasne*. It is not clear from the manuscripts whether the scribes intended *rasne* or *rasue*, and A. E. H. Swaen in his note on the passage[14] comments: 'I presume that *rasne* is a scribal error for *rafne*, i.e. *rafany*, radish, L. *raphanus*, a plant largely used as a medicine in the Middle Ages.' This conjecture is now supported by the Alexander phrase *radicem raphani*, and it allows the same conjecture to be made, with greater certainty, in the several other places where *rasne/rasue* occurs in the *Prince Edward's Book* manuscripts or in the *Boke of St. Albans*. It is disappointing that a similar comparison of *interruscum arboris nucis* and *the Redenesse of hasell* cannot explain the English phrase equally satisfactorily. Although the obvious interpretation of *hasell* as 'hazel tree' is now confirmed, the preceding *redenesse* remains obscure.

In two other passages, however, detailed comparison with the established Latin source helps to solve several small points of interpretation in the English text. In (i), the meaning of *morsum* cannot be deduced from its context, but its equivalent *passeres* 'sparrows' in the Latin parallel suggests that it is an error for some form of French *moisson*, i.e. that the text, not fully understood, is being taken by the English writer from a French version of the treatise. It may be noted that of the two extant French translations of Dancus (see p. 4), the former has *la passe*, but the latter, closest to the Latin MS U, has *ung moisson*. Incomplete comprehension on the part of the English writer may also account for the simplification of *lapidem* (some manuscripts *petra*) *in magone* to *payne in their croupes: payne* may be a misinterpretation or misreading of some form of *petra* or *pierre*. Alternatively, of course, the English simplification may be a deliberate modification of the text, or the inevitable result of much repetition.

In (v), two more points may be clarified. Although the *St. Albans* compiler here derives his Dancus material through *Prince Edward's Book*, and the author of this earlier text appears to have reduced a long Latin passage describing the treatment for various kinds of wounds into a slightly shorter and more general account, the parallel is still sufficiently close to allow elucidation of two otherwise obscure English passages. The first is the instruction *put in the wounde Escompe sall* in the printed text, and *put on put on þe wounde Enscompesmall* in the Rawlinson manuscript. No other versions are available for comparison, as the relevant leaf is missing from the York House manuscript, and the in-

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[14] See n. 7. Swaen's comment is on p. 27, n. 80.

struction is omitted in the Harley text, probably through scribal error due to the close repetition of 'dead flesh'. No explanation has previously been found for the phrase, but comparison with the Latin suggests that it arises from *mitte ibi stupam crossam bene tritam*. A *stupe* (Fr. *estoupe*) as used in medicine at this period is 'a piece of tow, flannel, or other soft substance, wrung out of hot liquor or medicated, for fomenting a wound or ailing part' (O.E.D). The *Escompe* of the *St. Albans* text is perhaps an error for the French form, by confusion of *t* and *c*, and of *u* and *n*, followed by the substitution of *m* for the *n* thus produced. The intrusive *n* in the Rawlinson *Enscompe* is however still difficult to account for. It is clear that the manuscript from which both these texts are copied was already so corrupt that neither the Rawlinson scribe nor the *St. Albans* compiler had any idea what was originally intended. The second part of the phrase, *sall* or *small*, is equally difficult. The word order renders improbable the explanation that *small* is correct, being either an adjective or adverb based on *crossam bene tritam* and meaning '(cut up) small', unless it is assumed that this is a partial translation of a French phrase, e.g. *estoupes tailles menuement* from MS fr. 25342, miscopying *estoupes* and then replacing the following adjectival phrase by the English *small*. If this is the case, the *St. Albans* compiler has further confused his text by omitting the *m*. Alternatively, the phrase may be nothing more than a misdivision of 'estoupes all', with the Rawlinson scribe in error.

The second point which may be elucidated by comparison with the Latin parallel is the identity of the substance to be 'put in the wound till the dead flesh be consumed away'. By *venecreke* the *St. Albans* text can only mean 'fenugreek', a herb used as an emollient, cf. Lanfrank's *Science of Cirurgie*,[15] where it is included in a list of *medicyns þat ben mollificatiuis*. The Rawlinson *bete grece* (Harleian MS *letigres*) is less easy to interpret, but from the lines omitted in the *St. Albans* text, describing its use: *take bete grece and brenne it to powder and put vpon þe wounde till ded flesch be consumyd away,* it is clear that some kind of caustic or cauterising agent is meant. The same procedure is described in the Latin, where the substance prescribed is *viride eris* 'verdigris', included by Lanfrank in his list of the 'more strong' of *medicyns cauteratiuis*.[16] It looks therefore as if the common original of the English printed book and the manuscripts had some form of corruption of *verdigris* or *viride eris*, which has resulted in the obscurity of the manuscript readings, and substitution in the printed work of a herb for a chemical and an emollient for a caustic.

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[15] *Lanfrank's 'Science of Cirurgie'*, ed. Robert v. Fleischhacker, *E.E.T.S.* O.S., 102 (London, 1894), V. 7.

[16] *Ibid.,* V. 6.

Discussions such as these show only too clearly a number of texts must have intervened between the known fifteenth-century English versions and the original twelfth-century Latin, represented today most accurately, according to Tilander, by a mid fifteenth-century manuscript (Musée Condé, MS lat. 368). Several factors too indicate that the immediate precursor of the English text was in French. That the Dancus material should have reached England through a French intermediary is not surprising, and the point is raised by Tilander himself in his *Glossaire de mots rares*[17] under *allow*: 'La traduction anglaise fait croire qu'il s'agit ici d'un animal: take Merde of a dowe and of a shepe and of *an allow*. Le traducteur a-t-il traduit une version française de Dancus, prenant le vieux français *aloe* 'aloes' pour le mot *aloe* 'alouette' (de alauda), qu'il a traduit *allow*? Le text latin offre aloe.' Further support for this argument may be found elsewhere in the passages presented by Tilander, although in some cases the examples are too tenuous to carry much weight.[18] Two instances seem however to be rather more convincing. The first of these comes from Tilander's item 2, where the *St. Albans* compiler (sig. C6ᵛ) represents the Latin *nares* 'nostrils' by *narellis*. O.E.D. can quote only this instance of the word, apart from an entry in Cotgrave's *Dictionary*, and derives it from the French **narel*. Elsewhere, the *St. Albans* compiler uses the more common *nares*, explaining on sig. B1ᵛ that *the Hoolis in the hawkes beke bene callede the Nares*. The apparent nonce-usage of *narellis*, with its suggested derivation from a postulated French form, perhaps indicates the existence of a French source for the composer of the English version. Similarly, in Tilander's item 7, the hawk's furcula or wish-bone (Latin *forcella*) is referred to by the *St. Albans* compiler (sig. C3ᵛ) as the ffroshell bone.[19] O.E.D. can quote only this example of the word, apart from its reappearance in the 1496 reprint by Wynkyn de Worde, and suggests that it is a corruption of the Old French *fourchell*. Again, therefore, it seems likely that the immediate source of the English text was in French.

With only two knoxn manuscripts of the French Dancus-Guillelmus, it is not possible to take this very much further; all that can be said is that a French intermediary is very probable, and that of the two extant French texts the later one, MS 25342, Bibl. nat., closest to Dancus MS U, seems to represent more nearly the type presumably used in England. It

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[17] 'Traduction anglaise de Dancus' (see n. 3), pp. 202-3.

[18] E.g. the rendering of *stercus anseris* (Dancus 20, *St. Albans* sig. B8ʳ) by *merde of a dove*, perhaps suggesting a misreading of some form of *d'oie*; also the rendering of *collum inflatum* (Dancus 4, *St. Albans* sig. C4ᵛ) ad *fat abowte the hert*, perhaps through confusion of *cou* and *cœur*.

[19] Tilander reads *Freshett*, and O.E.D. *freshell*, explaining it as an error for *Froshell* (q.v.) 'the furcula of a bird'. The reading is however quite clearly *ffroshell*: the *o* is damaged, but is certainly not an *e*, while the final consonants are more like *ll* with a stroke through them than *tt*.

is perhaps significant that this text is itself not a complete or straight
forward translation of the Latin, but a collection of extracts from Dan-
cus, Guillelmus, Gerardus, and Grisofus, in a new order. The haphazard
appearance of the material in the English treatise could well be taken to
show that the writers were using an already-rearranged collection of
this kind.

There is one way in which this type of argument may still be
developed. In his edition, Tilander mentions more than once the version
of Dancus which appears as chapter 18 of *De falconibus, asturibus et ac-
cipitribus,* part of the *De Animalibus* of Albertus Magnus. The chapter is
headed *De Curis infirmitatum falconum diuersis secundum Guillelmum
falconarium,* and ends *In hac autem cura quam posuimus, praecipue experta
Guillelmi Regis Rogerij Falconarij secuti sumus, pauca de nostris adjicientes,* but
mostly consists of remedies from the Dancus treatise, taken from a text
similar to Dancus MS U. This fact is noted by Tilander, but its
significance is not emphasised. Also noted but not discussed is the fact
that the following chapter (ch. 19) contains most of the Gerardus
material. It seems likely that it is through a text of Albertus Magnus
rather than of Dancus itself that the passages considered above reached
England. All the Dancus remedies for which English parallels have so
far been found occur in the Albertus Magnus chapter,[20] while of those
few places where some other Latin 'source' is suggested, no. ix (from
Alexander) is a demonstrably weak example, and no. vii (from the
Guillelmus addenda) has been shown to be closer to the *Modus* version
of the material than to the original treatise. In no. vi, the *Prince Edward's
Book* passage, although recognisably based on Gerardus, is in fact closer
to the form it takes in the Albertus Magnus chapter.[21] Two French trans-
lations of Albertus Magnus are known. One of these, MS 25342, Bibl.
nat., has already been mentioned (see p. 356), since it also contains the
Dancus treatise itself; the Albertus Magnus version occurs on ff. 39V-47.
The other, MS 1304, contains the Albertus Magnus version of Dancus,
followed by his version of Gerardus, and then the remainder of the
Albertus Magnus chapters. It seems very probable that it is a
manuscript such as this latter which is the forerunner of the Dancus
paragraphs identified in the English treatise.

The conclusions reached by the above discussion therefore both sup-
port and develop the position stated by Tilander. Not only Dancus but

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[20] Including no iii, the MS U marginal addition. See, n. 10.

[21] Item scito, quod quando falconem accipis, & vis ire ad aucupium, debes dicere: in nomine
domini volatilia sint sub pedibus tuis. Quando vero mane accipis falconem, dic: quem iniquus homo
ligauit, dominus per aduentum suum absoluit. ... Ne autem laedatur ab aquila, dic: vicit leo de
tribu Iuda, radix Dauid alleluia.

Dancus-Guillelmus was known in England, although possibly only in part, and probably through a French version of Albertus Magnus, which had already made its own alterations. Something of the other early Latin treatises was also known, and this knowledge was not confined to the compiler of the *Boke of St. Albans*, but was very slightly more widespread. Some of the remedies, too, were probably already isolated from their original context before they reached England, having been incorporated separately into independent treatises. The eclectic nature of works of this kind is well demonstrated by the appearance of some of the passages discussed, while the independent versions of what is basically the same remedy indicate something of the amount of oral instruction which must have gone on, and demonstrates only too clearly the dangers of trying too readily to establish a source.

Oxford.

THE PILGRIMAGE OF LIFE AS
A LATE MEDIEVAL GENRE

Siegfried Wenzel

T HE current interest in the pilgrimage theme and the attempt to
show its profound significance for medieval poetry, notably the
Canterbury Tales, has occasionally led critics to questionable terminology
such as is exemplified by the following passage:

> For a fourteenth-century audience the *Canterbury Tales* would be linked *a
> priori* to the great body of pilgrimage literature written during the late
> Middle Ages, now known best by Dante's *Commedia,* Guillaume de
> Deguileville's *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine, Piers Plowman,* and various ver-
> sions of the Quest of the Holy Grail. Relating the actual, implicit, or
> allegorical account of a journey to salvation and/or perfection, these
> writings — along with the many homiletic and mystical works using in
> detail the image of the pilgrimage, such as St. Bonaventure's *Itinerarium
> mentis in Deum* and Walter Hilton's *Scale of Perfection* — represented a
> narrative genre that flourished in the late Middle Ages, although it may be
> found from at least St. Augustine's *Confessions* to and beyond Bunyan's
> *Pilgrim's Progress.*[1]

Undoubtedly the works listed all deal with man's journey to salvation,
yet one may question the accuracy of grouping them in the same
"narrative genre." To define "genre" and to classify literary works are
notoriously thorny problems. But I think it would agree more closely
with common usage to say that the works specified in the quoted
passage all employ the *theme* of man's pilgrimage, while the varying
forms they use to express this theme place them in different genres, such
as autobiography or rahter "confessions" (Augustine),[2] devotional
handbook (Hilton), Arthurian romance (the *Queste del Saint Graal*), or the
pilgrimage of life (Deguileville).

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[1] E. Reiss, "The Pilgrimage Narrative and the *Canterbury Tales,*" *Studies in Philology,* 67 (1970), 296-
97.

[2] On "confessions" as a literary genre, see P. von Moos, "Gottschalks Gedicht *O mi custos* — eine
confessio," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien, Jahrbuch des Instituts für Frühmittelalterforshung der Universität Mün-
ster,* 4 (1970), 201-30, esp. 206 ff.

It is at present not customary to speak of the Pilgrimage of Life[3] as a distinct literary genre because, I suspect, historians and critics of medieval literature are familiar with only one work of this kind — Deguileville's *Pèlerinage de vie humaine* —, and of course one refrains from establishing a group of one member.[4] Yet Deguileville's poem had a very remarkable, though almost unknown successor, which imitates its essential features and yet differs markedly in tone and details. And both these works were followed by a number of pilgrimages that extended into the seventeenth century, works in verse or prose whose best known representative is Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*. We therefore have a sufficiently large number of works that share essential thematic and structural features, on the basis of which, as will be seen, we may confidently speak of the Pilgrimage of Life as a literary genre.

Before discussing these features, I must point out that I am not concerned with the fictional journey as a literary motif. Such journeys appear in a vast number of works, from the Gilgamesh epic to *Henderson the Rain King,* and are used figuratively in a good many other works, such as *The Quest for Corvo* or *The Quest for the Historical Jesus*. I am likewise not concerned with the mere idea that man's life on earth is a pilgrimage. The background of this profoundly medieval and Christian notion has often enough been traced, from several New Testament passages to early Church Fathers and St. Augustine's *City of God,* and thence as a commonplace into medieval thought at large. It is a notion which penetrates much narrative or dramatic literature, but as an idea alone it, too, is not concrete enough to be of help in discussing the Pilgrimage of Life. Furthermore, the expansion of this idea into an allegorical motif which may form part of a larger work is not our concern either. In Passus V of *Piers Plowman,* for example, after Reason's call to repentance and the confession of the Seven Deadly Sins, a thousand men throng together and decide to seek Truth. Piers, who turns up at this moment for the first time, teaches them the way in their pilgrimage: They must go through Meekness till they come to Conscience, and so forth, and finally will arrive at a castle where they shall find seven sisters. The details of the way are allegorized as the Ten Commandments, and the inhabitants of the castle are seven remedial virtues. Langland here indeed uses the motif of the allegorical pilgrimage, but it forms only part of the larger structure. In contrast, the Pilgrimage of Life employs this motif as the controlling structure of the entire poem.

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[3] I shall use capitals when referring to the Pilgrimage of Life as a genre, but small initials when speaking of individual pilgrimage poems.

[4] For a recent argument that a single work may constitute a genre, see M. Waltz, "Zum Problem der Gattungsgeschichte im Mittelalter," *Zeitschr. f. romanische Philologie,* 86 (1970), 22-39, esp. 24.

The allegorical technique used by Langland in the passage just referred to has its ancestor in a work by St. Bernard, which may be called a pilgrimage of life in a nutshell and which, in fact, became the model for the great allegorical pilgrimage poems written 200 years later. In his 'First Parable'[5] St. Bernard speaks of God as a rich and powerful king who taught man, his son, in his childhood through the Law and the Prophets and made him lord of Paradise. But man,"having received the freedom of good and evil, began to grow tired of his goods, because of his desire to know good and evil. He therefore left the paradise of a good conscience in search of new things which he did not yet know ... He left his father's laws and his tutors and ate from the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil, against his father's command. And hiding himself in his wretchedness and fleeing from the face of the Lord, he began to wander, a foolish boy, among the mountains of pride, the valleys of curiosity, the fields of licentiousness, the woods of lechery, the swamps of carnal desires, and the waters of worldly cares". St. Bernard goes on to explain in similar allegorical terms this prodigal son's return: Fear and Hope come to warn and attract the young man; he is given the horse of Desire; the four cardinal virtues help him against enemies that lurk by the wayside and lead him to the Castle of Wisdom. Finally, Queen Charity receives Man and leads him back to his Father.

With its allegorical landscape through which alienated man wanders, and with its allegorical figures who teach and lead man back to his true home, St. Bernard's parable was highly influential on medieval preachers and poets. Its overall technique as well as specific details are found again in the fully developed pilgrimages of life. The works which constitute the genre are, first of all, the *Pèlerinage de vie humaine* by Guillaume de Deguileville; next the relatively unknown *Chemin de Vaillance* by Jean de Courcy; and finally several works in verse and prose, dating from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which have been analyzed as predecessors to Bunyan's work,[6] most notably Stephen Hawes's *Example of Virtue*,[7] Olivier de la Marche's *Le Chevalier Délibéré*,[8]

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[5] Printed in Migne, *Patrologia latina*, 183. 757-61. The importance of St. Bernard's parable for allegorical pilgrimages has been pointed out by D. A. Evans, ed., Jean Cartigny, *The Wandering Knight* (Seattle, 1951), pp. xxxvi-xlii, and more recently by E. T. Schell (see below, note 30).

[6] See J. B. Wharey, *A Study of the Sources of Bunyan's Allegories* (Baltimore, 1904), and S. C. Chew, *The Pilgrimage of Life* (New Haven, 1962), pp. 201-25.

[7] Written probably in 1494, it was printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1510 and later. A modern edition can be found in E. Arber, *The Dunbar Anthology, 1401-1508 A. D.* (London, 1901), pp. 217-95.

[8] Printed at Gouda, 1486-90. It was translated into English as *The Resolved Gentleman*, in 1594, by Lewes Lewkenor. See E. Morgan (ed.), *Le Chevalier délibéré by Olivier de la Marche, printed at Paris in 1488. A Reproduction made from the Copy in the Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection, Library of Congress* (Washington, 1945).

Jean de Cartigny's *Le Voyage du Chevalier*,[9] Stephen Bateman's *The Travayled Pylgrym*,[10] and perhaps Nicholas Breton's *The Pilgrimage to Paradise*.[11] Since I am primarily interested in the origins and the medieval representatives of the genre, I shall concentrate on the poems by Deguileville and Jean de Courcy and refer to the later pilgrimages only in scattered remarks.

Deguileville's *Pèlerinage de vie humaine*[12] begins with a vision the Dreamer has of heavenly Jerusalem. The Dreamer desires to attain its bliss and peace and is prepared for the journey he must undertake by God's Grace, who teaches him at length about the Seven Sacraments and provides him with scrip and staff and a suit of armor, all of which serves as the allegorical vehicle for a detailed exposition of the Twelve Articles of Faith and the Seven Virtues. After approximately 5000 lines (out of a total of over 13,500), the Dreamer is ready to set forth. His pilgrimage first brings him into contact with all sorts of moral dangers man encounters in this world, including the Seven Deadly Sins and a number of temptations to Christian faith, such as heresy and worldly pleasure. Twice he is almost lost in the oppression and dangers of evil forces: in the combined attack of the Seven Deadly Sins with several sub-sins (lines 10,685 ff.), and later in the Sea of Life where he flounders abandoned and helpless (lines 12,245 ff.). But both times he is rescued by God's Grace, who finally leads him on to the Ship of Religion. The ship's "castles" represent various religious orders, and the Dreamer chooses to enter that of Cîteaux, where he lives until Age and Sickness arrive as messengers of Death. With a vision of the latter the Dreamer finally awakes.

Deguileville's *Pèlerinage* enjoyed great popularity in his own age and the following centuries. Originally written in 1330-1331, it was thoroughly revised by the author and in places significantly altered

[9] First published in 1557, it was soon translated into several languages. An English rendering by William Goodyear appeared in 1581 as *The Voyage of the Wandering Knight*. Modern reproduction by D. A. Evans, see above, note 5.

[10] Printed in 1569.

[11] Printed in 1592. Ed. A. B. Grosart, *The Works in Verse and Prose of Nicholas Breton*, 1 (1879; repr. New York, 1966).

[12] Unless otherwise specified, I use for my discussion the first version. It was edited by J.J. Stürzinger for the Roxburghe Club (London, 1893). More detailed summaries of the *Pèlerinage* can be found in Wharey, *A Study of the Sources*, pp. 18-58; Ch.-V. Langlois, *La vie spirituelle. Enseignements, méditations et controverses d'après des écrits en français à l'usage des laïcs* (vol. IV of *La vie en France au moyen âge*; Paris, 1928), pp. 208-44; J. E. Hultman, *Guillaume de Deguileville. En Studie i fransk Litteraturhistoria* (Upsala, 1902), pp. 4-29; E. Faral, "Guillaume de Digulleville, moine de Châalis," in *Histoire littéraire de la France*, 39 (Paris, 1952), pp. 13-28. This is now the basic study of Deguileville's work. Deguileville's sources have been studied by Hultman, *op. cit.*, and by H. W. Gewande, *Guillaume de Déguileville. Eine Studie zum Pelerinage de vie humaine* (Göttingen, 1927).

twenty-five years later.[13] Its popularity is attested by the survival of
more than fifty manuscripts of the first version alone, by later adap-
tations in French prose and verse, and by translations into German,
Dutch, Spanish, and English. The English verse rendition by Lydgate is
well known, but an independent prose translation was also made at the
same time.[14] The continuing interest of English readers in Deguileville's
Pèlerinage is further shown by the fact that a prose rendering was copied
and illustrated several times as late as the middle of the seventeenth
century.[15]

Deguileville's poem was followed, and probably imitated, a century
later in the *Chemin de Vaillance,* the Way of Valor or of Manly Virtue,
also called *Le Songe doré,* by Jean de Courcy, a Norman knight, who
wrote the poem between 1424 and 1426. The extremely long work of
over 40,000 lines exists in only one known manuscript in the British
Museum,[16] a manuscript decorated in several places with the arms and
badges of King Edward IV, who ruled England from 1461 to 1483. The
inference that the unique manuscript is not the author's text but a later
copy is further strengthened by textual flaws which seem to stem from
inaccurate copying.[17] The work has hardly been studied so far, hardly
even been read, and this neglect is quite understandable if one con-
siders its length, its long-winded statements of the obvious, and its
frequent recapitulations. Yet in spite of these failures the work has a
certain attractiveness, because one notices soon enough that its author
handled his subject with skill and intelligence, in parts even with
originality.

The *Chemin de Vaillance* reportedly tells a dream the author had when
he was twenty. One lovely spring morning he wanders through a *locus*

[13] The second version has not yet been critically edited and must be read in the printings by J.
Petit (Paris, ca. 1500) or A. Verard (Paris, 1511). Marion Lofthouse found and discussed a mixed or
"third" version, in *Bull. of the John Rylands Library,* 19 (1935), 170-215. The two versions are com-
pared in detail by Lofthouse, Faral (*op. cit.,* pp. 29-47), Wharey (*op. cit.,* pp. 60-64), K. B. Locock (in
EETS, es, 92, pp. xvii*-xxxi*).

[14] Lydgate's *Pilgrimage of the Life of Man,* based on Deguileville's second version, was written in
1426. It was edited by F. J. Furnivall in EETS, es, 77, 83, and 92 (London, 1899-1904). The prose
translation was edited by W. A. Wright for the Roxburghe Club (London, 1869).

[15] See R. Tuve, *Allegorical Imagery* (Princeton, 1966), Chapter III.

[16] MS. Royal 14. E. ii, fol. 1-294. The manuscript is described in H. L. D. Ward. *Catalogue of
Romances in the Dept. of MSS. in the British Museum,* 1 (London, 1883), 895-902, where a short summary
of the poem can be found. (Notice that the numbering of the folios is wrong. From at least fol. 122
on one must be added.) A longer summary was given by A. Piaget, *"Le Chemin de Vaillance* de Jean
de Courcy et l'hiatus de l'*e* final des polysyllabes aux XIVe et XVe siècles," *Romania,* 27 (1898), esp.
583-90. Some extracts were printed by the Abbé de la Rue in *Essais historiques sur les bardes, les
jongleurs, et les trouvères normands et anglo-normands,* 3 (Caen, 1834), 284-316. It is briefly discussed in G.
Gröber, *Geschichte der mittelfranzösischen Literatur. — II. Vers- und Prosadichtung des 15. Jahrhunderts,*
second ed. by S. Hofer (Berlin/Leipzig, 1937), pp. 101-2.

[17] Several instances of incomplete couplets occur, and the numbering of the parts of the
Sacrament of Penance on fol. 242v-245r is wrong and confused.

amoenus and falls asleep by a fountain. Dame Nature appears to him and advises him to enter the service of Dame Vaillance. She teaches the Dreamer about the five senses and the nature of his soul. When she disappears, the Dreamer is joined by a man with a fire-red dart. This is Desire, who inspires noble hearts to undertake such glorious deeds as warfare and long pilgrimages. He is soon joined by two more figures, Prowess and Hardiness, who set out to instruct him in the basic knowledge of a young knight. This includes not only learning Latin, studying the seven liberal arts, and acquiring the social graces of court-liness, but also becoming familiar with the techniques of military ser-vice which he is to give a Christian prince. Consequently, Prowess and Hardiness, who are both daughters of Mars, lecture the Dreamer on such topics as how to lead an attack, how to conduct a siege, and even how to retreat with honor. We should notice that here, as later throughout the poem, the Dreamer frequently reacts with fear and doubt at his ability to undertake such hardships. But he is normally brought back in line by Desire or another teacher.

After these initial instructions the Dreamer is taken to Lady Reason, who proceeds to arm his five senses and then to equip him with lance and sword, whose parts are immediately allegorized as the four cardinal and the three theological virtues respectively. When Reason leaves, Desire enters again and brings Youth with him. This most interesting figure is, of course, extremely attractive but of very dubious moral standing and clearly an opponent to Reason. Together with Desire, Prowess, and Hardiness, Youth fires the Dreamer to start his pilgrimage, and soon the five are on their way to Vaillance.

The first obstacle they encounter is the Bridge of Weakness, which is guarded by Flesh, the first of the traditional Three Enemies who lie in wait for the Pilgrim. As the company approaches the bridge, Prowess and Hardiness simply lie flat on the ground, while Desire likewise fails to go farther. Only Youth remains with the pilgrim, but she is very doubtful and advises him to look for an easier passage. No wonder, then, that with such insufficient helpers the pilgrim is no match for Flesh, who rises against him with an enormous club and easily per-suades him to put down his arms and follow him to a life of ease in what amounts to the medieval version of a Playboy Club. Eventually Flesh conducts the Dreamer to the Mountain of Vainglory, where his brother World gladly receives the Dreamer into his retinue. In the palace of World the Dreamer beholds marvelous sights: pictures of the seven ages of man, and then the image of Fortune. Underlying the en-tire scene is of course the attempt, made by Flesh and World and their companions, to talk the Pilgrim out of his quest for Vaillance. And for the moment they are successful, since he decides to stay with them.

As he is about to lose himself, however, a conversion is set in action. It starts with Dame Nature sending her servant Desire to the Dreamer and making it clear to him that he must choose between Vaillance and World. The Dreamer wants to hear more and has a private talk with Nature, who informs him at length about her being and power. The argument, I take it, is that by following his flesh and the world the Pilgrim has abandoned the divinely established force who governs all natural phenomena in this world. The Dreamer recognizes his error and is truly contrite. At this point, Dame Reason, who has been watching the scene, steps in again. She has Prudence chase Youth away from the Pilgrim, then leads him to complete repentance and to her own love. Finally, Prudence regains the Dreamer's armor with he had left behind at the Rock of Forgetfulness, and the Dreamer is once more ready to set out on his pilgrimage and to confront further obstacles.

He is now entering the Forest of the Devil, whose captains — the Seven Deadly Sins — guard seven dangerous passages. In his march through the forest, which is rich in allegory and vivid in detail, but much too long to be analyzed here, the Pilgrim is aided by the seven daughters of Divine Sapience, that is, the Seven Remedial Virtues, who strengthen or protect him against or rescue him from the approaches of the Seven Vices. Needless to say, in the end the Pilgrim emerges from the forest alive and relatively unscathed.

But his trials are not yet over, and when Prudence reveals to him the imminence of further hardships and dangers, we can only feel sympathy for him in his great sinking of heart. But Prudence has six other, and new, companions waiting who are, together with her, willing to aid the toiling wanderer. They are the Seven Virtues theological and cardinal, who now accompany the Dreamer to the Ship of Law in which he is to cross a wide river. The Seven Virtues man various parts of the vessel, and in describing their office the author has a chance to expound allegorically not only the Virtues but also the Twelve Articles of Faith and the Ten Commandments. The crossing goes well, despite strong contrary winds from Heresy and other dangers to faith, and as the ship arrives at the Port of Salvation our Dreamer finds seven steps, the Seven Sacraments, which safely take him onto firm land.

He has reached the Garden of Vaillance, through which his principal guide is Charity, though other personifications occasionally take the lead and instruct him about partial aspects of the garden. Here the Pilgrim sees and learns about seven fountains, which are the Seven Works of Mercy; seven lights, the Gifts of the Holy Spirit; eight trees, the Eight Beatitudes; and the Way of Counsel, which comprises the four Evangelical Counsels of Perfection. Charity finally explains the nature of the three heavens and shows the dreamer a vision of God, which is

based on the Book of Revelations: The Son of Man sitting on His throne, surrounded by seven candles and the four beasts. Seven Lambs are feeding in the heavenly meadow — these are the Seven Gifts of Glory. Finally, we reach the vision of Dame Vaillance herself, who turns out to be the Woman clothed with the Sun, again from the Book of Revelations.

The somewhat lengthy summaries of the *Chemin* and of Deguileville's *Pèlerinage* will now permit us to abstract the characteristic features which define and describe the Pilgrimage of Life. First of all, the genre uses the form of the dream vision. Deguileville declares he had his dream in his bed at the Abbey of Châalis, and that it was caused by his reading the *Roman de la Rose*. Jean de Courcy, in contrast, dreams in a beautiful garden setting. Both poets maintain the dream fiction throughout their long works, and in the end they both awake. Although later pilgrimages discarded this convention, it was again used by Stephen Hawes and by Bunyan.

Second, the entire action narrated in the Pilgrimage of Life appears as an extensive answer to man's question, "What must I do to save my soul?" At the beginning of the dream the notion of true bliss and happiness is presented to the dreamer's mind, either by dialogue (*Chemin*) or in a vision (Deguileville), and in consequence he strongly desires to find such bliss.

Third, the remainder of the poem then consists of the dreamer's quest for this goal. His way leads through obstacles and stages of learning. After a long section of instruction, in which the Dreamer receives his mental and spiritual equipment for the pilgrimage, the actual journey begins. This can be logically divided into two parts: a confrontation with vice and the dangers of the world, where the Dreamer upon the suggestion of a bad counselor, such as his body or Youth, is about to lose himself; and then a more positive journey in which he, with superior counsel and aid, progresses from strength to strength. In Deguileville the negative way is repeated, leading to two literal and allegorical falls in the combined attack of the Vices and in the Sea of Life, each ending with the Dreamer's repentance, prayer, and rescue. Jean de Courcy simplified this part of the plot: the major conversion of his Dreamer occurs after his encounter with Flesh and World. While in the following meetings with the Vices the Dreamer makes mistakes and is consequently hurt or placed in danger, he never again finds himself as far from Divine Sapience as was the case in the major conversion scene. And once he leaves the forest of the Vices, he crosses the Sea of Life without even getting wet. Although in later works of the genre the two parts are not as neatly distinguished, one can still find them present in the contrasted meeting with Youth or Folly or Worldly Felicity, set

against the instruction of Virtue or a similar true guide. Likewise, traditional images which characterize the two parts of the journey recur in later pilgrimages, such as the forest (Hawes, Cartigny), the valley (Olivier de la Marche), or the saving ship (Nicholas Breton).

Fourth, an interesting aspect of this journey is the Dreamer's concern with his own aging. The instruction of Deguileville's Pilgrim begins at birth, when he is told he must be washed in Baptism after having spent nine months "in the house full of dung." Both Deguileville and Jean de Courcy employ Youth as an important guide figure, and the Pilgrim's separation from her becomes a significant moment in his spiritual progress. The *Chemin* also pays a good deal of attention to the exposition of the seven ages of man. At the end of the *Pèlerinage,* Old Age and Sickness come to the Pilgrim and are followed by Death. A similar concern with aging appears explicitly in all later pilgrimages except Bunyan's.

Fifth, in developing the journey the poets draw most heavily on personification allegory. From beginning to end we find an allegorical landscape filled with allegorical forests, gardens, houses, and paths, which are peopled by such speakers as Nature, Reason, Prudence, Ambition, and the rest. On occasion, when a rare spark of inspiration has struck our poets, they will make use of this machinery in order to present some aspect of human psychology (usually a temptation) in an allegorical scene which becomes at once realistic, striking, and dramatically alive.

Sixth, the Pilgrimage of Life clearly shows the writer's desire to include much if not all of the standard material of medieval catechetical instruction which after the Fourth Lateran Council parish priests were required to teach their flocks regularly: the Ten Commandments, the Articles of the Creed, the Seven Vices and Virtues, the Seven Sacraments, and so on. In his first version Deguileville included in his allegory expositions of the Sacraments, the Creed, the Theological and Cardinal Virtues, the Seven Deadly Sins, and the Seven Works of Mercy, to which in his second version he added expositions of the Pater Noster and the Ave Maria in two Latin poems. Jean de Courcy improved upon his model not only by integrating this material more neatly but also by adding expositions of the Seven Remedial Virtues, the Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit, the Eight Beatitudes, the Gifts of Glory, and several more groups. One might say that these two pilgrimages are in effect versified religious handbooks which present catechetical matter in allegorical shapes, both by images and by expository speeches coming from allegorical figures, and which structure this catechetical material with the help of the pilgrimage metaphor. This desire to be comprehensive, manifested in the inclusion of the set groups mentioned, shows itself

also in other ways, most notably in the adding of sub-sins, which appear either as tools of the Vices (in Deguileville) or as their fighting companions (in both Deguileville and Jean de Courcy). In composing such religious-moral encyclopedias, medieval writers could avail themselves of a number of other metaphors, including the allegorical forest (as in *The Desert of Religion*)[18] or the cleansing of the well (as in *Jacob's Well*).[19] But evidently the pilgrimage metaphor outshadowed the others in its appeal. This didactic and encyclopedic quality of the pilgrimages changed in detail after the Reformation, but their catechetical tendency remained and can still be seen in Bunyan's exposition of such topics as the sign of grace, the faith of Ignorance, or the occasions which bring man's sins to his mind.

I hasten to add that despite this inclusion of common, public, and as it were official elements of instruction, the two early pilgrimages also contain many individualizing features. Not only are they signed poems (each author includes his name in several ways) and give us their author's age, but the author's profession and state of life shapes a large part of the narrative: Deguileville, who was a Cistercian monk, has his Pilgrim end up in the Castle of Cîteaux; while the persona of the *Chemin de Vaillance,* whose author was a knight, goes through a long period of instruction on the duties belonging to chivalry and to the military life.

These distinctive features in combination allow us to differentiate the Pilgrimage of Life sharply from other works which use the pilgrimage metaphor as their frame. The twelfth-century *Architrenius* by John of Hanville,[20] for example, employs both the image of the journey and allegorical description of such things as Lady Nature, the houses of Venus, Gluttony, and Ambition, and the *persona's* marriage to Moderation. Yet although it uses several techniques of the Pilgrimage of Life, the *Architrenius* does not belong to the genre because of its quite different purpose and tone. It is not concerned with the Christian's way to God, on which he is helped by the instruction and aid given by the Church, but instead offers satirical criticism of contemporary society. Much the same can be said about the late fourteenth-century *Songe du vieil pèlerin* by Philippe de Mézières.[21]

It is not quite so easy to distinguish our genre from medieval pilgrimages to Hell and to Paradise. The works which belong to this

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[18] Ed. W. Hübner, *Archiv f. d. Studium der neueren Sprachen,* CXXVI (1911), 58-74, 360-64.

[19] Partial edition by A. Brandeis, EETS, 115 (London, 1900).

[20] Ed. T. Wright, *The Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets and Epigrammatists of the Twelfth Century* (London, 1872), I, 240-392. For a summary, see F. J. E. Raby, *A History of Secular Latin Poetry of the Middle Ages,* second ed. (Oxford, 1957), II, 100-2.

[21] Ed. G. W. Coopland (London, 1969). A very detailed summary is given by D. M. Bell, *Étude sur le Songe du vieil pèlerin de Philippe de Mézières* (Génève, 1955).

group are usually seen as products of a development of the Other-
worldly Vision which took place in the thirteenth century.[22] The Other-
worldly Vision purposes to reveal hidden truths about man's future
state after death, when souls will dwell in torment, bliss, or in-
termediate purgation. The visionary is presented as a witness who
clearly returns from the pains and the bliss he has seen, whose vision
may give him a foretaste of his own fate. The otherworldly realms
through which he is guided are inhabited by various groups of sinners,
penitents, or blissful souls, and often specific groups or even individuals
are named and singled out for comment. These features are constant
and typical of the Otherworldly Vision, from the *Visio sancti Pauli* and *St.
Patrick's Purgatory* to Dante's *Divina Commedia*.

Pilgrimages to Hell and to Paradise proper[23] differ from such visions
by two major features that were apparently introduced by Raoul de
Houdenc: the presentation of the vision as a dream, narrated in the first
person singular, and the use of the traditional Vices (and Virtues) as the
stations on the dreamer's way.[24] In addition, allegory is widely used in
the description of the guide figures and houses and paths which the
dreamer sees. The motif of the cross-roads, which is so important in
Deguileville — the path to the right leading to bliss, the one to the left
leading to destruction —, occurs in several of these works, and the *Voie
de Paradis* written by an otherwise unidentified Raoul even introduces a
bit of dramatic excitement when the Dreamer on his way to Paradise
falls into the temptation of worldly pleasures and must return to the
house of Confession.[25] It would seem that these pilgrimages are indeed
close to the Pilgrimage of Life and may even have influenced
Deguileville and his followers.

Nevertheless, I believe they can be clearly distinguished from the
Pilgrimage of Life. For once, Deguileville himself was quite conscious of

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[22] See U. Ebel, "Die literarischen Formen der Jenseits- und Endzeitvisionen," in: *La littérature
didactique, allégorique et satirique*, ed. H. R. Jauss and J. Beyer, 1 (Heidelberg, 1968), pp. 181-215. (This
is vol. VI/1 of the *Grundriss der romanischen Literaturen des Mittelalters*, ed. H. R. Jauss *et al.*).

[23] Raoul de Houdenc, *Le Songe d'enfer*, ca. 1225, ed. P. Lebesgue (Paris, 1908); Raoul (a different
author), *La Voie de paradis*, thirteenth century (ed. Lebesgue, ibid.); Rutebeuf, *La Voie de paradis*, ca.
1265, ed. E. Faral and J. Bastin, *Œuvres complètes de Rutebeuf*, 1 (Paris, 1959), 336-70); Baudouin de
Condé, *La Voie de paradis*, thirteenth century, after Rutebeuf, ed. A. Scheler, *Dits et contes de Baudoin…*
1 (Bruxelles, 1866), 205-31); Jean de Le Mote, *La Voie d'enfer et de paradis*, 1340, ed. M. A. Pety
(Washington, D. C., 1940); *Voie d'enfer et de paradis*, in octosyllabic couplets, after 1315, later
dramatized (unedited); *La Voie de paradis*, in prose, fourteenth century (unedited). The last two
works are analyzed by A. Thomas and Ch.-V. Langlois in *Histoire littéraire de la France*, 36 (1927), 86-
109 and 624-26. On the prose *Voie*, see also G. K. Keith, *Romanic Review*, 58 (1967), 166-72.

[24] See H. R. Jauss, "Form und Auffassung der Allegorie in der Tradition der *Psychomachia*," in
Medium Aevum Vivum, Festschrift f. Walther Bulst (Heidelberg, 1960), p. 191; and U. Ebel, "Die
literarischen Formen," pp. 210-11.

[25] Ed. Lebesgue, lines 460-615.

a distinction, because he followed his *Pèlerinage de vie humaine* with a *Pèlerinage de l'âme*, which is precisely a dream journey to Hell, Purgatory, and Heaven. Moreover, there is a noteworthy difference in magnitude. Not only are the pilgrimages to Hell and to Paradise considerably shorter than Deguileville's and Jean de Courcy's poems and their successors,[26] but they are also limited to, essentially, a presentation of the Vices and Virtues, an aspect that links them to the Otherworldly Vision. Furthermore, their purpose lies in the teaching of or exhortation to penance: the traditional three parts of the sacrament of Penance (i.e., contrition, confession, and satisfaction) are used structurally in all these works that deal with paradise,[27] and exhortation to penance at or before Easter seems to be the explicit purpose in Rutebeuf's *Voie de Paradis*.[28] In strong contrast the Pilgrimage of Life is concerned with man's entire spiritual way through life, from cradle to grave. The pilgrimage metaphor is not merely a convenient structural device to string together a series of abstractions, such as the three parts of Penance or the Seven Deadly Sins and the Seven Virtues, but it is fused with the basic idea or theme which informs the genre, namely that man's life on earth is a pilgrimage. Here the sacrament of Penance appears as only one of the Seven Sacraments, and the dreamer's experience of conversion and repentance, however important, is only part of his journey, in which the initial preparation is of equal importance and in fact of much greater length. And finally, in the Pilgrimage of Life the figure of the Dreamer himself actively searches and quests for his goal. The stages on his journey are not merely scenes he witnesses but form an inner development which he undergoes.

A different problem is posed by the late medieval morality play, which, although as drama it is fundamentally different from a narrative genre, still shows many points of contact with the Pilgrimage of Life. In fact, a section from Deguileville's *Pèlerinage* was in the fourteenth century made into a morality.[29] And if we look at what is usually con-

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[26] Raoul de Houdenc's *Songe d'enfer*: 682 lines; Raoul's *Voie de paradis,* 1367 lines; Rutebeuf's *Voie de paradis*, 902 lines; Baudouin's *Voie de paradis*, 796 lines; Jean de Le Mote, 4632 lines both parts; *Voie d'enfer et de paradis*, 7448 lines both parts.

[27] Raoul's *Voie de paradis* uses Confession (with Satisfaction) and Penance as important stations on the way and guide figures. Rutebeuf's *Voie de paradis* is really a long instruction the Dreamer receives by Pitié in the "Cité de Penitance" (lines 73-867). The following day he is apparently to go to the House of Confession (line 145) in the City of Repentance (871 ff.), but the text is not perfectly clear. However, the poem ends with clear references to Penance (871-902). Jean de Le Mote's Dreamer is led to Paradise by Confession and Satisfaction (stanza 198). The prose *Voie de paradis* is divided into three parts: Contrition, Confession, and Satisfaction.

[28] See the discussion by Faral and Bastin, ed. cit., p. 337.

[29] It is the debate between Nature and "Grâce de Dieu" before the Pilgrim. Ed. G. Cohen, *Mystères et Moralités du manuscrit 617 de Chantilly* (Paris, 1920), pp. 95 ff. Revised edition, with many

sidered the most typical morality play, i.e., *The Castle of Perseverance*, we find that it does indeed contain several essential features of the Pilgrimage of Life. There is the concern with the salvation of man's soul; there is personification allegory in the portrayal of vices and virtues and the castle of Perseverance; there are a number of standard elements from catechetical teaching; and there is, most importantly, a progression of the action along the stages of man's life, from birth to youth, to manhood at forty, to old age, and finally to death, all of which are marked as important turning points in the play. Such and other similarities have prompted Edgar T. Schell to argue that *The Castle* and other morality plays, far from being "dramatic versions of the Prudentian allegory," are in fact imitations of the action (in the Aristotelian sense) of life's pilgrimage.[30] He sees the gist of this "action" in four successive spiritual stages — Innocence, Temptation and Fall, Life in Sin, and Realization and Repentance leading to salvation —, which he equates with four similar stages explicitly mentioned in Bernard's *Parabola* I, and which he then discerns in Deguileville's *Pèlerinage* and *The Castle*. However close and convincing these identifications may be,[31] it is true that like the Pilgrimage of Life *The Castle* presents man's way through temptation to bliss, from cradle to grave and beyond.

Nevertheless, the morality play is not a genuine pilgrimage of life because it does not share the latter's emphasis placed on the Dreamer's quest for bliss. Instead, in its outward form the morality play is predominantly debate, a dramatic struggle between various powers over the possession and fate of man's soul. *The Castle* begins with the struggle between a good and a bad angel over Mankind, which is joined by the Three Enemies and the Seven Deadly Sins. Later we see a fight between the Seven Deadly Sins and the Seven Virtues. And in the end, a similar struggle, although on a higher plane, takes place among the Four Daughters of God, until finally Man's soul can rest in peace. In all these debates the role of Mankind is, to say the least, very subordinate. Not only in his "conversion" from a life led in the company of the Vices, as Schell recognizes, but in the entire course of the play Mankind becomes "merely a pawn in the conflict between Vice and Virtue,"[32] to the point that in the play's final act — the Parliament in Heaven —, he

corrections, in *Nativités et Moralités liégeoises du moyen âge ...*, "Mémoires de l'Académie royale de Belgique," Coll. in-4°, second series, XII.1 (Bruxelles, 1953). Notice that the anonymous *Voie d'enfer et de paradis* was similarly made into a drama, see *Hist. litt. de la France*, 36 (1927), 98-100.

[30] "On the Imitation of Life's Pilgrimage in *The Castle of Perseverance*," *JEGP*, 67 (1968), 235-48. *The Castle* has been edited by M. Eccles, *The Macro Plays*, EETS 262 (London, 1969).

[31] Schell tacitly recognizes, for example, that Deguileville's Pilgrim never finds himself in St. Bernard's second stage, "praeceps et temerarius in prosperis," but is, on his way between the initial instruction and his arrival at Cîteaux, always "trepidus et pusillanimis in adversis." See pp. 239-40.

[32] Schell, p. 245.

no longer appears, not even to voice his gratitude and praise. In con-
trast to Deguileville's *Pèlerinage* and its successors, *The Castle of Per-
severance* does not focus on the questing hero. It is a dramatic presen-
tation of several debates among supra-personal powers, ordered along
a "moral sequence,"[33] and not a narrative of moral events and growth
which comes from the mouth of a dreamer who in his putative dream
wanders in search of bliss, and which is ordered by the metaphor of the
journey. Schell's view is indeed very attractive:"The *Castle* does not differ
from a poem like Deguileville's *Le Pèlerinage de la Vie Humaine* (ca. 1330)
in the *action* which it imitates, but merely in the *means* through which it
imitates that action" (my italics).[34] But in regard to their *genre*, the two
works do indeed differ, since the concept of genre as I use it includes
similarity in both "action" and the major "means".

In addition to showing such similarity, it would seem that works to
be classified in the same genre should also reflect a certain historical or
even genetic coherence. It should ideally be possible to demonstrate
that their makers recognized a genre as such, took over its essential
thematic and formal features, and used these in their own ways. The in-
debtedness of Bunyan and his predecessors to Deguileville has been
demonstrated by earlier students, though in a rather general way only.
That Deguileville influenced Jean de Courcy's *Chemin* as well seems to
me most likely. Beside the major plot division: the Dreamer's in-
struction — his meeting of the Seven Deadly Sins — his crossing the Sea
of Life on the Ship of Religion or of Law — his entrance into a state of
salvation, the two poems share many similarities in detail. Some not so
obvious examples are: Fortune's wheel in the sea,[35] the indication of the
date of the dream found in an allegorical house,[36] and the charac-
terization of Heresy as a force that has caused people to be burned.[37] A
closer study of the unpublished *Chemin* would certainly reveal many
more similarities; I suspect it would demonstrate that the similarities lie
in the areas of plot structure and allegorical figures and images rather
than in descriptive detail or borrowed individual lines.

If it is plausible to think that Jean de Courcy and later writers of
pilgrimages of life were conscious of working with a traditional genre,

[33] The term is B. Spivack's, *Shakespeare and the Allegory of Evil* (New York, 1958), p. 101.

[34] Schell, p. 237.

[35] *Pèlerinage*, lines 11, 942 ff.; expanded in the second version (ed. Verard, fol. 76v; Lydgate, lines
19, 432 ff.); *Chemin*, fol. 65r: Here the Pilgrim reads about Fortune's wheel in the sea in a book he
has found in the Palace of the World.

[36] *Pèlerinage*, line 399: the House of Grace was built 1330 year ago; *Chemin*, fol. 69v: In the Palace
of World are pictures of the seven ages of the World. The seventh age, begun at Christ's birth, has
run to 1424 years "jusques au temps de cest escript".

[37] *Pèlerinage*, lines 11, 545-7: Mercy "fëis ardoir Les Templiers"; *Chemin*, fol. 249r: "Maistre Jan
Hus," in the service of Heresy, "A Constance se fist arder / Deuant chascun en plain concille."

one may ask whether they explored the latent possibilities of their inherited theme and forms. To answer this question would demand a book-length study of later pilgrimages, especially the very interesting works by Olivier de la Marche or the seventeenth-century authors who worked within the genre but outside Catholic traditions. But already in such an early representative as Jean de Courcy's *Chemin* one can find originality and innovation. The tone of the whole poem is very different from Deguileville's *Pèlerinage*. Deguileville was a monk, and his work is anchored in the tradition of monastic spirituality. In his initial vision the Dreamer sees the heavenly city won by members of several groups of religious orders who scale its walls (Benedictines), climb them with knotted cords (Franciscans), or fly across them (mendicants). The Dreamer is immediately instructed by God's Grace, not Nature as in the *Chemin* (in Deguileville, Nature looks and acts like "the wylde swyn savage," line 1691; Lydgate, line 3711!). The figure of the wandering hero is realized literally as a pilgrim who discards his armor and is erroneously satisfied with scrip and staff. His encounters with the Seven Deadly Sins are very passive affairs, and as far as his own effort to gain salvation is concerned, he must eventually take the way of Penance now understood as the monastic life. His true "conversion" occurs only when he enters the Ship of Religion, i.e., the religious life. In very clear contrast, Jean de Courcy's Dreamer seeks not the Heavenly Jerusalem but "Vaillance", which only at the end of the quest turns out to be the heavenly city of the Apocalypse. He is incited to this quest by Nature, not Grace, and stimulated by (natural) Desire. His "conversion" occurs after his encounter with the flesh and the pleasures of this world. Only at this moment is Nature replaced by Divine Sapience (fol. 96r). From this point on he meets the Vices with his armor on and ready to do combat, and though he acts on occasion foolishly he comes out of the final battle as a proven knight. Thus, in contrast to Deguileville's ascetic-monastic ethos, Jean de Courcy's poem is to a point "gradualistic": there is a progression from lower to higher values, from Nature to Divine Sapience, from the Remedial Virtues to the Seven Virtues theological and cardinal, and in the overall structure of the dream from the natural beauty of the *locus amoenus* where the dreamer fell asleep to the spiritual beauty of the Garden of Vaillance.

Besides the different tone which Jean de Courcy gave to the Pilgrimage of Life, his originality can be shown in the way he handled more specific traditional elements. I shall point to two which have struck me as quite ingenious: his development of the battle against the Seven Vices, and his figure of Desire. In a good many medieval poems that portray the battle of Vices and Virtues — no matter how interesting, even fascinating an author's portrayal of the Vices may be —,

the actual engagement of a human protagonist with the Vices is more often than not static, repetitious, and after a while very boring. For example, in *The Castle of Perseverance* the conflict consists in a number of neatly paralleled speeches, and in Deguileville's *Pèlerinage* we find a pattern of meeting, the Vice's self-revelation in a lengthy speech, partial if any engagement of the Pilgrim with the Vice, and separation, a pattern that repeats itself rather consistently seven times. Jean de Courcy, too, creates a pattern and follows it quite regularly. This involves at least two long speeches by the respective Vice and its opposite Virtue, in which each declares its nature and effect upon man and Virtue tries to convert Vice. The basic confrontation is enriched by further speeches and actions of various sub-vices, the traditional "species" or "daughters" of the Seven Deadly Sins.[38] But the Pilgrim's actual contact with the Vices is considerably varied from case to case. On several occasions there is the conventional battle in which the Pilgrim, who had been instructed in warfare, receives a wound and is eventually rescued and healed by the corresponding Remedial Virtue. But in other cases no fighting takes place. His confrontation with Gluttony, for example, comes about because the Dreamer is hungry, helps himself to sloeberries at the side of a lake, and is invited to take a short ride in a gondola to the House of Gluttony, where a noisy banquet soon consumes all his attention, from which he is eventually saved by the gentle reproaches of Desire. On another occasion the threatened full-flushed attack by Wrath on the Pilgrim is averted through a long speech by Patience, which manages to literally cool Wrath to the point where he lets the pilgrim go his way without trouble. Undoubtedly, Jean de Courcy has learned much from the difficulties and failures of Prudentius's *Psychomachia* that were pointed out by C. S. Lewis,[39] and has managed to avoid the awkward clash between epic formula and allegorical meaning which still occurs in *The Castle of Perseverance* when, of all vices, Sloth is commanded to "beat Busyness on buttocks blue" (line 1989).

Jean de Courcy has apparently also learned a great deal about psychological allegory as he must have known it from the *Roman de la Rose*. A good example of Jean's ingenuity in this respect is his handling of the figure of Desire.[40] This allegorical character is first introduced as

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[38] A more detailed account of one such meeting, that with Sloth, can be found in my book, *The Sin of Sloth. Acedia in Medieval Thought and Literature* (Chapel Hill, 1967), pp. 122-23.

[39] *The Allegory of Love* (Oxford, 1936), pp. 68-71.

[40] Notice that St. Bernard's *Parabola* I contains the Horse of Desire (*Patrologia latina* 183.759) and that similar horses appear in the pilgrimages by Jean de Cartigny and Stephen Bateman, called Temerity and Will respectively. The horse image for will or desire is traditional, from Plato's *Phaedrus* to Dante's *Convivio* (IV, ix, 10 and xxvi, 6) and beyond.

the son of Nature and functions quite plausibly as the Dreamer's psychological power which stimulates and drives him to seek Vaillance. But as the pilgrimage goes under way, his function does not remain so simple. Rather, in the confrontation with the Seven Deadly Sins Jean de Courcy shows Desire as acting differently under different circumstances and sets him in a changing relationship to Prudence and to the Pilgrim. In the first four temptations — pride, envy, wrath, and avarice — Desire consistently urges the Pilgrim to advance quickly, even rashly, and by himself, thus separating him from the Remedial Virtues in violation of the explicit warnings given by Prudence. In the next temptation, Desire initially fosters the Pilgrim's interest in the beautiful vanguard of Sloth, i.e., Dame Idleness; but when the Pilgrim enters the Tower of Sloth, Desire draws back, returns to the camp of the Virtues, and initiates their rescue action. In the following confrontation with Gluttony, while Desire follows the Pilgrim and eventually feasts with him at the banquet, he had not originally urged him to enter Gluttony's boat; and when Abstinence speaks at length against Gluttony, it is actually Desire who heeds her words and repents, urges the Pilgrim to leave, and finally, grabbing him by his arms together with Prudence, carries him out of the tavern. The last temptation is that of Lechery, who has gathered all her troops to prevent the Pilgrim's escape from the Forest of the Devil. A major battle is imminent. But now Desire as a separate agent is absent. Instead, the Dreamer remembers former good advice and marches in company with Prudence and Chastity and her troops, who valiantly defend him from any harm. Thus, in the separate figure of Desire, Jean de Courcy visualizes and dramatizes not only man's natural inclination to the good, but also the unreliability of unenlightened will as well as its gradual growth into conformity with Prudence. By the time the Pilgrim emerges from the dark wood, he has definitely grown in strength and matured in wisdom.

Enough has been said to suggest that Jean de Courcy's skillful use of these and other elements demonstrates his understanding of the genre to which his poem belongs, whose chief characteristics he preserved and whose possibilities he explored. We can therefore speak of the Pilgrimage of Life as a distinct literary genre, which is not merely a critic's abstraction made from similarities observed in a number of works, but rather a literary form that, once it had been created, generated other works. In it the theme of man's spiritual journey from birth to the heavenly city found expression by means of various traditional devices, such as allegorical figures, dialogue, the questing motif, the motif of allegorical warfare, and the frame of the dream vision. These devices had, of course, their individual histories, and in fusing them the Pilgrimage of Life made use of techniques whose great

exemplars are found in Boethius, Prudentius, the *Roman de la Rose*, Arthurian romances, pilgrimages to Hell and to Paradise, and handbooks of religious instruction. The Pilgrimage of Life is indeed a coat of many colors. This fusion of various literary traditions goes parallel with its encyclopedic urge to include all the instruction necessary for a Christian existence as it was then understood. In this respect the Pilgrimage of Life is strikingly reminiscent of late medieval works of the visual arts, such as tapestries or Books of Hours, which similarly include all kinds of schemata and topoi in their overall programmes.[41] The impetus behind the Pilgrimage of Life and its primary purpose are, thus, strongly didactic. Deguileville's first version was written in four parts to be read to an audience which is repeatedly asked to "come back some other day if you want to hear the rest."[42] The only extant copy of Jean de Courcy's *Chemin de Vaillance* has been preserved in the company of the *Epistle of Othea to Hector* by Christine de Pisan and other works offering moral and worldly instruction to noblemen. And Bunyan, although he first in his "Apology for His Book" claims that he wrote it originally only to gratify himself and to fill "vacant seasons" (a beautiful successor to the medieval idleness prologue, incidentally), he later makes it quite clear that his book "will direct thee to the Holy Land, if thou wilt its Directions understand."[43]

The result of such encyclopedic didacticism in the allegorical mode may well strike the modern reader, if not as simply absurd,[44] at least as very boring, for Deguileville's and Jean de Courcy's pilgrimages, if judged as poetry, may seem very modest in everything but length.[45] Yet it is also true that these works are more than versified images of official doctrine: in expressing the same Christian notion that man's life on

[41] For example, the Belleville Breviary, illustrated by Jean Pucelle, contains illustrations of the Articles of Faith, the Vices, the Virtues, and the Seven Sacraments; see K. Morand, *Jean Pucelle* (Oxford, 1962), pp. 9-12 and 43-45, and the literature quoted there. A tapestry on display in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, depicts an allegory of the salvation of Man; it is part of a larger cycle on salvation history and moral allegory. See H. C. Marillier, *The Tapestries at Hampton Court Palace* (London, 1962), pp. 12-17, and D. T. B. Wood, "Tapestries of 'The Seven Deadly Sins'," *Burlington Magazine*, 20 (1912), 210-222 and 277-289. See also F. Saxl, "A Spiritual Encyclopaedia of the Later Middle Ages," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute*, 5 (1942), 82-142.

[42] Lines 5057 ff., 9046 ff., 11, 404 ff. In the second version the division into four parts is abandoned.

[43] Ed. J. B. Wharey, rev. by R. Sharrock (Oxford, 1960), pp. 1 and 6.

[44] F. J. Furnivall's distate for the *Pèlerinage* is well known (see EETS, es, 77, p. vi); similarly Lofthouse, *Bull. John Rylands Library*, XIX (1935), 174-75. R. Tuve has somewhat redressed the balance in *Allegorical Imagery*, ch. III.

[45] Reader interested in Deguileville should be urged to stay away from Lydgate's rendition if at all possible. It is based on Deguilleville's second version, which I consider as structurally much inferior to the first, and it is larded with the most tedious padding devices. The English prose translation, ed. W. A. Wright, is made from the first version and more readable.

earth is a spiritual journey to Heaven (or Hell), they yet reflect different interpretations of the same theme, even differing world views. If *Pilgrim's Progress* has a continuing value because it pictures the Christian experience characteristic of the Puritans, the same can be said of the monastic asceticism of the *Pèlerinage de vie humaine,* or of the gradualistic late medieval *chevalerie* of the *Chemin de Vaillance,* or of the curious preoccupation with age and death of Olivier de la Marche, who is forbidden to seek delight "en la forest du temps perdu." Here different cultures, or different components of the same culture, have found a voice. It is a voice that should be heard together with Langland and Chaucer.

Chapel Hill, N. C.

TEMPORAL TENSIONS IN THE *VISIO* OF *PIERS PLOWMAN*

Katherine Bache Trower

THE pardon episode in the *Visio* of *Piers Plowman* continues to offer problems of interpretation to the reader, despite a recent excellent article by Rosemary Woolf, which answers several key questions, yet which leaves certain problems unresolved.[1] Among the matters to which Miss Woolf addresses herself most lucidly are the nature of the pardon itself and the significance of Piers' ripping it in two. Basically, Miss Woolf interprets the text of the pardon as no real pardon at all, in the sense that it refers by way of the Athanasian Creed to the Final Judgment, a day of justice and one inspiring fear even in the hearts of good men. " ... a 'pardon' is sent by God, a pardon that should be a promise of forgiveness and a symbol of the Redemption; but the content of the 'pardon' turns out to be a threat and a symbol of the Day of Judgment."[2] In order to settle the issue of this pardon, which is a pardon in that the Redemption underlies it and yet is not a pardon in its judgmental nature, Miss Woolf offers an illuminating explanation: " ... the document was not a pardon when it was received, but it was a pardon after Piers had torn it. The suggestion that the tearing of the document symbolizes the mercy and forgiveness shown in the Redemption may seem startling, but even at first sight has a certain propriety. A sentence of death, when torn up, might appropriately be called a reprieve."[3]

That Piers is enabled to tear up the pardon, indicating an act of mercy, would invest the plowman with Christ-like qualities, which Miss Woolf feels are merely suggested in Passus VI. However, she equates the act of destroying such a document with "the image in *Colossians* 2.13-14 of the *chirographum peccatorum nostrorum, quod erat contrarium nobis,*

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[1] Rosemary Woolf, "The Tearing of the Pardon," in *Piers Plowman: Critical Approaches*, ed. S.S. Hussey (London, 1969), pp. 50-75. Miss Woolf gives a helpful summary of the key critical positions in pp. 51-52.

[2] Woolf, p. 69.

[3] Woolf, p. 70.

which Christ annulled by nailing it to the Cross.... The contents of the *chirographum*, however, is different from that of the pardon, but it resembles it in being a document containing a sentence of damnation that was destroyed by the Redemption."[4] Although Miss Woolf does not state it explicitly, Piers' tearing of the pardon signifies a transition between periods of the old dispensation and the new, between the certainty of judgment and the promise of Christ's mercy shown by the Redemption.

Although I am in general agreement with Miss Woolf's argument, I should like to expand upon it in several areas. First, Miss Woolf states, "It would be unwise to ask at this point what Piers signifies: like the Green Knight he seems to be a dispenser of justice without any explanation being given for this authority, and if an explanation were given, the powerful but indefinable effect of awe in both poems would be dispelled."[5] On the contrary, there are explanations given for Piers' assumption of an authoritative role in the *Visio*, if we examine the text carefully, and look at Piers in the light of scripture and Biblical commentary. What I particularly hope to demonstrate is that in the *Visio* Langland sought to dramatize the transition in salvation history from a period analogous to a pre-or near-Christian situation to that final period in time termed the sixth world age or the Age of the Church, the period initiated by the birth of Christ. Piers, the human spearhead of this movement, could be a figure operating in three distinct although simultaneous levels in time: he can be an Old Testament representation of the just man or friend of God, who served Him in such figures as Abraham or Moses; he can be a type of the Apostles or disciples, primarily St. Peter, whom he becomes in *Dobest* (B. XIX. 177-185), who willingly left all that they had to follow Christ in His lifetime and who went on to form the foundation of the Church; finally, he can be a type of any man in the Age of the Church, who, seeking salvation, imitates Christ by taking up His cross to follow Him (*Luke* 9 23-24).[6] This temporal flexibility of Piers is inherent in the traditional associations invested in the plowman, which I shall discuss below.

Second, the "reprieve" Miss Woolf speaks of can be located in various descriptions of salvation history and points to a basic tension in

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[4] Woolf, p. 74.

[5] Woolf, p. 71.

[6] Cf. D.W. Robertson, Jr., *A Preface to Chaucer* (Princeton, 1962), p. 301: "The medieval attitude toward time was very different from ours. Specifically, an action carried out in the Old Testament may be, spiritually understood, an action described in the New Testament, and the same action, considered tropologically, becomes a potential action in the life of any man. Thus, allegory has the effect of reducing the events of the Old Testament, the New Testament, and one's own actions, together with those of contemporaries, to a kind of continuous present."

the poem between the present and the future. This tension is implied by a key emendation in the C-text, which changes the fifty-year term of Piers' service of Truth (B.V. 549) to forty years (C. VIII. 180).[7] As I shall later show, this emendation places the temporal *locus* of the events of the *Visio* squarely in the present time and clears up any false notion in *B* that Piers might have had concerning his possible deliverance by Truth from time to eternity. This misconception of Piers might also explain, along with Miss Woolf's suggestion that Piers is acting mercifully in his tearing of the pardon, why he rips the pardon in the B-text and why this action is omitted in *C*, an omission Miss Woolf ignores.

Third, the extensive C-text interpolations into the glosses of the pardon (C.X.71-161; 188-281) offer evidence, in addition to the pardon's basis in the Athanasian Creed, that the pardon will apply to the future and that a large expanse of time, perhaps the sixth world age, will be allotted Piers and the folk for doing well and for working toward salvation. The C-text was not Miss Woolf's concern, but I think that the interpolations go a long way to explain the authoritative basis of Piers' role in the *Visio* and give a firm indication here that he is a spokesman for Christ. The interpolations also explain why Piers' speech following the tearing of the pardon (B.XVV.116-137) is omitted from the C-text, as well as the tearing of the pardon itself.

The first matter at hand, the meaning and significance of Piers, is fundamental to our understanding of the final passus of the *Visio*, because his symbolic significance not only sheds light upon his actions on the pilgrimage to Truth, the plowing of the half acre, and the interpretation of the pardon even before its terms are revealed, but also clarifies the temporal location of these actions. As Piers is the object of Will's quest throughout the poem, the question arises— why a plowman, a husbandman? It is established in the *Visio* that Piers is Truth's faithful servant, and in contrast with the false pilgrims as well as with the folk themselves, he knows the way to Truth and is qualified to direct the repentant folk to Him so that they might receive pardon for their sins (B.V. 520-562). Piers' stewardship of Truth is of the greatest importance, as it is this central relationship that invests the plowman with the authority to organize the pilgrims into a potential model of a just society, to direct even the knight in his duties toward that society, and to summon the enigmatic figure of Hunger as a corrective force when the society is at the point of dissolution.[8]

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[7] Ed. W.W. Skeat (Oxford, 1886).

[8] Woolf, p. 71. Piers is still Grace's "procuratour and my reve ... prowor and my plowman" in *Dobest*, B. XIX.253-255.

Although the critics have given Piers a great range of meaning in *Dobet* and *Dobest*, his function as a spiritual figure in the *Visio* has not been dealt with fully. E. Talbot Donaldson suggests that in B.XVI.89-96, Piers is "mankind, or rather that elevated portion of mankind which includes the patriarchs and prophets — Moses, Abraham, David, Adam and the others who prefigured Christ before the Incarnation, just as St. Peter became Christ's vicar after the Ascension."[9] In this sense, Piers becomes "the human nature of Christ."[10] Of Piers in the *Visio*, Donaldson says he is a "simple, honest laborer."[11] Recently, Barbara Raw has sought to locate the correspondence between Piers and the patriarchs and prophets in the *Visio*: "In the *Visio*, when he directs the pilgrims to Truth, supervises the ploughing of the half-acre, and receives pardon for himself and his heirs, Piers resembles the patriarchs and prophets. He is the just man living under Old Testament law."[12] The question concerning the appropriateness of Piers as a figure of authority in the *Visio* and as the object of Will's quest in the *Vitae* thus becomes compounded when it may be that early in the poem Piers is to be equated with pre- or near-Christian figures. The final passus of the *Visio* might then, by extension, comprise a situation emblematic of a transtional era, a dramatization of time immediately prior to Christ when God's preachers attempted to prepare for His coming and to make ready as well that fertile soil from which the Apostles and disciples were drawn. Not only does Piers prepare for the harvest of the Jews, a concept to be discussed below, but also he is himself the fruit of that harvest, a type of the disciple who willingly followed Christ from the start.

The end of the *Visio* is emblematic in the sense that as the poem moves from a scene dominated by Mede to one centered on Piers, Langland seems to be creating, particularly by means of agricultural imagery, a more universal situation than that of contemporary London. On the one hand, we are still within a feudal society (B.VI.7-39), but at the same time, even though there are many New Testament references in Passus V-VII, the general atmosphere and actions here seem to me to be best explained by reference to a pre-Christian analogue, which does not detract from the obvious fact that the poem still bears directly upon the fourteenth century and that the poet is speaking primarily to Englishmen.[13]

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[9] E. Talbot Donaldson, *Piers Plowman: The C-Text and Its Poet* (New Haven, 1949), p. 186.
[10] Donaldson, p. 186.
[11] Donaldson, p. 163. See also Woolf, p. 70.
[12] Barbara Raw, "Piers and the Image of God in Man," in Hussey, *op. cit.*, p. 163.
[13] Anyone tempted to read *Piers Plowman* allegorically should keep in mind always the literal level of the poem, as E. T. Donaldson cautions in "Patristic Exegesis: The Opposition," in *Critical Approaches to Medieval Literature*, ed. Dorothy Bethurum (Selected Papers from the English Institute, 1958-59, New York, 1960), pp. 5-16.

Piers is the agent used by Langland to manipulate his temoral scheme in the *Visio*, basically by means of the traditional meaning associated with the figure of the plowman in Scripture and commentary. Robertson and Huppé were the first to point out that the plowman signified the preacher, using as their basic text, *Luke* 9 62: *Nemo mittens manum suam ad aratrum et respiciens retro, aptus est regno Dei.*[14] Piers is not only a plowman; he also fulfills, as the faithful servant of Truth, the duties associated with the husbandman or *agricola* (B.V.544-556), and the figure of the husbandman in Scripture is also traditionally glossed as the preacher.[15] The office of preaching, preparing the field or the world for the reception of God's word, is related to the unfolding of salvation history, even as agricultural imagery throughout the Bible bears eschatological overtones.[16] Two key parables are particularly relevant here, because they link preaching to the world ages: *Matt.* 20 1-16, the parable of the laborers called at various hours into the vineyard; and *Luke* 13 6-9, the parable of the barren fig tree. In each parable, it is evident that the role of the preacher is fundamentally linked with time and eternity and that the preacher provides a bridge between man and God by means of his preaching. He thereby becomes a type of Christ Incarnate, the unique mediator between mankind and divinity, and helps men to follow Christ's word, prepares them in time and on earth to achieve salvation in eternity. While the critics have interpreted Piers variously as representing Old Testament figures and the preacher in the *Visio*, these two configurations have not yet been brought together in a way that will explain not only the final events of the *Visio*, but also Piers' subsequent development in the course of the poem.

In Matthew, five hours of the day are named, and these hours or times are often conflated with the world ages, as well as with the ages of man. Taking Augustine as the basis of this tradition, we can delineate salvation in this way: the first hour when the workers are called extends from Abel to Noah; at the third hour, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob are called; at the sixth hour, Moses and Aaron; at the ninth, the Prophets; and at the eleventh, the Gentiles, who initiate the Age of the Church.[17] In traditional commentary, the husbandman calling forth the workers is God; the vineyard is the Church; the workers are prelates or preachers; and the work they perform is preaching, preparing the vineyard or the

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[14] D. W. Robertson, Jr. and Bernard Huppé, *Piers Plowman and Scriptural Tradition* (Princeton, 1951), pp. 18-19. Another basic text for this configuration is the parable of the sower, Matt. 13.3-23.

[15] Robertson and Huppé, pp. 18-19.

[16] Morton W. Bloomfield, *Piers Plowman as a Fourteenth-Century Apocalypse* (Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, New Jersey, n.d.), pp. 105 ff.

[17] Augustine, Sermon 81, PL 38. 530-533.

Church to receive the payment of the denarius, the reward of the Kingdom of Heaven.

The parable is relevant to *Piers Plowman* in that Piers, by calling the folk to aid him in the plowing of the half-acre, represents the type of the righteous man who calls the faithful into the vineyard or the Church so that they might receive the denarius or treasure of Truth. Also, these men separating one hour of calling from another are traditionally types of Christ, heralds of Truth. They prefigure Christ, acting to unite salvation history as well as to propel its progress, even as Piers prefigures in the *Visio* what he will become in his succeeding appearances in the poem — a figure of Christ in *Dobet* (B.XVIII. 10-26) and Christ's vicar or St. Peter in *Dobest* (B.XIX.177-182). In B.V.559, Piers tells the folk that his master Truth does not withhold his wages at "euen," possibly a reference to Matt. 20:9. Piers may, at this point, consider the eleventh hour the end of time, when it is in fact the beginning of the final period of salvation history.

The parable of the barren fig tree also makes clear the relationship between the actions of the parable and temporal progress. In Luke, the husbandman comes three years to the tree, and finding it barren, threatens to cut it down. Each time, however, the cultivator of the tree begs the husbandman to spare it, saying that he will dig about it and manure it so that it might bear fruit. Here, traditionally, the husbandman is God, the tree itself human nature (cf. *Matt.* 7 15-20), and the cultivator interceding for the tree is the preacher. Three years or three times he pleads for the tree: before the Old Law; under the Old Law; and under the New Law. During these times he is Abraham, Moses, and Christ respectively. He digs about the tree and fertilizes it with repentance, so that the owner of the tree will spare it.[18] The image of the fig tree is especially relevant to the allegory of *Piers*: Piers partially describes his service of Truth in terms of activity analogus to the cultivation of the tree (B.V.552; B.VI. 105-106); through Piers' intercession, the folk are not destroyed by Hunger in Passus VI, even as the frenetic attempts on the part of the folk to ward off Hunger can be construed as penitential activity; and finally, the tree of charity later bears three grades of fruit corresponding to the three periods of time outlined in the parable (B.XVI.79-82).

In both parables, the laborer in the field and the cultivator of the tree are unique intermediaries between God and man. They cultivate man by their preaching to prepare him for heaven, and they intercede

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[18] Augustine, Sermon 110, PL 38. 638-639. See also Hugh of St. Victor, *Exegetica Dubia*, PL 175. 817-818.

for man so that God will not cut him down before he is granted a period of respite for repentance. By extension, all true preachers, plowman or husbandmen, labor within time to prepare for the future; they aid human nature in progressing spiritually through time toward a state of grace. Man is given a proper perspective of the present and the future by the preacher, who not only prays and works for the postponing of the time for the cutting down of the tree, but also prepares for the end of time. That preaching is mandatory as a preparation for the last days is made clear in *Matt.* 24 14: *Et praedicabitur hoc evangelium regni in universo orbe, in testimonium omnibus gentibus; et tunc veniet consummatio.* The figure of the half-acre may be a sign that although Piers is laboring with the folk to prepare them for Truth, although he anticipates harvest, Langland intends that the half-acre be extended to include the whole world, as in *Dobest.* What may be prepared in the *Visio* is a harvest preliminary to the final harvest which will take place at the end of the world.

Another, less common delineation of salvation history is a simple bipartite scheme, whereby history, intersected by Christ, includes all time before and after the New Law. This twofold division is represented by the figure of the harvest, which itself can be interpreted in two ways. The first occurs in *Luke* 10 2 and *Matt.* 9 36-38, where, *Messis quidem multa, operarii autem pauci; rogate ergo Dominum messis, ut mittat operarios in messem suam.* Traditionally, this is the harvest of the Jews, to whom the prophets preached, sowing the word so that the Apostles might reap it. The second and more familiar notion of the harvest as the end of the world is in *Matt.* 13 39. Langland may be utilizing this dual harvest motif in *Piers*, where the harvest in the *Visio*, which Piers anticipates (B.VI.291-292), prefigures the second harvest of *Dobest*, also prepared for, but never gathered (B.XIX.314-331 ff.). Hugh of St. Cher, following Augustine, glosses the harvest as a continuum, sown in the beginning by the prophets and patriarchs to mature finally after the preaching of the Gospel.[19]

The importance of these traditional historical configurations is that in each case the passage of time in salvation history is represented by an agricultural process, delineated by a series of stages, and at each stage a profound development occurs as history is propelled toward eternity. During each historical period, there are a very few men, just men or friends of God, as de Lubac terms them, who are distinguished from the

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[19] Augustine, Sermon 101, PL 38. 605-613. Hugh of St. Cher, *Opera omnia in universam Vetus et Novum Testamentum*, 6 (Venice, 1703), fol. 191 V. The harvest as the end of the world is a commonplace in Scripture and commentary.

mass of men by their fervent love of God.[20] These men, Abraham, Moses, the Apostles, etc., are traditionally glossed as preachers and as types of Christ. Their responsibility is as great as is their divinely ordained mission; to fulfill this office of preaching, they must align themselves with Truth, even as Christ Himself is Truth or the Word, the preacher *par excellence*.

The scriptural passages above, as they are traditionally glossed, indicate the pervasiveness of the plowman-preacher configuration in the unfolding of salvation history and may constitute evidence that Piers himself is to be construed as a symbol of the preacher in the *Visio*. Langland may have intended Piers to signify a conglomerate figure of all those patriarchs and prophets who were to prepare for the coming of Christ, as well as a type of that man who left his work to follow Christ in the active ministry of the Church (*Matt.* 9 9). In this manner, Piers could be operating in the *Visio* as a transitional figure, overlapping those two periods of time intersected by Christ — the periods of the Old and the New Law. In the B-text, however, although there are indications that Langland has placed Piers in a situation emblematic of a pre-Christian age, particularly in the tearing of the pardon sequence, and although Piers must experience dramatically in *B* an awareness that he is not to be delivered from the present to an imminent future of eternal rest and quiet (B.VII.117-129), perhaps the reviser of the C-text felt that this pre-Christian ambiance was not sufficiently depicted and that Piers should be made over into a figure more informed of his temporal position. Therefore, there are several important changes in the C-text which make it clear that Piers is operating in the present, a present closely associated with trial and with Christ, and that the pardon is to apply to a distant future. These key changes, noted above, are the revisions of the length of time Piers has served Truth and the C-text interpolations into the gloss on the pardon.

In B.V.549, Piers tells the folk that he has served Truth for fifty years, but in C.VIII.188, the time is changed to forty years. Piers' long service of Truth is evidence that he is qualified to direct the folk on their pilgrimage to Truth, in contrast with the false pilgrim they meet who has visited conventional shrines, yet who has no knowledge of Truth (B.V.522-543). The change in these periods of time is significant and will aid in explaining why the pardon is ripped in *B*, whereas this act is omitted in *C*. It would seem that in the B-text Piers is under the misapprehension that he and the folk will be delivered from time, the present, to eternal bliss, whereas in *C*, Langland resolves this temporal dilemma.

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[20] Henri de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale* 2, 1 (Paris, 1961), p. 346. This entire section, "Histoire de la Révélation," pp. 339-59, is most useful for understanding the process of salvation history.

In the liturgy, *fifty* represents Pentecost or heavenly perfection, and *forty* represents Lent or a period of testing and trial in the present time.[21] Pentecost, prepared for by the forty days of Lent and by the forty days Christ passed with His disciples after the Resurrection, symbolizes eternity and the quietude earned by labor, when God is praised by the everlasting alleluia.[22] *Fifty* also symbolizes the remission of sin, hope, and the pardon that takes place at Pentecost.[23] Thus, the fiftieth day signifies the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, prefigured by the Law of Fear, the Old Law, written by the finger of God fifty days after the immolation of the Pasch.[24] *Forty* commonly represents a probationary period, as in the forty days associated with the Flood (*Gen.* 7.4), the forty years of wandering during the Exodus (*Num.* 32.13), and the forty day periods of fasting suffered by Moses, Elias, and Christ (*Exod.* 32.28; 3 *Kings* 19.8; and *Matt.* 4.2).

The reasons why the number *fifty* is an inaccurate term for Piers' service of Truth are dramatized both in the final passus of the *Visio* and in *Dobest*. First, by mentioning the fifty year term, perhaps Piers assumes that he has completed his service of Truth, but in the action of the poem that term has just begun. By setting the folk to work on the half-acre in preparation for harvest (B.VI.292), Piers might think he is preparing for the final harvest after which he will rest with Truth in eternity, but he is actually making the first harvest of the Jews from which the Gentiles will be called. Second, the time of trial in which he labors, better represented by *forty* as in *C*, prefigures the trials he will undergo with the folk in the plowing of the half-acre, which clearly begins and ends in the present and which may be described as a probationary period. Third, later in the poem, Christ teaches Piers the life of Dobest and grants him a second pardon whereby Piers is directly given the power to remit sin if restitution is made, *redde quod debes* (B.XIX.182). Significantly, the feast of Pentecost takes place here before Grace goes forth with Piers to wage war against Antichrist and to prepare a second harvest (B.XIX.194 ff.). Although Piers receives a pardon in the *Visio*, perhaps this first pardon prefigures the second pardon gained for man by Christ's crucifixion, an action that does not occur until much later in the poem (B.XVIII.46 ff.). In the *Visio* Langland may be dramatizing a penitential period of trial and fasting, the fruits of which earn temporary respite in the first pardon, which apparently is not supplemented by the grace purchased at the Redemption nor by the

[21] Jean Daniélou, *The Lord of History*, trans. Nigel Abercrombie (Chicago, 1964), pp. 253 ff.

[22] Augustine, Sermon 252, PL 38. 1176. See also his Sermon 210, *ibid.*, 1051-52; Sermon 252, *ibid.*, 1178-79.

[23] Jean Daniélou, *The Bible and the Liturgy* (Notre Dame, Indiana, 1956), p. 325.

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 331.

sacrament of penance. Both grace and penance are only available in the gift of the second pardon, whose terms are essentially those of the first (B.XIX.190-193). The point here is that the emendation of Piers' service of Truth from fifty to forty years and the general texture of Piers' words and deeds in the *Visio* place this action in the present and heighten the contrast between a present characterized by trial and a future promise of deliverance into rest and joy.

After their confession, the folk begin their search for Truth, and they "blustreden forth as bestes ouer bankes and hilles" (B.V.521). Without direction, they are like the crowds, like sheep without a shepherd, who moved Christ to say to His disciples, *Messis quidem multa, operarii autem pauci; rogate ergo Dominum messis, ut mittat operarios in messem suam* (*Luke* 10.2). In this passage, the harvest is not to be interpreted as the end of the world, but rather as a conversion to faith.[25] When it is evident that the false pilgrim cannot lead the folk to Truth (B.V.523-543), Piers steps forward as the man who knows Truth "kyndely" and serves as a superb example of the laborer who is to go into the harvest, the folk, and to guide them to his master. There is still further evidence that links Piers with the disciples, for when Piers tells the people how he will dress himself on the pilgrimage, he describes his apparel in terms taken from *Luke* 10.4-6 (B.VI.59-66). As if by Christ's command, Piers assumes the role of the worker who goes into the harvest to perform the Lord's work. He is like the lamb who will later be set upon by wolves or wasters (*Luke* 10.16; B.VI.163), and he apparently follows Christ in his choice of clothing. If we accept Skeat's glossing of *cockeres* to mean "old stockings without feet," he wears no sandals; also he specifically says he will bear no *scrippe* or bag, that is, purse, such as beggars carry (*Luke* 9.1 ff. and 10.4; B. Pro. 41 and B.VI.62-64).

As I have indicated, this scriptural passage dealing with the harvest is an important one for our understanding of the harvest motif in *Piers*, because there are two harvest in Scripture and in time: the harvest of the Jews, from which the Apostles were chosen, and the harvest to come, which we ourselves are and which will be gathered at the end of the world. In B.VI.102-104, Piers vows:

> "And with the residue and the remenaunte bi the rode of
>   Lukes!
> I wil worschip ther-with Treuthe bi my lyue,
> And ben his pilgryme atte plow for pore mennes sake."

Perhaps the "residue and the remenaunte" is that small group or that remnant of the Jews who will be saved by the election of God's grace

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[25] De Lubac, I, i, 346-47.

(*Rom.* 11 5), or that remnant of the folk who have repented and who are seeking salvation by working with Piers. The remnant can then refer to the fruit of that first harvest from which the Jews are called.[26] The Jews as a whole were not damned, but are rather compared in commentary to a tree which stems from the Prophets, and from this tree unfruitful branches were broken off and wild olive grafted in their place. Yet not all the branches were removed: *Nam si omnes rami frangarentur, unde Petrus ? ... unde illi omnes Apostoli ...* (cf. *Is.*10 22 and *Rom.* 9 27).[27] Both the Jews and the Gentiles come together in Christ, the corner stone, and perhaps there is an indication in the *Visio* that Piers, later referred to as " '*Petrus, id est Christus*' " (B.XV.206), functions here as a figure of Christ as *petra*, the corner stone, when by his sowing, etc., he acts to unite the harvest of the Jews with that of the Gentiles.[28]

More specifically, Piers may be a figure here of John the Baptist, who is also represented in commentary as a corner stone.[29] Further, in an unusual rendering of the world ages, Augustine designates John as the initiator of the sixth age: *...quintum tempus, tanquam quintus dies, a transmigratione usque ad praedicationem Joannis. Sextus dies jam a praedicatione Joannes agitur usque ad finem, et post finem sexti diei pervenimus ad requiem.*[30] John prepared the way of the Lord by preaching to the people the baptism of repentance for the remission of sin (*Luke* 3.3 ff.). He was able to preach a sermon of repentance, but was not able to absolve the people of their sins; he is the precursor or herald of Christ, but does not possess Christ's power.[31] He is like Piers, who cannot remit sin until after the Feast of Pentecost, even though the plowman will receive a pardon prefiguring the second, viable pardon.

In B. VI.123, the wasters, a further splintering off of the remnant, pretend to be blind and lame so that they can escape work, whereupon Piers once again calls himself Truth's servant and cautions them that if they do not drive Truth's team, they shall eat barley bread rather than wheat bread (B. VI.131-140). The "teme" in 1.136 looks ahead to B. XIX.257, where the "teme" is the four evangelists, and here Piers warns the laggards that unless they work for the good of all men, unless they cease injuring the workers God sends into the vineyard (VI.133-134;

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[26] Augustine, *De Genes.*, I, 23, 4, PL 34. 1922.

[27] Augustine, *Enarratio in Ps.* 94, PL 37. 1221.

[28] *Matt.* 21.33-44. For a full discussion of the corner stone, see Gerhart B. Ladner, "The Symbolism of the Biblical Corner Stone in the Medieval West," *Mediaeval Studies*, 4 (1962), 43-60.

[29] For John as a type of the corner stone uniting the Old and the New Law, see Honorius of Autun, *Sacramentarium*, PL 172.800. A more explicit statement is given by William Durandus, *Rationale Divinorum Officorum* (Naples, 1859), p. 681.

[30] Augustine, *Enarration in Ps.* 94, PL 37.1182.

[31] See Gregory the Great on *Luke* 3.1-11, Homil. 20, PL 76.1161.

Matt. 21:33 ff.), they shall remain under the bondage of the Old Law, represented by "barley bread", rather than partake with Piers of the grace of the New Law, represented by "whete bred".[32] If Piers does represent John, then the choice of the two breads is significant of transition. As the last of the prophets and the immediate forerunner of Christ, John is capable of uniting the Jews of the Old Law to the grace promised by the New Law by his preaching the baptism of repentance. Piers, *Petrus* as derived from *petra* and as the future Peter upon whom Christ will build His Church, even as He Himself is the chief corner stone, may here be operating as a transitional figure, whose dimensions extend into time as well as space. The plowman-preacher is itself a composite symbol, which cuts through all levels of time in the various renderings of salvation history, and in the *Visio* alone Piers may be seen as a multi-dimensional figure. Simultaneously, he operates in ways analogous to the patriarchs and prophets, to John the Baptist, and to the type of man who leaves everything behind him to follow Christ.

   Even though it appears that Piers is developing spiritually and historically in the course of the *Visio* and even though there are indications that the *Visio* occupies a time of transition between the old dispensation and the new, it is apparent that, aside from the harvest motif, both Piers and the events of the *Visio* are located in the present. The goal of the pilgrimage is not reached, except that the folk do find Truth as He is represented by Piers as Truth's servant and as His will is revealed to them by Piers' counsel. In fact, the pilgrimage to Truth, which Piers might have construed as deliverance from time to eternity, is exchanged for the pilgrimage at the plow. The entire notion of pilgrimage as release from time and sin is replaced by the doctrine of labor, the cultivation of the half-acre, which is reinforced in B. VII.1-8 after Truth sends Piers the pardon. The treasure of Truth, heavenly reward, cannot be made avaiiable until after Christ has died on the Cross, and in terms of the poem, this crucial action does not occur until B. XVIII.46 ff. In B. VI., although Piers confidently sets the folk to work, he and the knight are powerless to keep order without the constraint of Hunger. What should be, in Piers' view, a situation foreshadowing eternal rest, blissful respite from labor, and the singing of a joyous alleluia, is in fact the false rest of the wasters, who sing "'how! trollilolli!'" partaking of the fruits of labor before the work of the harvest is complete. The actions of the wasters test Piers' charitable

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[32] Augustine, Sermon 130, PL 38.725: "Lex vetus hordeum est ad evangelicum triticum," and Eucherius, *Liber Formularum Spiritalis Intelligentiae*, PL 50.743. In *Matthew* 13.30, the wheat represents that regenerate part of the harvest that will be gathered into the Lord's barn at the end of the world.

inclinations and contribute to the probationary atmosphere of the half-acre sequence, providing Piers a chance to demonstrate further his abilities as leader of the folk. He guides them on the wicked way to Truth (B.VI.10), which is akin to wandering in a wilderness (B.Pro.12), where men need protection from temptation. As Moses led the children of Israel through their forty years of wandering and trial in the desert, so Christ, the leader of men in the Age of the Church, sustained the temptations of the Devil in the desert and initiated the New Exodus by means of baptism. By extension, Piers or the preacher, himself a type of Christ both before and after the Incarnation, is enabled to lead men through the world to their salvation by his preaching and the peniten-tial activity he dispenses upon his followers.

Miss Woolf spoke of Piers' tearing of the pardon as a reprieve, but perhaps it may be that Truth's granting of the pardon to Piers is itself an act of reprieve. After the Hunger episode and the mysterious prophecy at the end of Passus VI, possibly further disasters are in store for the folk, "But if god of his goodnesse graunt vs a trewe" (B. VI.332). The "trewe" God sends would appear to be the pardon itself.

> Treu the herde telle her-of and to Peres he sent,
> To taken his teme and tulyen the erthe,
> And purchaced hym a pardoun *a pena et a culpa*
> For hym and for his heires for euermore after.
>
> B. VII.1-4

The pardon follows hard upon the Hunger episode, which may also be construed as an event signalling transition from one stage of salvation history to another. In Passus VI, the folk are given opportunity to work for harvest, from which the Jews will be called, or they may indulge themselves physically as wasters, allowing the tree to remain barren so that the husbandman in His wrath might come to cut it down. In this sense, Hunger might figure as did the hungering Christ in *Matt.* 21.18-22, when He came upon the barren fig tree and cursed it for its lack of fruit.

> *Ea este Synagoga, non vocata, sed reprobata. Nam et inde vocata populus Dei, qui veraciter et sinceriter in Prophetis expectabat salutare Dei Jesum Christum. Et quoniam fideliter expectabat, meruit cognoscere praesentem. Inde enim Apostoli, inde tota turba praecedentium jumentum Domini ... In aliis autem crucifixus, jam in coelo exaltatus, invenit poenitentiae fructum: nec aridos fecit, sed in agro excoluit, et verbo irrigavit.*[33]

Rabanus Maurus links this tree in *Matthew* 21 to that barren fig tree in *Luke* 13. The tree in *Matthew* 21, as in Augustine, signifies the

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[33] Augustine, Sermon 89, PL 38.554.

Synagogue; however, *item ficus, prisca lex* ....[34] In like manner, the figure of the hungering Christ occurs in *Matt.* 25.35 and 42, where Christ represents Himself as hungering and thirsting throughout time for faithful souls; those who solace Him in His guise of suffering humanity will be saved.

The general burden of the action at the end of the *Visio* underscores the urgency of a time about to be wrenched by violent change. Hunger may also, and more literally, be interpreted as famine, a traditional sign of the last days,[35] and although His judgmental actions are dispensed by the attempts of Piers and the folk to provide Him with spiritual food (B. VI.186-193; 298-303), the prophecy at the end of VII operates as a warning of worse to come. If the pardon is interpreted in terms of a "trewe" or truce, and if the prophecy of disaster is dispelled by the hope of truce immediately fulfilled in the pardon, what this may be here is a period of respite or truce analogous to the same period of respite granted by the husbandman of the barren fig tree to the cultivator of the tree (*Luke* 13.6-9). By means of his preaching and the general penitential activity associated with the plowing of the half-acre, Piers, with God's grace, may have earned for the folk a further expanse of time in which to do well and to earn pardon from sin. This third period of time is that era associated with Christ, as the second stage was linked to Moses, and in this way the pardon may signify a time of transition between the Old and the New Law. However, the final period of time is by definition still within time; what is extended is simply another period of probation and trial wherein man might have further opportunity to gain salvation, a process made possible under the new dispensation promised by the pardon.

The major problems connected with the pardon episode are: one, what does the pardon itself signify; two, why does Piers angrily tear it in two in *B*, an action omitted in *C*; and three, why is the statement he makes in B. VII.116-129 concerning his future life, as well as the final interchange with the priest, omitted in *C*.

Although the pardon's text is taken from the Athanasian Creed, the pardon as pardon may be a truce, signalling a time of respite granted by God through the Incarnation of Christ, who, by means of the Atonement, purchased man's salvation on the cross. In terms of salvation history, an additional stage of time initiated by the coming of

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[34] Rabanus Maurus, *De universo*, PL 111.509. See also *Jer.* 24.1-10, for good and bad figs, which figure those good and bad Jews who will be saved or restored after the Babylonian captivity or lost forever.

[35] For the notion of catastrophic events, such as social upheaval or famine, being signs of God's intervention in human history, see Daniélou, *The Lord of History*, pp. 140 ff. See also *Mark* 13.7 ff. for the events indicating the last times.

Christ is granted man for earning his redemption, and during this period man will be aided by the grace of the sacraments and by the general protection of the Church. However, in Passus VII this pardon, when contrasted with the second pardon granted Piers in *Dobest*, is but the promise of the pardon purchased by Christ's death on the cross. In VII, the pardon is not supplemented by penance as is the second pardon (B. XIX.177-193), nor is it evident that grace is the operative force it is shown to be later in the poem. Also, in terms of the poem, the Crucifixion has not yet taken place. Miss Woolf emphasizes the judgmental nature of the pardon, whereby Piers' tearing it becomes an act of reprieve, but surely the pardon promises salvation as well as damnation, even as the glosses on the pardon promise salvation for the different ranks of society if various conditions are met.[36] It is significant that the promises of remission are in the margins of the pardon and that its seal is secret (B. VII.23). Unlike the priest who sees only the literal text of the pardon and who says, "'I can no pardoun fynde'" (B. VII.112), Piers sees beneath the letter and recognizes that the pardon is "a prophecy of the New Law of Charity which can be sealed only by the blood of Christ".[37] In this way, the priest's view of the pardon would be consonant with that of the Old Law, whereas Piers' reading of it would symbolize the New.[38]

But the question remains — why should Piers tear up the pardon and wrangle with the priest? Perhaps, as Miss Woolf suggests, his action is an act of reprieve; perhaps, as John Burrow suggests, this action signifies Piers' rejection of the form of the pardon, as an indulgence sent from Rome, even as he accepts its content or Dowel.[39] Both these views are acceptable, but I would go further and say that perhaps, as I have tried to prove above, in *B* Piers thought that with the coming of the pardon he and the folk would be delivered from the present time of trial to an eternity of rest and joy. As Ruth Ames points out, "his tearing up of the pardon in 'pure tene' may reflect his frustration when he realizes that he cannot make the pardon effective. In a similar 'tene' later in the poem (XVI.86), he flings apples at the devil, although he knows only Christ can hurt him. Certainly, in the large plan of the poem, it is still a long time until the Redemption".[40] Further, in the final

[36] B. VII.13-17; 23-36; 46-51; 67; 99-105.

[37] Ruth M. Ames, *The Fulfillment of the Scriptures: Abraham, Moses and Piers* (Northwestern University Press, Evanston, 1970), p. 167.

[38] *Ibid.*, p. 167. See also Robertson and Huppé, pp. 93-95, and Nevill Coghill, "The Pardon of Piers Plowman," *PBA*, 30 (1944), 319.

[39] John Burrow, "Langland's Second Vision," *Essays in Criticism*, 15 (1965), 247-68, rpt. in *Style and Symbolism in Piers Plowman*, ed. Robert J. Blanch (Knoxville, Tenn., 1969), pp. 223-24.

[40] Ames, p. 167.

passus of the *Visio*, Piers has been operating on one level as a patriarch-prophet, but in the *B* version of the pardon scene, he realizes the limitations of his role and at its end proceeds to make a vow linking his future explicitly with Christ.

Piers' insight into his limited role is achieved dramatically, but in a confused manner in *B*, when an angry Piers rips up the pardon and resolves to cease his sowing and to take up the plow of prayer and penance (B. VII.117-129). In *C*, and more in line with the depiction of Piers up to this point, he is the direct spokesman for Christ, a function indicated by the lengthy C-text interpolations into the glosses on the pardon (C.X. 71-161 and 188-281). The transition of Piers from a figure embodying certain aspects of Old Testament patriarchs and prophets to a figure closely associated with Christ is prepared for in the B-text, if his statement in B. VI.102-104 is interpreted as an echo of the doctrine of the cross (*Luke* 9.23-27). Throughout the *Visio*, Piers has been characterized as a man close to Christ, particularly by his actions reminiscent of John the Baptist and the disciples. In fact, his closeness to Christ in love and action is his prevailing trait, as he himself makes clear:

> "They [the folk] are my blody bretheren ... for god bouʒte vs alle;
> Treuthe tauʒte me ones to louye hem vchone,
> And to helpen hem of alle thinge ay as hem nedeth".
>   B. VI.210-212

All the great figures in salvation history display their nearness to Christ by means of their love of God and their followers, their preaching the word, and their involvement in penitential activity. This Christ-like quality of Piers, even as all preachers are types of Christ, allows Langland to shift back and forth between his figural significances, which partake both of the Old and the New Testaments simultaneously.

One action linking Piers to an Old Testament figure in *B* is Piers' anger at the priest and his tearing of the pardon. Moses' breaking of the tablets of the Law (*Exod.* 32.19) is linked to the coming of the New Law in commentary. As Moses did not destroy the tablets because he doubted their validity, but because he was angered by the conduct of the Israelites during his absence (*Exod.* 32.1-6), so Piers' "tene" may indirectly levelled at the folk who have been chosen to seek Truth, but who have fallen into idleness.[41] Therefore, Piers does not invalidate the spirit of the pardon, even as Moses did not repudiate the Law. Both are from Truth or God Himself, and Piers will later receive a second par-

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[41] I am indebted for this idea to Mary Jane Carruthers, "The Mind of Will: A Preface to *Piers Plowman*," (Diss. Yale 1965), pp. 188-191. See Rabanus Maurus, *Commentaria in Exodum*, PL 108.224, and Isidore, *Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum*, PL 83.307.

don identical with the pardon here; similarly, Moses received a second set of the tablets of the Law (*Exod.* 34.1). The priest's repudiation of Piers' learning, as well as his challenging Piers ("Were thow a prest Pieres ... thow miʒte preche where thow sholdest'" B. VII.134), also provides Piers ample grounds for anger and frustration. The priest fails to understand that it is Piers' symbolic role as priest and preacher throughout salvation history that distinguishes him from the folk and elevates him to a position of authority. The priest, supposedly a leader of the folk, reads only the letter of the pardon, comprehending neither its spirit nor its promise, and undercuts thereby Piers' function as intermediary between God and man, a role the priest should fulfill.

On a literal level, it has been generally agreed that the pardon comes from the Athanasian Creed and refers not to the personal, but to the general judgment, which will occur at the Last Judgment or final harvest.[42] As the terms of the pardon are cast in the future tense, *ibunt* (B. VIII.111), and as specific mention is made that the Judgment Day underlies the pardon (B. VII.17), Piers' anger may also be directed at himself for not realizing that these are not the last days, as the prophecy at the end of VI might have him believe, but rather point to the actual end of time. In the C-text, Piers does not rip up the pardon because the substitution of the forty for the fifty year period of Piers' service of Truth, taken with the action of the *Visio*, indicates that he is situated in the present and that much work remains to be done in the field, the Church, to prepare for the last days. More importantly, the extensive C-text additions emphasize the prophetic nature of the pardon, extenuate and intensify the tension between present and future, primarily because large amounts of the prophetic material in the first interpolation (C.X. 71-161) are drawn from *Matt.* 25.31-40, which describes conditions surrounding the Last Judgment. The second interpolation (C.X. 188-28 1) focuses upon the need for true preachers in Langland's time, who will prepare souls to receive judgment.

The correspondences between the first C-text interpolations (C.X. 71-161) and Matthew 25 seem quite pronounced. For example, in C.X. 71-97, direct correlation is made between the pardon given those who aid prisoners, the hungry, and the naked and *Matt.* 25.31-40. To be saved at the Last Judgment, man must administer to Christ's poor in the present, the Age of the Church. In C.X. 98-104, the pardon makes clear the distinction between able men who feign need and the truly needy, as if for the benefit of the wasters. C.X. 113-127 may be interpreted in the light of 1 *Cor.* 4.11-13, which describes the conditions under which Paul

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[42] Bloomfield, pp. 115-116.

and his followers preached, but more specifically, Langland draws upon *Luke* 22.35 (C.X. 121 and 127; *Luke* 9.1-6 and 10.2-6), when the Lord sends workers into the harvest. I have indicated above Augustine's commentary on this passage, but here it is likely that Langland refers to the Mission of the Apostles, who are to labor in the final stage of salvation history. In C.X. 107, "lunatik lollers"[43] are described as "hus aposteles, suche puple, other as his priuye disciples" (C.X. 118). These workers sent into the harvest "aren murye-mouthede men mynstales of heuene," "Godes mynstrales and hus messagers and hus murye bordiours" (C.X. 126-136).[44] Described in this way, they are Truth's followers, even as Piers is Truth's servant, and in C.X. 140-158, they are contrasted with false men disguised as beggars, who trick the unwary into giving them alms.

The first interpolation centers upon a contrast between true and false need and the ideal worker, who may appear to be a beggar or "wise fool" in his disregard for the world and who is to prepare for the final harvest. The scriptural basis for this expansion is located in the New Testament. The second interpolation continues the method and theme of the first, in that the contrast here is founded upon true and false hermits, the latter passing themselves off as friars (C.X. 208, 249), disregarding their function as preachers and being overly concerned with material well-being. In this second addition, Piers himself is the speaker (C.X. 160), and it is significant that Piers, the type of the preacher, cries out for true preachers or dogs, who will guard the fold against wolves (C.X. 257-273; cf. *Is.* 56.10).[45] Also, true preachers will be instrumental in the Age of the Church, even as true workers must prepare the Lord's harvest, both figures acting to direct time toward the Last Days (*Matt.* 24.14). Finally, C.X. 270-274, when the Lord seeks an accounting of his flock from His shepherds, is a reference to the Last Judgment.[46]

The emphasis placed upon true workers in the Church and true preachers of the word, substantiated by texts from the New Testament and Isaiah, not only develops the gloss on the pardon, but also reinforces its prophetic nature; here is further evidence that the pardon is to apply to the Last Judgment. Then, pardon will be granted the faithful followers of Christ who solace His poor, even as the Last Days will

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[43] For fools of this kind, see 1 *Cor.* 3.18-19. This kind of "foolishness" refers to "those wise in the ways of God rather than in the ways of the world," Robertson and Huppé, p. 230.

[44] For the difference between good minstrels and bad, see Robertson and Huppé, pp. 22-24.

[45] See R. E. Kaske, "Dante's 'DXV' and 'Veltro,'" *Traditio,* 17 (1961), 231-32. Also Alfred L. Kellogg, "Langland and the 'Canes Muti,'" *Essays in Literary History Presented to J. Milton French,* ed. Rudolf Kirk and C. F. Main (New York, 1965), pp. 25-35.

[46] Skeat, II, 127.

be prepared by the faithful preaching of God's word to all nations. Significantly, in *C*, Piers himself describes in part the terms of the pardon, as well as the wretched decline of preaching in his own time, and in this way, by directly using material taken from the New Testament as well as from Isaiah, he becomes a spokesman for Truth. In the B-text, it is not made clear how the glosses of the pardon are revealed to the folk, although they are aware that the pardon was made available to them through Piers (B. VII.38). Perhaps in *B*, as Miss Ames suggests, Piers is aware of what lies under Truth's secret seal (B. VII.23), but in *C*, the poet explicitly clarifies any doubts we might have concerning Piers' perception into Truth's directives by having Piers himself reveal the gloss.

When the priest informs Piers that he can find no true exoneration in the pardon, but rather future judgment (B. VII.112-114), in *B* Piers is angry because he himself has failed to realize that the pardon's terms are cast in the future and because the priest has pointed this out to him. Further, the many conditions attached to the pardon's gloss indicate that the folk will not attain Truth or salvation without additional effort. In *C*, however, Piers shows no anger, does not destroy the pardon, because, having served Truth in a probationary period, the present or forty years, he does not expect imminent release from time. In *C*, he has made this awareness clear by the prophetic interpolations he himself has uttered, even as he himself has indicated the need for true workers or preachers who will help the folk to do well in the Age of the Church. More importantly, what is needed to validate the pardon is the sacrament of penance, and this sacrament will be available only after the Crucifixion, when the second pardon is granted (B. XIX.177-193). The texts of the two pardons are essentially the same, but at the dispensation of the second pardon, Piers is given the power to remit sin. Therefore, in VII, in order to be saved, man must do well, but so far he does not have the grace afforded him by penance to release him from sin.

In *B*, Piers makes an important statement concerning his role as preacher and as imitator of Christ, a statement omitted from *C*, because the *C* additions indicated that Piers was aware of how the good worker in the Lord's harvest should live and preach. When, in B. VII.116-123, Piers says that he will cease his sowing and be not so concerned about bodily needs, he is not merely changing from the active to the contemplative life, as Donaldson maintains, nor is he acting "directly contrary to the instructions he has received from Truth ...."[47] If Piers is a type of the preacher, as preachers are traditionally types of Christ, then

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[47] Donaldson, p. 166.

here he is completing the transition from one stage of redemptive history to another.

In the B-text, within the medium of Will's dream, Piers may be undergoing a movement within salvation history, even as Will, the Christian man who lives in the present, experiences the process of that history every day of his life as he is contained within the Church. Thus, as Will is to progress within the poem through various levels of spiritual awareness, so too is his model, his guide, to press on as well. This does not mean that Will necessarily understands what he dreams and what his instructors tell him, as was evident in his dialogue with Holy Church and is apparent at the end of the *Visio* (B. VII.138-142).

In B. VII.116, Piers quotes from Psalm 22, an affirmation of faith in Christ, as the psalm is glossed by Augustine,[48] and casts his faith on Christ to supply his physical needs (B. VII.124-129). In B. VII-117, Piers' statement, "I shal cessen of my sowyng", need not be a violation of Truth's demands, as Donaldson would have it, but instead marks movement forward into the cultivation of the second harvest. As Augustine pointed out in his sermon on the two harvest, the patriarchs and the prophets labored in sowing, in their preaching, so that there might be a harvest from which the Apostles were gathered. Piers' actions here prefigure what he will become in *Dobet* and *Dobest*, the guardian of the tree of charity (B. XVI.17) and the worker in a field assailed by Antichrist (B. XIX.331 ff.). He assumes the plow of penance, an action corresponding to taking up Christ's cross, even as he will be a figure of Christ in *Dobet*. In *Dobest*, as Christ's vicar, once again Piers sows the seeds of Truth (B. XIX.336); therefore, by ceasing his sowing in the *Visio*, Piers merely moves from one aspect of sowing to another.

When Piers says, "'Of preyers and of penaunce my plow shal ben herafter, / And wepen whan I shulde slepe though whete-bred me faille'" (B. VII.119-120), he may here be referring to the "wheat" in 1 *Cor.* 15.37, a reference to the sowing of the natural body, *nudum granum, ut puta tritici aut alicuius ceterorum*. The key to Piers' intentions, however, is his attitude toward his plow. Earlier, Piers had "lete the plowe stonde" (B. VI.114), and by picking it up again here, he indicates that he does not repudiate it, as if somehow the apparent ineffectiveness of the half-acre were to invalidate his function as plowman altogether. What he does renounce is the sowing activity connected with his role under the Law or perhaps with the natural body, if the half-acre sequence is to be interpreted as filling the physical needs of natural man, and what he here affirms is his belief in the plow as the plow signifies the cross.

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[48] Augustine, "Enarrationes in Psalmos," *CCSL*, 25, 134-35.

The act of plowing is equated with preaching in traditional commentary, and the plow itself is a good *exemplum*, which cultivates justice and knowledge in the hearts of the preacher's audience.[49] A key text here is *Luke* 9.62. Piers' pilgrimage at the plow for the sake of poor men (B. VI. 104) was performed out of his devotion to God and perhaps was associated with the sowing that prepared the harvest of the Jews at Christ's advent, but Piers' taking up the plow of prayer and penance would seem to mark a real turn in the poem, a vital change in the role Piers is later to assume. The plowing or preaching in Passus VI cultivates the hearts of the folk to receive Truth, whereas in VII, Piers' plow will henceforth cultivate his own heart by means of penitential activity. According to Father Dunning, the pardon episode undoubtedly seems to be God's call to Piers to lead the truly spiritual life. "The Pardon initiates a new kind of pilgrimage: the progress of the soul in the spiritual life".[50] I would add to this that he already has been leading the spiritual life, but has embodied a spirituality more intuitive than conscious, at least in the light of his final statement in *B*.

When Piers takes up the plow at the end of the *Visio*, he may be answering Christ's call to follow Him by denying himself and taking up the cross (*Luke* 9.23). According to Alan of Lille, "*Aratrum, proprie, significat memoriam Dominicae passionis. In aratro sunt duo: ferrum et lignum, ferrum pungens memoriam, lignum crucem significat, juxta illud Evangelii. Nemo mittens manum suam in aratrum*".[51] Piers' association with the plow of prayer and penance here, as the plow signifies the memory of the Lord's passion, also prepares us for Piers' identification with the human nature of Christ in the Joust at Jerusalem, where Christ's passion culminates in the Crucifixion (B. XVIII.10 ff.). Also, when Piers says that henceforth, "'Ne aboute my bely-ioye so bisi be namore!'" (B. VII.118), he denies himself out of love for Christ.

In another passage, Alan makes an interesting comment linking the preacher to the cross:

> *Vere crux Christi scalae est a terra in coelum attingens, quia per fidem crucis, per imitationem passionis, redit homo de exsilio ad patriam, de morte ad vitam, de terra ad coelum, de deserto hujus mundi ad paradisum. Per hanc scalam ascendunt et descendunt angeli, id est praedicatores Christi, descendunt, cum praedicant infirmitatem crucis; ascendunt, cum praedicant Dei sapientiam et virtutem ....*[52]

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[49] Robertson and Huppé, pp. 17-19. See also Alan of Lille, *In distinctiones*, PL 210.707.

[50] T. P. Dunning, "The Structure of the B-Text of *Piers Plowman*," *RES*, N.S., 3 (1956), 232.

[51] Alan de Lille, *In distinctiones*, PL 210. 707B. See also Maurice Pontet, *L'Exégèse de S. Augustin Prédicateur* (Paris, 1944), P. 356.

[52] Alan de Lille, Sermon 2: *De sancta cruce*, PL 210. 224.

Living a life imitative of Christ enables Piers to cut through various states of being, as well as various temporal and spatial configurations simultaneously.

At the end of the *Visio*, Piers may be retreating from the active life, dramatized by his actions with the folk in the half-acre sequence, to a period of contemplation, as such movement "was expected of all those in the prelatical status".[53] That Piers does not lead the purely contemplative life, even if that were possible, is borne out in *Dobet* and *Dobest*; but by means of combining the two lives, he is able to maintain a proper focus on the tension between the present and the future, between earth and heaven, that seems to be a constant in the poem as a whole.[54] His words at the end of the B-text of the *Visio* are a compelling statement of the new turn his life will take and mark a great leap forward in his awareness; henceforth, Piers' life will be dominated by the key symbol of the new dispensation, as the plow of prayer and penance is associated with the cross. He will move forward from the natural to the spiritual life, as he moves from activity in the plowing of the half-acre to the cultivation of the field of the Church, by first cultivating his own soul with penitence and mortification in a temporary withdrawal into the contemplative life. By cultivating himself, he will later earn the right to be guardian of the tree of charity, which grows within man (B. XVI. 13-17), as Truth Himself may grow within man's heart (B. V.615-616). The temporal tensions operating within the poem between present and future are linked to the spatial tensions between inner and outer states of being, represented by the expanding and contracting symbols of the fair field full of folk, the dwelling of Truth in both the Tower and in man's heart, the half-acre, the garden of man's heart, and the field of *Dobest*. As the pilgrimage at the plow for the sake of poor men is exchanged for the plow of prayer and penance, so Will receives a sign, through Piers, of how he should advance in spiritual regeneration. Will, however, must actively experience for himself the life of Dowel before he can earn the right to envision Piers much later in the poem.

The fluidity of the action in the *Visio* can be explained in a figural sense, in Auerbach's definition of the figural process,[55] by reference to Piers the plowman-husbandman-preacher, who acts throughout time to propel its progress to eternity. Clearly, the events in the *Visio* are set in Langland's own time, but in its final passus, the folk with Piers as their

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[53] Robertson and Huppé, p. 94.

[54] Dom Cuthbert Butler, *Western Mysticism* (Harper Torchbook Edition, New York, 1966), pp. 172-184, *et passim*.

[55] Erich Auerbach, "Figura," in *Scenes from the Drama of European Literature*, trans. Ralph Manheim (Meridian Books, New York, 1959), pp. 11-76.

leader conduct themselves *as if* they were living under the restrictions of the Old law, when grace was not available to them.[56] By means of Piers, they are granted pardon, as it was by means of Moses that the Israelites were led out of Egypt, received the Old Law, and were finally granted entrance into the Promised Land. More likely, however, the final events of the *Visio*, even as they center on pilgrimage, are symbolic of a time of transition from the old dispensation to the new, a time of respite inherent in Truth's granting of the pardon to Piers, his faithful servant, preacher, spokesman for an imitator of Christ. Through Piers, the folk will be able, in the Age of the Church and under the direction of Piers or St. Peter, to repent of their sins, receive absolution, or pardon, and gain eternal rest with Truth. As Augustine says:

> *Sic et nos in vita ista, ubi maxima sollicitudo est, ubi timor, ubi pericula ten-tationum, temporali dispensatione quasi per eremum ducimur. Sed cum bene gesserimus quadragenarium numerum, id est, bene vixerimus in ista temporali dispensatione, secundum praecepta Dei ambulantes, accipiemus mercedem denarium illum fidelium.*[57]

Both the time of trial preparing for the pardon and the respite of time initiated by the pardon are but signs of temporal dispensation, even though the pardon itself reveals progress in salvation history. A further indication of progress in time is shown by Piers' development at the end of the *Visio*, when he becomes an imitator of Christ explicitly. As a figure of all just men who do God's work in the field or the vineyard, helping men to live well in the temporal dispensation and to receive the pardon of the denarius, Piers participates in eternity. He is here what Auerbach calls an *imitatio veritatis*: such figures "point not only to the concrete future, but also to something that has always been and always will be; they point to something which is in need of interpretation, which will indeed be fulfilled in the concrete future, but which is at all times present, fulfilled in God's providence, which knows no difference of time.[58]

To a fourteenth century audience, the apparently confused temporal and spatial *loci* of *Piers Plowman* could well have been understood in the light of the liturgy, of contemporary sermons, of the drama, and of traditional figural readings of scripture and allegory, when all levels of

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[56] It was common for a preacher to exhort his flock as if they were still followers of Moses in the desert. See Sermon 38, *Middle English Sermons*, ed. Woodburn O. Ross, EETS, OS, no. 209 (1940 for 1938), p. 215, and Sermon 41, *Ibid.*, p. 252. For the use of the typological method in sermons in Langland's time, see G. R. Owst, *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England* (Basil Blackwell, 1961), pp. 56 ff., especially p. 65.

[57] Sermon 252, PL 38.1178.

[58] Auerbach, p. 59.

time could be compressed into a single figure. But it was a singularly fortunate choice that Langland selected the figure of the plowman, the preacher, traditionally associated with time, truth, change, and maturation, as his vehicle for dramatizing the spiritual process to be undergone by the individual Christian seeking the way to save his soul.

Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University

THE *PEARL*-POET AS BEZALEL

Dorothee Metlitzki Finkelstein

THE following article addresses itself to three specific problems in the interpretation of *Pearl*, the Dantesque fourteenth-century Middle English poem: 1. the concept of the poet as jeweller; 2. the type of biblical exegesis incorporated in the poem; 3. the numerical composition of section XV, the only section in the poem which has so far remained the enigma of all attempts at structural analysis.

I

Pearl opens with a jeweller's lament for his lost pearl in a manner which has been generally recognized as closely patterned on medieval lapidaries.

> Perle, plesaunte to prynces paye
> To clanly clos in golde so clere,
> Oute of oryent, I hardyly saye,
> Ne proued I neuer her precios pere.
> So rounde, so reken in vche araye,
> So smal, so smoþe her sydez were,
> Quere-so-euer I jugged gemmez gaye,
> I sette hyr sengeley in synglere.
> Allas! I leste hyr in on erbere;
> Þurz gresse to grounde hit fro me yot.
> I dewyne, fordolked of luf-daungere
> Of þat pryuy perle wythouten spot.
>
> (ll. 1-12)

(Pearl, pleasing and delightful for a prince to set flawlessly in gold so bright: among the pearls of orient, I confidently say, I never found her equal. So round, so radiant in every setting, so small, so smooth were her sides; wherever I judged beautiful gems, I set her apart as unique. Alas, I lost her in a garden; through grass to ground went it from me. I pine away, mortally wounded by the power of love for my own spotless pearl.)[1]

   The symbolism of the pearl is crystallized in a dream vision by the
grieving "jueler" in an "erber grene" at the spot where he lost his
precious jewel, now buried in earth. He dreams of seeing his lost pearl,
gradually revealed as the Pearl-maiden, at the foot of a translucent cliff
beyond a river which separates his existence from hers. After a stern
debate in which he learns the meaning of death and grace in the con-
text of Christian dogma, the Pearl-maiden finally guides the dreamer
along the stream, across which he is not permitted to wade, to an
apocalyptic vision of the Heavenly City of which she is a blissful
inhabitant:

>   As John þe apostel hit syz wyth syzt,
>   I syze þat cyty of gret renoun,
>   Jerusalem so nwe and ryally dyzt,
>   As hit was lyzt fro þe heuen adoun.
>   Þe borz watz al of brende golde bryzt
>   As glemande glas burnist broun,
>   Wyth gentyl gemmez an-vnder pyzt
>   Wyth bantelez twelue on basyng boun,
>   Þe foundementez twelue of riche tenoun;
>   Vch tabelment watz a serlypez ston;
>   As derely deuysez þis ilk toun
>   In Apocalyppez þe apostel John.
>   (ll. 985-996)

   (As the apostle John saw it, I saw the city of great renown: Jerusalem so
   new and royally adorned, as it descended down from heaven. The city was
   all of bright gold, burnished like gleaming glass, adorned below with
   noble gems; with twelve tiers built at the base - the twelve foundations
   tenoned admirably — each tier garnished with separate stones; as the
   apostle John has splendidly described this city in the Apocalypse.)

   The principal source from which the *Pearl* derives is the Bible. The
imagery and structure at the core of the poem are drawn from the
biblical account of the twelve stones of Aaron's breastplate in *Exodus* as
the foundation stones of the New Jerusalem in the Book of Revelation,
which the poet paraphrases in the visionary climax of his work. It is
clear that the Pearl-poet followed an exegetical tradition, well
established in medieval apocalyptic lapidaries, in which the nature and
significance of the stones in the High Priest's breastplate received
canonical treatment and each stone was endowed with Christian sym-
bolism.[2]
   The pearl imagery in the poem focuses on the Pearl of Great Price of
Matthew 13. 45-46 which the pearl maiden wears on her breast and

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   [2] See Joan Evans, *Magical Jewels of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance particularly in England* (Oxford,
1922), pp. 72-80.

which, at line 730, is clearly recounted. The owner of the pearl in the parable, however, is described as a merchant (*homo negotiator*) in the Vulgate Bible, while the Pearl-poet explicitly makes him a jeweller to reflect his own persona in the poem. What has not been noticed by students of the *Pearl* is that the metaphor of the jeweller as it symbolizes the poet-dreamer's function in the poem may also have traditional roots in the Book of Exodus and that the concept of the jeweller-craftsman acquired a special significance in religious thought contemporary with *Pearl* which serves to deepen our understanding of the Pearl-poet's art and purpose.

The tradition is set forth in the lapidary of King Philip, a French work of the second quarter of the fourteenth century translated from the Latin, extant in two independent English versions. Both Middle English translations, London and North Midland, date from the fourteenth century:

> The Bible witnesseth hit þat god commaunded be his mouth to moyses þe prophete, þat he shulde put þe twelue stones, þe whech he hade made many maneirs,in a moos clene & fine,/quarre of four handbrede of lencth & brede in four corners, in euery corner thre stones.
> And god commanded to moyses þat he shulde take of iche kyndely, & *do shappe þe twelue stones be crafte of perrere,* & commaunded þat in that moos where þe twelue stones shulde be sette in castrons of golde, oon vppon þe ryght side, þe oþre vppon þe lefte side; & þat the seid moos with þe twelue stones shulde be put be þe commaundement of oure lord & hanged vppon þe breste of aaron, þat was þe first preest of the Iewys.[3]

(The Bible testifies that God gave command by his mouth to Moses the prophet that he should put the twelve stones which he had made in many manners in a setting neat and fine, a square of four handbreadths of length and breadth with four corners, in every corner three stones.

And God commanded Moses that he should take each stone in its natural state and *shape the twelve stones by the craft of the jeweller,* and commanded where in that setting the twelve stones should be set in bezels of gold, one upon the right side, the other upon the left side; and that the said setting with the twelve stones should be placed by the commandment of our lord and hung upon the breast of Aaron, who was the first priest of the Jews.)

The biblical text on which the above passage is based is Exodus 28. 6-21 in which God gives Moses the detailed instructions for Aaron's ephod and breastplate. It was, however, not Moses but Bezalel who shaped the twelve stones *"be crafte of perrere"*.

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[3] Joan Evans and Mary S. Serjeantson, *English Mediaeval Lapidaries*, EETS orig. ser. 190, (London, 1933), 17, 39, *Magical Jewels*, 77-79. Italics mine.

Bezalel, whose Hebrew name means "in the shadow of God" was the maker of the High Priests's ephod, breastplate and garments and the craftsman of the Tabernacle and the Ark of the Covenant which enshrined the dwelling of the divine presence.

> "And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, See, I have called by name Bezalel the son of Uri, the son of Hur, of the tribe of Judah: And I have filled him with the spirit of God, in wisdom, and in understanding, and in knowledge, and in all manner of workmanship, To devise cunning works, to work in gold, and in silver, and in brass, And in cutting of stones, to set them, and in carving of timber, to work in all manner of workmanship".
> (*Exodus*, 31. 1-5)

In the exegetical tradition of this passage, the emphasis on Bezalel's workmanship, especially his skill as a jeweller, a craftsman in precious stones, is pronounced in the commentary of Rashi, the eleventh century rabbi of Troyes. His profound influence on the biblical scholarship of medieval Christians, in particular on that of the Victorines and Nicolas de Lyra (c. 1270-1349), has been recently demonstrated in detail. (Rashi is the *litterator hebreus* who, in the late twelfth century, is quoted in England by Herbert of Bosham, pupil of Andrew of St. Victor, and "Rabi Salomon," as "rehearsed" by "Lira," who is cited in a recently discovered Middle English summary of the Bible dating from the time of the Pearl-poet.)[4]

Rashi's passage on Bezalel's gifts defines "wisdom", "understanding" and "knowledge" in *Exodus* 31. 3 as three ascending steps that lead to his skillful workmanship in the cutting and setting of precious stones. The jeweller's art is explained in Rashi's comment on *Exodus* 28.11: "The stones were encompassed by settings of gold, he made a setting for the stone in gold, like an identation, according to the measurement of the stone, and he fixed it into the setting. Thus the setting encompassed the stone round about ... " Rashi elaborates on the Hebrew "lmalot" to fill, to make full, to accomplish, to which God called Bezalel: "and in cutting of stones, to set them" (*Exodus* 31.5.). It is "to place the stone in its

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setting perfectly (completely) to make the setting according to the measurement of the size of the stone and its thickness".[5]

Thus Bezalel, working "in the shadow of God," is the biblical prototype of the noble jeweller. He is called "faber" by Nicholas of Lyra. To all medieval readers of the Bible, Jewish and Christian, he was the "kynde jueler" par excellence.

The role of Bezalel as a divinely inspired craftsman and jeweller seems to have some bearing on the Pearl-poet's identity as "jueler" when we consider its crucial place in fourteenth-century mystical thought. For the figures of Bezalel, Moses and Aaron are of unusual importance in *The Cloud of Unknowing*, a Middle English treatise contemporary with the Pearl-poet, and the Victorine writings of the twelfth century which shaped the mystical tradition of medieval England.[6] In these writings the central theme is the encasement of the mystical understanding of God in the setting of the ark, the "chest" containing the divine presence. The person and art of Bezalel, the maker of the ark, exemplify "how that a man shall lift up his heart unto God".[7]

Chapters seventy-one, seventy-two and seventy-three of the *Cloud of Unknowing* are devoted to the art of contemplation as exemplified in Moses, Bezalel, and Aaron:

> For whi þis grace of contemplacion is figurid by þe Arke of þe Testament in þe Olde Lawe, & þe worchers in þis grace ben figurid by hem þat most medelid hem aboute þis arke, as þe story wol witnes. & weel is þis grace & þis work licnid to þat arke. For rizt as in þat arke were contenid alle þe juelles & þe relikis of þe temple, rizt so in þis lityl loue put ben contenid alle þe vertewes of mans soule, þe whiche is þe goostly temple of God.

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* *

[5] *The Pentateuch and Rashi's Commentary*, A Linear Translation into English by Rabbi Abraham Ben Isaiah and Rabbi Benjamin Sharfman, EXODUS, (Brooklyn, 1950), pp. 345-346, 394.

[6] Richard of St. Victor's *Benjamin Minor* was freely translated from Latin into English by the author of *The Cloud*. Both *Benjamin Minor* and *Cloud* are closely related to five other treatises reflecting the mystical theology of Pseudo-Dionysius in Middle English. The ascent to God embodied in the figure of Moses entering by himself the darkness of unknowing represents an anagogical interpretation of Exodus 19 which goes back to Philo Judaeus and the Contemplation on the Life of Moses by Gregory of Nyssa.

See *Deonise Hid Diuinite and Other Treatises on Contemplative Prayer related to The Cloud of Unknowing*, ed. Phyllis Hodgson, EETS N° 231), (London, 1955), "Introduction", pp. xxxv ff. Maurice de Gandillac, *Œuvres Complètes du Pseudo-Denys L'Aréopagite*, (Paris, 1943), p. 35, note 71.

Cf. Philo, *On the Allegories of the Sacred Laws*, Bk. III, 33 in *Philo* transl. F. H. Colson and G. H. Whitaker, 10 vols. (Loeb Classical Library), London 1929, I, 369.

[7] *The Cloud of Unknowing* ed. Phyllis Hodgson, EETS orig. ser. N° 218, (London, 1944), p. 85, line 17.

Þre men þer weren þat most principaly medelid hem wiþ þis arke of þe
Olde Testament: Moyses, Bezeleel, Aaron. Moyses lernid in þe mounte of
oure Lorde how it schuld be maad. Bezeleel wrouзt it & maad it in þe
vaale, after þe ensaumple þat was schewid in þe mounteyne. & Aaron had
it in kepyng in þe temple, to fele it & see it as ofte as hym likid.

At þe licnes of þees þre, we profite on þre maners in þis grace of con-
templacion. Somtyme we profite only by grace, & þan we ben licnid vnto
Moises, þat for alle þe clymbyng & þe trauaile þat he had into þe mount,
miзt not com to se it bot seeldom; & зit was þat siзt only by þe schewyng
of oure Lorde whan hym likid to schewe it, & not for any deseert of his
trauayle. Somtyme we profite in þis grace by oure owne goostly sleiзt,
holpyn wiþ grace, & þan ben we licnid to Bezeleel, þe whiche miзt not se
þe parke er þe tyme þat he had mad it by his owne trauayle, holpen wiþ
þe ensaumple þat was schewid vnto Moises in þe mounte. & somtyme we
profite in þis grace by oþer mens teching. & þan ben we licnid to Aaron,
þe whiche had it in keping & in costume to see & fele þe arke when hym
list, þat Bezeleel had wrouзt & maad redy before to his handes.

(For this grace of contemplation is figured by the ark of the Testament in
the Old Law, and the workers in this grace be figured by them that most
meddled them about this ark, as the story will witness. And well is this
grace and this work likened unto that ark. For right as in that ark were
contained all the jewels and the relics of the temple, right so in this little
love set upon this *cloud of unknowing* be contained all the virtues of man's
soul, the which is the ghostly temple of God.

*

*   *

Three men there were that most meddled them with this ark of the Old
Testament: Moses, Beseleel, and Aaron. Moses learned in the mount of
our Lord how it should be made. Beseleel wrought it and made it in the
vale, after the ensample that was showed on the mountain. And Aaron
had it in his keeping in the temple, to feel it and see it as oft as he liked.

At the likeness of these three, we profit on three manners in this grace
of contemplation. Sometime we profit only by grace, and then we be
likened unto Moses, that for all the climbing and the travail that he had
into the mount, might not come to see it but seldom; and yet was that
sight only by the showing of our Lord when he liked to show it, and not
for any desert of his travail. Sometime we profit in this grace by our own
ghostly craft, helped with grace, and then we be likened to Beseleel, the
which could not see the ark before he had made it by his own travail,
helped by the ensample that was showed unto Moses in the mount. And
sometimes we profit in this grace by other men's teaching, and then we be
likened to Aaron, the which had it in keeping and in custom to see and
feel the ark when he pleased, that Beseleel had wrought and made ready
before to his hands.)

Chapter seventy-three ends with an invocation of the reader in which
the author of *The Cloud of Unknowing* identifies himself with Bezalel, and

his work, the book of spiritual guidance that he is writing, with the holy ark:

> Lo! goostly freende, in þis werk, þof it be childly & lewdely spoken, I bere, þof I be a wreche vnworpi to teche any creature, þe ofice of Bezeleel, makyng & declaryng in maner to þin handes þe maner of þis goostly arke.

> (Lo! ghostly friend, in this work, though it be childishly and lewdly spoken, I bear, though I be a wretch unworthy to teach any creature, the office of Beseleel: making and declaring in a manner to thy hands the manner of this ghostly ark).[8]

Phyllis Hodgson has shown that the author of *The Cloud* follows Richard of St. Victor in comparing his office to that of Bezaleel: *Ecce nos in hoc opere quasi Beseleel officium suscepimus qui te ad contemplationis studium instructionem reddere et quasi in arcae operatione desudare curavimus.*[9] To both Richard of St. Victor and the author of *The Cloud* Bezalel, the craftsman, was the prototype of the ideal Christian labouring, like the jeweller in *Pearl*, towards a vision of God by his own spiritual effort with the help of divine grace.

It is Richard of St. Victor who also crystallizes the concept of the jeweller as an earth-bound artist, achieving a spiritual vision of grace, by sheer craftsmanship and the perfection of accomplished art:

> "For so that Moses might see the ark and the two cherubim by divine revelation, he ascended the mount and entered into the cloud. But we read that Bezaleel neither sought nor approached the mount in order to achieve and perceive that mystical work. For what is this climbing up into the mount but a rising up into the high place of the heart, according to the prophet's saying? ... After the example of Moses one who goes up into the top of the mount enters into the midst of the cloud, sees and contemplates, by God's revelation, the ark and the cherubim and is carried away into sublime experience by that raising and ecstasy of the mind ...
> But nevertheless it may be inferred in the case of Bezaleel that some of these works may be and are generally known in contemplation, *without any ecstasy*. For what I ask, does this building of the ark mean? the gilding, encircling it with a crown, covering it with the mercy seat, adding the cherubim? unless it be that anyone acquiring the art of these kinds of contemplation little by little, by much study and labour learns and practises them one after the other and at last in some way brings the work to an end and finally is perfect in all these things".[10]

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[8] *Ibid.*, p. 126, ll. 18-24; p. 128, l. 6; p. 129, l. 3; p. 129, ll. 4-12.
   The rendering into modern English is from *The Cloud of Unknowing*, ed. Abbot Justin McCann (Westminster, Maryland, 1952), pp. 71, 73.

[9] Hodgson, *Cloud*, pp. LXXIV — LXXV, *Benjamin Major* V.I. in Migne, PL 196. 169.

[10] *Benjamin Major*, IV. 22 in Migne, PL 196. 166-166; *Richard of Saint-Victor*, Selected Writings on

In her examination of seven prose treatises reflecting the mystical theology of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite in Middle English, Miss Hodgson was struck by the artistry they have in common. The workmanship of the treatises has led her to the conclusion that they are intimately related and almost certainly by the same author, i.e. the author of *The Cloud*.

> "Here, in fact," writes Miss Hodgson, "is a highly complex prose, with an unusual variety of interwoven and interdependent clauses and phrases in numerous patterns, which leave an impression of sinewy strenght and subtle movement ... This is measured prose based throughout on balance, whether it be done of comparison or distinction. Broadly speaking, the foundation of thought and expression is antithetical, but the balance of comparison is often superimposed. Repeated and dominant patterns may be listed, but full analysis of this intricate prose is impracticable, for pattern lies within pattern; into a major antithesis is often fitted one or more comparisons, and a major camparison is often partly made up of antithetical members. Antithesis gives edge and precision to the thought; balance satisfies both the mind and the ear by its effect of completion."

Each of the treatises was "carefully written by a craftsman as attentive to sound as to the shaping of thought". It is clear that the author, like the Pearl-poet, endeavoured with all his might to give the most beautifully wrought setting of language to what he felt was divinely inspired teaching of divine mystery. Thus, in fourteenth-century England, we have a writer in Middle English, a supreme and devout artist in prose, thinking of himself as Bezalel, jeweller of the high priest's breastplate and maker of the ark which encloses the mystery and splendour of the Shekinah.

Did the Pearl-poet, like the author of *The Cloud*, identify himself with Bezalel? Did he follow exegetical tradition in allegorizing the craft of the jeweller? The unique sense of the encasement of the divine mystery in a precious "chest" permeates *Pearl* as profoundly as it does *The Cloud of Unknowing*.

It is the Pearl-poet himself, his poetic "I," who is the "jueler" setting the Pearl of Christian faith whole and perfect into the exquisite workmanship of an artistic "kyste",

The lapidary formulas which open the poem are signposts which lead poet and reader to a vision of the Heavenly City with the help of an

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Contemplation translated with an Introduction and Notes by Clare Kirchberger, (London, 1957), pp. 175-176; 177-178.

My italics. "Quod vero sine ullo mentis excessu possint in contemplationem adduci, ex typico illo Beseleel opere habemus" (col. 164-165) is reiterated in col. 166 B.

[11] *Deonise Hid Diuinite*, pp. XLVII-XLVIII, li. On the question of authorship see *Cloud*, pp. LXXVII ff.

ever deepening sense of hidden significance in the relationship of the
pearl and its "kyste". The development begins at line 9 of the poem
with the jeweller "fordolked of luf-daungere" mourning his lost pearl
and, in the second stanza, lamenting "hir color so clad in clot".
Exhausted by grief, the jeweller falls asleep in an arbour "on huyle per
perle hit trendeled doun", and, in his dream, sees his precious Pearl, the
pearl-maiden, who reproaches him for his mourning and explains the
real significance of her setting:

> That juel þenne in gemmez gente
> Vered vp her vyse wyth yzen graye,
> Set on hyr coroun of perle orient,
> And soberly after þenne con ho say:
> 'Sir' se haf your tale mysetente,
> To say your perle is al awaye,
> Þat is in cofer so comly clente
> As in þis gardyn gracios gaye,
> Hereinne to lenge for euer and play,
> Þer mys nee mornyng com neueur nere.
> Her were a forser for þe, in faye,
> If þou were a gentyl jueler.
>   (ll. 253-264)

> (Then that jewel, in noble géms (arrayed), lifted up her face with its
> grey-blue eyes, put on her crown of orient pearl and gravely said then:
> 'Sir, you have told your tale wrongly in saying your pearl is lost, (your
> pearl), which is so beautifully enclosed in a coffer as (to be) in this
> gracious beautiful garden to dwell and rejoice here for ever where never
> loss and grief come near. This would seem a (fitting) casket to you, truly, if
> you were a noble jeweller'.)

The expansion of the metaphor of "cofer" and "forser" from this in-
termediate stage has been recently noted by Ian Bishop:

> At ll. 917 ff. the dreamer asks the maiden whether there are 'no wonez
> in castel-walle', no 'gret cite', where she, and the other brides of the
> Lamb, have their abode. For — as he remarks —
> > ' "So cumly a pakke of joly juele
> >   Wer euel don schulde lyz peroute." ' (ll. 929-30)

> The maiden responds to this question by directing him to a place from
> which he can see the New Jerusalem. It is significant that, in the descrip-
> tion of the Heavenly City that follows, emphasis is placed upon gold and
> light, thus providing a background against which the immaculate
> whiteness of the maiden and her pearl-adorned companion shows up to
> advantage. It seems that the pearl has indeed been placed in a setting of
> golde so clere.'[12]

The essential meaning of the setting in the poet's apocalyptic sym-
bolism is thus analogous to the significance of the ark (Hebrew

[12] Ian Bishop, *Pearl in its Setting*, (New York, 1969), pp. 83-84.

"*aron*"—"chest")[13] in Exodus as interpreted by the Victorines: it is the "chest" enclosing the divine presence. Not only the maiden but the Lamb himself is perceived in the poem as "þat gay juelle" (l.1124) enclosed in the Heavenly Jerusalem. The intricate artistry of *Pearl* is sufficient to show that the poet, like the author of *The Cloud*, had a sense of himself as a divinely inspired artist setting his theme to perfection in a masterpiece of literary art. The Pearl-poet does not mention Bezalel. But the thematic and structural relationships of the pearl and its setting are so deeply encased in biblical thought that the association with the jeweller-craftsman of the Book of Exodus may be one of the mysteries woven into the fabric of the poem.

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The climax of *Pearl* is a mystical experience, reached by the "jueler" slowly advancing from mourning to revelation "holpyn wiþ grace." It is the apocalyptic vision of the New Jerusalem which his Pearl-maiden shows him that finally enables him to accept God's will as a "god Krystyin."

The rapture of the dreamer ascends from a solidly laid foundation of Old Testament imagery — the raw material of the historical Book of Revelation as it is of the Pearl-poet's art. As in Victorine exegesis, the relationship between the Old and New Testaments is explicit and clear in the poem: *Vetus Testamentum, significat Novum; lex, gratiam. Lex data est per Moysen, gratia per Christum ... Lex data est duodecim tribubus, gratia data est duodecim apostolis.*[14] The Old Testament books which lead us to the Heavenly City of Revelation are *Exodus* 28 and *Ezekiel* 48. The twelve stones of Aaron's breastplate, symbolizing the twelve names of Jacob's sons, are the tiers to the divine throne in the New Jerusalem.

The use of *Exodus* 28 in the Pearl-poet's description of the Heavenly City has been shown by the editor of the poem, E. V. Gordon. There are two elements in the poet's paraphrase of *Revelation* 21.12-23 which specifically suggest that he consulted a commentary on Exodus. They are his use of "ruby" for "sardius" as the sixth stone in the foundations of the New Jerusalem ("þe sexte þe rybé he con hit wale," line 1007), and the emphasis on the order of their births ("as her byrþ-whatez," line 1041) in the inscription of the names of the "Israel barnez" on the twelve gates of the city.

In a note to line 1007 of the poem, which designates the ruby as the sixth tier in the ascent to the City of God L. V. Gordon points out that

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[13] On the use of "ark" as "chest" in Middle English cf. *Havelock the Dane*, ll. 222, 2018: "And trusse all that he mighten finde/Of hise, in arke or in kiste".

[14] *Allegoriae in Vetus Testamentum*, attributed to Hugh of St. Victor in Migne, PL 175. 664-665.

the Vulgate text (Apoc. xxi. 20) has *sardinus* or, as a frequent variant, *sar-dius* ... But *sardius* in the Vulgate also rendered the Hebrew *odem*, one of the gems on the high-priest's breast-plate (Exod. xxviii. 17) ... . Several of the early commentators and lapidaries took the stone on Aaron's ephod to be the ruby. The *Lapidaire en Vers* (Pannier 264/877-8) states specifically that the ruby was worn by Aaron, but just as definitely (907-9) that it was not one of the foundation stones of the Heavenly City ... The man who wrote rybé ... must have made some investigation into the names of the gems .... Moreover, the phrase *as her byrp-whatez* in 1041 shows that the poet had connected the description of the Heavenly City with the details of the high-priest's ephod and breast-plate, given in Exod. XXVIII, the very passage which is the source of the tradition that the *sardius* was a ruby. Hence there can be little doubt that rybé was the poet's own word[15]

Sardius, then, is the first stone in Aaron's breastplate in Exodus, and the sixth stone in the foundation stones of the Heavenly City of Revelation. The Pearl-poet's use of "ruby" for the sixth tier clearly did not rely directly on the biblical text.

An interesting elucidation of the problem is provided by the commentary of Rashi on *Exodus* 28.21 and by Nicholas of Lyra's exposition of *Ezekiel* 48.6 the prototype of *Revelation* 21. Rashi's comment on the order of the stones in the priestly breastplate in Exodus is as follows: "And the stones shall be according to the names of the children of Israel, twelve, according to their names; (like) the engravings of a signet, every one according to his name, they shall be for the twelve tribes".

Rashi remarks: "As the order of their birth (so was) the order of the stones; 'odem' for Reuben, topaz for Simeon, and similarly for all of them". Curiously enough, some modern translators of Rashi render the Hebrew "odem", the red stone of the biblical text, as "carnelian" in the text of the Bible itself, while translating Rashi's phrase "odem for Reuben" as "ruby for Reuben".[16] The point is that the first stone in Aaron's breastplate is explicitly associated with Reuben by Rashi and, aside from all other exegetical considerations, the phonetic association alone would account for its transformation into *rubeus* or *rubinus*, the Latin word for ruby, especially in the spelling "ruben", as in Nicholas of Lyra. Moreover, *Ezekiel* 48, the vision of the ideal Jerusalem, opens with the apportionment of the land to the twelve tribes. In his commentary on *Ezekiel* 48.6, Nicholas of Lyra numbers the order in which the portions are assigned, saying explicitly: "sexta ruben".[17]

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[15] *Pearl* ed. E. V. Gordon, (Oxford, 1958), pp. 79-80.

[16] *The Pentateuch and Rashi's Commentary*, EXODUS, p. 349.

[17] The biblical explanation of the name Reuben (*Genesis* 29. 32) was, of course, known to medieval commentators. But there is a suggestion of "red" (*rubeus*) in the transcription of the Vulgate text as cited in Nicholas of Lyra's *Postilla* (*Vocauit atque nomen eius ruben*). Rashi's association of "odem", the red stone of *Exodus* 28, with the first-born of Jacob's sons is strengthened by his

The Pearl-poet's study of Ezechiel's vision as a prefigurement of the apocalypse of St. John and his particular preoccupation with the "Israel barnez" and their order of succession, would make the association of the sixth name Reuben, with the sixth foundation of the New Jerusalem most natural.

The Pearl-poet's emphasis on the engraving of the twelve pearl-gates of the New Jerusalem with the names of the children of Israel occupies four lines of a twelve-line stanza and interrupts the sequence of his textual paraphrase of *Revelation* 21:

> As John hym wrytez zet more I syze:
> Vch pane of þat place had þre zates;
> So twelue in poursent I con asspye,
> Þe portalez pyked of rych platez,
> And vch zate of a margyrye,
> A parfyt perle þat neuer fatez.
> Vchon in scrypture a name con plye
> Of Israel barnez, folewande her datez,
> Þat is to say, as her byrþ-whatez:
> Þe aldest ay fyrst þeron watz done.
> Such lyzt þer lemed in alle þe stratez
> Hem nedde nawper sunne ne mone. (1033-1044)

(I saw still more of what John described: each side of that place had three gates, so I saw twelve in the whole surrounding wall, the gateways adorned with splendid plates of metal, and each gate with a pearl, a perfect pearl that never fades. Each (gate) had inscribed on it the name of one of the children of Israel in chronological order, that is to say, according to the dates of their birth: The oldest was always inscribed thereon first. Such light there shone in all the streets (that) they needed neither sun nor moon.)

The description of the City in *Revelation* 21.12, which derives from *Ezekiel* 48.31, runs as follows: "And had a wall great and high, and had twelve gates, and at the gates twelve angels, and names written thereon, which are the names of the twelve tribes of the children of Israel". Unlike the poet, Ezechiel and John do not specify the order in which the names of the tribes are engraved "folewande her datez" or "as her byrþ -whatez". The only biblical passage in which the order of the

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comment on *Genesis* 29.32: "*And she called his name Reuben* Our rabbis interpreted: She said, "See (r'u) what (difference) there is between my son (ben) and the son of my father-in-law who sold the birth-right to Jacob". The comment implies a favourable comparison with Esau who sold his birth-right and is also called "Edom" in the biblical text, i.e. "red". (*Genesis*, 25.30) See *The Pentateuch of Rashi's Commentary*, EXODUS, p. 349, GENESIS, p. 290, Nicholas of Lyra, *Postilla ....Super Genesim*, Gen. 29. v, x. *Postilla .... super Ezechiel*, Commentary "a" on *Ezech.* 48.

The poet's adherence to biblical tradition makes it unlikely that the substitution of ruby for sardius derives from the Arabic *Liber Scalae* as has been suggested. (M. Manzalaoui, "English Analogues to the *Liber Scalae*", *Medium Aevum*, 34 (1965), 21-35, p. 26.

names is clearly prescribed "according to their birth", as by the Pearl-
poet, is *Exodus* 28.9-10, in the original instructions for making the
ephod: "And thou shalt take two onyx stones, and grave on them the
names of the children of Israel: Six of their names on one stone, and the
other six names of the rest on the other stone, according to their
birth". In a note to line 104 ("as her byrþ-whatez"), E.V. Gordon
points out that "The poet may have used a commentary which referred
to the Exodus passage".[18] Indeed Rashi's comment on the Hebrew
"ktoldotam" "according to their birth" of *Exodus* 28.10 shows the same
careful elaboration which we find in the Pearl-poet: "In the order that
they were born, Reuben Simeon, Levi, Judah, Dan, Naphtali on one
(stone); and on the second (stone): Gad, Asher, Issachar, Zebulun,
Joseph, Benjamin ... for thus it is written in the passage [place] of his
birth".[19]

What is particulary striking is another distinctive feature in the above
stanza which seems to reflect a commentary of the Rashi school. It is the
Pearl-poet's use of the word "poursent":

> Vch pane of þat place had þre zatez;
> So twelue in poursent I con asspye,
> Þe portalez pyked of rych platez,
> And vch zate of a margyrye (ll. 1034-1037)

The meaning of "poursent" in *Pearl* has been glossed as "compass, en-
closing wall", though not without some hesitation on the part of
editors.[20] Curiously enough, the Old French world "pourceint", from
which "poursent" derives, occurs in Rashi's commentary on the ephod
in *Exodus* 28.4. Rashi explains the priestly ephod as a garment en-
compassing the figure of Aaron by using the French word, as was his
custom, to elucidate the Hebrew to his French-speaking co-religionists:
"My heart ... tells me that it was girded to him on his backside; its width
like the width of the back of a man, like the kind of apron which is
called *pourceint* in Old French, which the noblewomen gird upon them-
selves when they ride upon horses".[21] In *Pearl*, the twelve gates surroun-
ding the New Jerusalem thus encompass the Heavenly City like a
priestly garment and, by implication, are the "ephod" of the poet's
Pearl-maiden as well.

Rashi's comment on the priestly robe — "tunicam et lineam strictam,
cidarim et balteum" in the Vulgate — shows the tradition behind the

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[18] Gordon, *Pearl*, p. 82.

[19] EXODUS, p. 345.

[20] *Pearl*, pp. 81-82. The word "pursaunt" occurs in *Cleanness* l. 1385: "The place thay plyed the
pursaunt wythinne", ed. R.J. Menner, (New Haven, 1920). For "poursent" from OF po(u)rceint"
see Gordon's *Glossary*, p. 147.

[21] EXODUS, 28.4 p. 338.

Pearl-maiden's pearl-adorned garment: "Made chequered for or-
namentation ... And the chequers are like indentations made in the or-
naments of gold for the settings in which were placed precious stones
and pearls — as it is stated regarding the stones of the ephod, 'inclosed
in settings of gold' (and in French they call it *castons*)"[22] Like Aaron the
priest, the pearl-maiden wears a kirtle. In place of a mitre, — "a kind of
cap which they call *cofea* in French" — she wears a crown. The crown,
emblem of her royal status in heaven is used as a priestly insignium: she
takes it off when she wishes to be recognized by the jeweller in her ear-
thly guise, but puts it on to instruct him and show him the heavenly
dwelling ("wonez") which he as a mortal still wandering in the earthly
wilderness is forbidden to enter.

The pearl-maiden's white robes and her crown have been associated
with the ceremonial dress of the newly baptized and with the robes of
the Boy Bishop in liturgical processions at the feast of the Holy In-
nocents, on which a child was set in authority over its elders to embody
the virtue of innocence.[24] The context of medieval liturgy naturally
illuminates the interrelated functions and meanings of the pearl-
maiden's attire. Its ultimate symbolism, however, rests on the priestly
garments in Exodus 28 as reflected in the clothing of the Lamb's bride
in *Revelation*, the immediate source of the Pearl-poet.[25]

> Al blysnande whyt watz hir beau biys,
> Vpon at sydez, and bounden bene
> Wyth þe myryeste margarys, at my deuyse,
> Þat euer I sez zet with myn ene;
> Wyth lappez large, I wot and I wene,
> Dubbed with double perle and dyzte;
> Her cortel of self sute schene,
> Wyth precios perlez al vmbepyzte.
>
> A pyzt coroune zet wer þat gyrle
> Of mariorys and non oþer stoon,
> Hize pynakled of cler quyt perle,
> Wyth flurted flowrez perfet vpon.
>   (ll. 197-208)

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[22] *Exodus* 28.4. EXODUS, pp. 339-340. Cf. "Þe twelue stones shulde be sette in castrons of golde" in
London Lapidary of King Philip, *English Mediaeval Lapidaries*, p. 17, See above, p. 3.

[23] Rashi, EXODUS, p. 340.

[24] Bishop, pp. 104-121, 106.

[25] Gordon, *Pearl,* p. 54, note to l. 197: Nicholas of Lyra uses "byssus" and "byssinum" in his
commentaries on *Exod.* 28.4 and *Apoc.* 19.8. The Vulgate "byssum" of *Exod.* 28.6 translates the
Hebrew "shesh", usually rendered as "fine linen". The connection between the priestly garments of
the tabernacle and the garments of the heavenly host in *Revelation* is seen in *Rev.* 15. 5-6.

(All gleaming white was her fine linen garment, open at the sides and beautifully trimmed with what, in my opinion, were the loveliest pearls I had ever set eyes on; with broad hanging sleeves, I know for certain, adorned with double rows of pearls; her bright kirtle a perfect match, arrayed all around with precious pearls. That girl also wore a crown adorned with pearls and no other precious stones, with high pinnacles of clear white pearls, and exquisite flowers figured on it).

Like the garments of Aaron, made "for glory and for beauty", the maiden's clothing is made of fine linen, contains precious embroidery, and comprises a kirtle and a mitre or crown (*Exodus* 28.2-5). Curiously enough, it is not only the poet of the pearl age but also the rabbi of the Victorines, "Rabi Salamon", who adorns these garments with pearls.

3

The number of the twelve children of Israel is woven into the fabric of *Pearl* as it was transferred from Exodus to Revelation. But the Pearl-poet also attaches a special significance to the skilful weaving of a band of five, grouping his material into sets of five stanzas, with one set of six, in a twelve-line stanzaic form to comprise a poem of twenty sets, 101 stanzas, and 1212 lines.

The discipline of the elaborate verse-form in which each stanza "vmbelappez and loukez in oper" is so severe that the departure from a grouping of five stanzas in the fifteenth of the twenty groups of the poem is a problem of the utmost importance. It cannot be dismissed as accidental.[26] To the Pearl-poet, as to Dante and every medieval scholar and poet, number is the essence of things. The numerical composition of *Pearl* gives perfect artistic form to a fundamental medieval concept: the symbolism of number was the most penetrating device for an andequate perception of the mysteries and laws of the universe.

In the Old Testament itself, there is no explicit reference to a symbolical use of numbers — at least its existence cannot be positively shown.[27] However, all numbers mentioned in the Bible were considered to have a secret meaning which rested on the knowledge that the twenty-two letters of the Hebrew alphabet also served as numerals in the holy tongue. The art of numerical computation of letters to demonstrate a symbolical content, known by its Hebrew term of "gematria",

[26] See Gordon, *Pearl*, p. 88. For recent discussion of numerical composition in the poem see P. M. Kean, "Numerical Structure in *Pearl*", *Notes and Queries*, N. S. 12, 2 (1965), pp. 49 ff; *The Pearl*, An Interpretation (New York, 1967), pp. 138, 178.
[27] See article on "Gematria" in *The Jewish Encyclopaedia* (New York and London, 1903), V, 589-592.
[28] V. F. Hopper, *Medieval Number Symbolism*, (New York, 1938), pp. 62-68. For evidence in the works of Raymond Lull (d. 1316) see E. W. Platzeck, *Raimund Lull*, (Duesseldorf, 1962), pp. 327 ff.

was a common tool of medieval scholarship.[28] It became particularly
important in Kabbalistic writing and the literature of mysticism where
it focused on the divine name. The numerical value of the Hebrew let-
ters composing the secret and ineffable Name of God is, in fact, the
methodical core of mystical contemplation. As Gershom Scholem ex-
plains it, "the directed activity of the adept engaged in combining and
separating the letters in his meditation, composing whole motifs on
separate groups, combining several of them with one another and en-
joying their combinations in every direction, is ... not more senseless or
incomprehensible than that of a composer". To the mystic "the closed
doors of the soul open in the music of pure thought which is no longer
bound to 'sense', and in the ecstacy of the deepest harmonies which
originate in the movement of the letters of the great Name, they throw
open the way to God".[29]

In the fifteenth section of the poem, the Pearl-poet's movement
toward God through the vision of the New Jerusalem reaches a stage in
which, for the first and only time in the poem, the name of God is ex-
plicitly mentioned. The section is based on *Revelation* 14.1: "And I
looked, and, lo, a Lamb stood on the mount Sion, and with him an hun-
dred forty and four thousand, having his Father's name written in their
foreheads". To show that she and her heavenly pearl-companions have
attained full knowledge of God in after-life, "alpaz oure corses in clot-
tez clynge", the Pearl-maiden quotes the following passage to her en-
tranced "jeweller":

> "I seghe", says John, "þe Loumbe hym stande
> On þe mount of Syon ful þryuen and þro,
> And wyth hym maydennez an hundreþe, þowsande,
> And fowre and forty þowsande mo.
> On alle her forhedez wryten I fande
> Þe Lombez nome, hys Faderez also.
>
>   (ll. 867-872)

("I saw", says John, "the Lamb himself stand on the mount of Zion very
fair and noble, and with him one hundred thousand maidens and four and
forty thousand more. On all their foreheads written I found the Lamb's
name, his Father's also")

The Pearl-maiden's assertion that "we purzoutly hauen cnawyng" (l.
859), a line of particular emphasis in the second stanza of the section,
has its external manifestation in the insignia of the divine name which
the heavenly virgins bear inscribed on their foreheads — the Name of
the Father and the Son. It is in the third stanza of the six-stanza group
that "þe Lombez nome, hys Faderez also" has been brought to the fore,
at lines 871-872:

[29] Gershom Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, (Schocken, New York 1954), pp. 133-134.

> On alle her forhedez wryten I fande
> Þe Lombez nome, hys Faderez also.

In the division of section XV this statement is preceded by thirty lines and followed by forty — a symmetrical pattern of three and four which, as a multiple of twelve, permeates *Pearl* and places the divine name at the heart of the grouping.

The emphatic statement at line 859 that the heavenly pearls "purzoutly hauen cnawing" inevitably leads us to the significance of this "perfect knowing" in medieval religious thought and mystical theology: it is the knowledge of God that the soul is considered to have in the afterlife when it knows the essence expressed in the ineffable name.[30] What I wish to suggest is that the numerical value of the Hebrew letters comprising the ineffable name, which the pearl virgins bear inscribed on their foreheads, is reflected in the structural pattern of this particular section.

The Hebrew cryptograph of the divine name and the methods of "gematria" were known to medieval Christian scholars who were in touch with the rabbinical learning of their time. In discussing the glosses of a Hebrew Psalter written in England in the mid-thirteenth century with Latin and Ango-Norman gloss, Beryl Smalley points out that the glossator not only had a Jew to instruct him ("rabi dixit") but that he writes IAHAVE for the Tetragrammaton.[31] There is a detailed discussion of "Y.H.V.A.", the four-lettered name of God, in the *Guide of the Perplexed* of Maimonides (1135-1204), "nobilis Iudeorum philosophus," and its numerical value in Hebrew was known to be 10 (y) 5 (h) 6 (v) and 5 (h).[32] For Christian scholars, it was commòn to think of the name of God as a three-lettered rather than four-lettered numerical cryptograph to reflect the Trinity. The procedure is clear from the twelfth century *Dialogus contra Iudaeos* of Petrus Alfonsi, the Spanish Jewish physician who became a Christian convert and apologist and whose importance as a transmitter of Hebrew and Arabic learning to medieval France and England is well known.[33] In explaining the

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[30] On the influence of the pseudo-Dionysian doctrine of "knowing" in St. Thomas see Anton C. Pegis, "Penitus Manet Ignotum", *Mediaeval Studies* 27 (1965), 212-226.

[31] Berym Smalley, *Hebrew Scholarship among Christians in XIIIth Century England*, Read to the Society for Old Testament Study, (London, 1939), pp. 15, 18.

[32] Moses Maimonides, *The Guide of the Perplexed*, translated with an Introduction and Notes by Shlomo Pines, with an Introductory Essay by Leo Strauss, (Chicago, 1963), pp. xxx, 150 ff., chapter 62. On Maimonides among the Christians see Smalley, *Study of the Bible*, pp. 295, 302, 340. On the placing of the Holy Name in the scheme of the *Zohar* see *The Zohar* transl. M. Simon and H. Sperling, 5 (London 1931-1934); pp. 405-406.

[33] See Yitzhak Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, transl. from the Hebrew by L. Schoffman, 1 (Philadelphia, 1961-66), p. 59. On Alfonsi's importance in the translation of Arabic astronomical treatises see J. Millás Vallicrosa, "La apostacion astronomica de Pedro Alfonso",

Christian Trinity to Moses, his alter ego with whom he conducts his dialogue, Petrus Alfonsi uses the Hebrew characters as separate elements of the Ineffable Name: "If you pay more subtle attention and consider that name of God which is explained in the secret of secrets, namely YHVH, ... you will see that the Name is both three and one". Alfonsi's interpretation is that the Name consists of three letters in spite of its four figures, one of the letters of the Tetragrammaton being written twice, i.e. the letter H.

This observation is of particular interest in illustrating the procedure of "Gematria", for in the general rules of combining the numerical value of letters one of two identical numbers may be disregarded. Alfonsi's text is as follows:
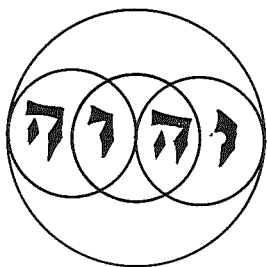
"Si tamen attendas subtilius, et illud Dei nomen, quod in secretis secretorum explanatum invenitur, inspicias, יהוה, nomen inquam trium litterarum, quamvis quator figuris, una namque de illis geminata bis scribitur, si inquam illud inspicias, videbis quia idem nomen et unum sit et tria, Sed quod unum est, ad unitatem substantiae, quod vera tria, ad Trinitatem respicit personarum. Constat autem nomen illud quator figuris, י et ה et ו et ה; quarum si primam tantum conjunxeris & secundam, י scilicet et ה, erit sane nomen unum. Item si secundam et tertiam, ה scilicet et ו, jam habebis alterum. Similiter, si tertiam tantum copulaveris atque quartam, scilicet ו et ה invenies et tertium. Rursus si omnes simul in ordine connexueris, non erit nisi nomen unum, sicut in ista patet geometrali figura."[34]

In numbers, the "geometrical figure" is then the Trinity of YHV whose numerical value in the Hebrew characters used by Alfonsi, is 10, 5, 6, or, to denote only two of its elements as in *Pecal* where the Holy Ghost is not mentioned, a grouping of fifteen and six — "þe Lombez nome, hys Faderez also".

We know that the *Dialogus* of Petrus Alfonsi was read at the Abbey of Bury St. Edmund's.[35] It thus provides specific evidence on English soil for the type of knowledge relating to the divine name among scholars closest to the *Pearl*-poet. I suggest that it is the *aenigma*[36] of the ineffable

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Sefarad 3 (1943), 65 ff. On Alfonsi as the author of the *Disciplina Clericalis*, H. Schwarzbaum, "International Floklore Motifs in Petrus Alphonsi's 'Disciplina Clericalis'", *Sefarad* 21 (1961), "Introductory", pp. 268 ff. For a recent discussion of Petrus Alfonsi in relation to England see Dorothee Finkelstein, "The Beginnings of 'Arabum Studia' in England" *Occasional Stiles* 5, (Yale University, April 1968), pp. 82-94.

[34] *Petri Alphonsi ex Judaeo Christiani Dialogi*, Titulus VI "De Trinitate" in Migne, PL 157. 611.

[35] Smalley, *Study of the Bible*, p. 340.

[36] The importance of *aenigma*, one of the subdivisions of medieval allegory, to an understanding of *Pearl* has been shown by Bishop who quotes Bede's definition: "Aenigma est obscura sententia per occultam similitudinem rerum". (*op. cit.* pp. 66 ff.).

name which the poet worked in by departing from his regular scheme of five stanzas. The fifteenth grouping, at line 841, consists of six stanzas by careful design: a numerical pattern of fifteen and six-comprising the Name of God, the Father (YH) and the Son (V).

The crucial importance in the appearance and placing of the divine name in this section has been completely overlooked by students of the poem. Ian Bishop follows Patricia Kean in observing that Group XV contains stanza 72, and 72 is a multiple of 12. For his own part, he notes that the six stanzas of Group XV make up a total number of 72 lines and this particular multiple of twelve is half of 144, the "apocalyptic" number in the enumeration of the thousands of virgins which ac-company the Lamb in *Pearl* and *Revelation*.[37] I should like to add that 72 also comprises the ineffable name in hermetic and cabbalastic writings. This has been pointed out by Moses Gaster: "We find in those ancient writings that have retained the traditions of the centuries before the common era, the idea of a form of the Ineffable Name composed of 22, 42, or 72 parts, or words, or letters, *of which that consisting of 72 was the most sacred*. It is still doubtful what those 22, 42, and 72 were — either different *words* expressing the various attributes of God, or *letters* in a mystical combination". Gaster cites a letter of Hai Gaon (939-1038) in which the rabbi speaks of the ineffable name and its 72 elements, ex-plaining the number as a combination of three biblical verses, "but he neither knows what they are nor how they were uttered".[38]

An explanation for the age of the *Pearl*-poet, may, I think, lie in the mystical Book of Raziel. In its present form, it dates from the thirteenth century and is probably the work of Rabbi Eleazar of Worms. It con-tains gaonic mysticism and is cited in the *Zohar*, "the Book of Splen-dour", the canonical text of medieval Kabbalism. The book of Raziel was to teach Adam, in the Garden of Eden, seventy-two branches of wisdom which comprised the heavenly mysteries. "When Adam ob-tained it, all the holy angels gathered around him to hear him read it, and when he began they exclaimed: "Be thou exalted, O Lord, above the heavens, let thy glory be above all the eart" (*Ps.* 57. 12).[39]

What is particularly interesting with reference to *Pearl* is the wording of *Ps.* 57. 12, the line of divine exaltation connected with the seventy-

[37] Bishop, pp. 28-29.

[38] M. Gaster, *Studies and Texts in Folklore, Magic, Medieval Romance, Hebrew Apocrypha and Samaritan Archaeology*, vol. I; pp. 292-293. See Hopper, pp. 67-68. My italics. On Hai Gaon see L. Ginzberg, *Geonica* 1 (New York, 1909), pp. 171-76.

[39] L. Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, 5, (Philadelphia 1909-1946) pp. 117-118. Ginzberg points out that R. Hai Gaon "never heard of any Adam book". It is interesting to note that the *Book of Raziel* was also connected with the building of Noah's Ark — another "box" or "chest" the building of which required a knowledge of divine secrets. *Ibid.* I, 156-57. *The Zohar* I, 176.

two kinds of wisdom. In the Hebrew text of the Bible the last word of the line is "thy glory" — kvodecha, the numerical value of which is 52. The Hebrew is accurately reflected in the Vulgate (*Ps.* 56. 12):

> Exaltare super caelos, Deus,
> et super omnem terram gloria tua.

One wonders whether the Vulgate "Deus", translating the Hebrew "Elohim" of the line, was transposed, by the rules of mediéval *gematria*, to the numerical value of Y.Y., i.e., 20, the common letters of the divine name which we also find in the *Guide of the Perplexed* of Maimonides. Seventy-two as a form of the ineffable name would then encompass the glory of the Lord — in the Hebrew text "Deus, gloria tua".

It is the exaltation of the glory of God by the virgins bearing the divine name on their foreheads which the dreamer hears in Group XV. The heavenly song of *Revelation* (15.3; 19.1) begins at line 37 of the section, l. 877, and marks the structural centre of its 72 lines. What the poet seems to have done in the structure of this section is to arrange it within a numerical pattern of 72, 15, and 6 — three numerical cryptograms of the divine presence.

Pearl is an elegy, an allegory, a consolation and a mystical dream vision. It is also a replica of medieval exegetical art in which "the dwelling" of the godhead is encased in a traditional setting of gem, name, and number. This paper has attempted to show some new details in the thematic and structural setting of the poem which suggest that the Pearl-poet, like the Victorines, may have used knowledge gained from conversation with Jews or by consulting Jewish sources on biblical tradition.

Yale University.

[40] Pines, p. 156, chapter 64. Cf. Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* Lib. VII in Migne, PL 82. 261: "Tetragrammaton hoc est, *quatuor litterarum*, quod proprie apud Hebraeos in Deo ponitur, יהוה id est, duabus יה יה יה ia, ia, quae duplicata ineffabile illud et gloriosum nomen Dei efficiunt".

WILLIAM OF TYRE AND THE ART OF HISTORIOGRAPHY*

D. W. T. C. Vessey

BACKGROUND

THOMAS Fuller in his *Historie of the holy Warre* remarked of King Amalric of Jerusalem "nor is it the last and least part of his praise that William Archbishop of Tyre (so often mentioned) wrote the Holy warre at his instance".[1] Fuller's high opinion of William has been frequently re-interated since his day. Modern scholarship may have detected more flaws in his account of the Latin Kingdom than its seventeenth-century forerunner, but few would dispute the general excellence of the *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*. E. A. Babcock and A. C. Krey wrote in the introduction to their translation of the *Historia* that in many respects "his work is superior to that of any other Latin historian since classical times, and, until the late Renaissance, is scarcely equalled by any later writer".[2] Sir Steven Runciman, while fully aware of the limitations of William's reliability as a historical source, terms him "one of the greatest of medieval historians".[3] It is obvious that William of Tyre has done more than any other historian to mould and to influence the attitude of his many successors towards the early history of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem.[4]

Nonetheless, the number of people who read William as literature rather than as a source for historical facts must be few. This is to be regretted, for the *Historia* is a fascinating, lucid and subtle work. William was an artist and some appreciation of his artistry is essential to a proper comprehension of his aims. The English translation, itself an

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[1] 3rd edition (London, 1647): 1.II c. 33, p. 87.

[2] *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea, by William Archbishop of Tyre* 2 vol. (Records of Civilisation 35 [Columbia, 1943]), I. p. 37. (This work will hereafter be referred to as B/K).

[3] S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 2 (Cambridge, 1952), p. 477.

[4] Cf. the remarks in B/K, I, pp. 3-4.

admirable production, naturally suffers from the disadvantages that afflict any attempt to render one language into another. The Latin text, available in the *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades* (Historiens Occidentaux, l.i - l.ii) and in Migne's *Patrologia Latina* (Volume 201), is a rewarding field of study. It may be said that the Crusades produced two outstanding historians, William of Tyre and Geoffrey de Villehardouin[5] - one Latin, the other vernacular. William in fact represents medieval Latin at its best in an age when, as Erich Auerbach has remarked, "we are amazed and often delighted to note how much richness and originality of thought,how much more intensity and directness of feeling it expresses than the Latin of the earlier Middle Ages."[6] In reading William of Tyre, we move into a different and more complex literary plane from that of his predecessors, the author of the *Gesta Dei per Francos*, Albert of Aix and Fulcher of Chartres. William had clearly made profitable use of his journey to Europe in the eleven-fifties.[7] It is significant, however, that so soon afterwards Villehardouin chose to use the vernacular for his chronicle. Auerbach's acute analysis of the rise of the vernacular at this time is well illustrated by this fact.[8] We may add that William's *Historia* was itself rapidly rendered into French and that it was continued by Ernoul and others in that tongue.[9] But the original is a triumph of a period when Latin composition was at something of an apogee.

Little need be said of William's biography, for it has been thoroughly investigated elsewhere.[10] His distinguished career in the ecclesiatical and civil hierarchy of the Kingdom was, for him, marred by disappointment. He failed, through the intrigue of his opponents at the court of Baldwin IV, to gain the Patriarchate of Jerusalem in 1180. The *Historia* itself was the product of many years of labour. It was left unfinished, breaking off after the first chapter of book 23. It remained for others to tell of the fall of Jerusalem to Saladin and its tragic consequences. But well before the disaster at Hattin, William believed that

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[5] Much new and valuable light has been shed on Villehardouin's aims and methods by J. M. A. Beer, "Villehardouin: Epic Historian" (*Etudes de philologie et d'histoire* 7 [Geneva, 1968]).

[6] E. Auerbach, *Literary Language and its Public in Late Latin Antiquity and in the Middle Ages* trans. R. Manheim (London, 1965), pp. 275-6.

[7] On this journey, cf. A. C. Krey, "William of Tyre: the Making of a Medieval Historian", *Speculum 16* (1941), 149-66 at pp. 150-2, and B/K, I, pp. 10-11. There is no reason to doubt that William, while in Europe, made every effort to expand his literary knowledge and to obtain manuscripts for his personal use.

[8] Auerbach, *op. cit.*, pp. 277 ff.

[9] Cf. L. de Mas Latrie, 'Essai de classification des continuateurs de l'histoire des croisades de Guillaume de Tyr', *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes*, 5th series, I, pp. 38-140; B/K, I, pp. 40-1.

[10] The fundamental study is still that of Hans Prutz, 'Studien über Wilhelm von Tyrus', *Neues Archiv* 8 (1882), 93-132; cf. also Krey, *Speculum 16* (n. 7 above) and the introduction to B/K, i, pp. 4-26.

the realm was in an unhappy condition and a vein of pessimism appears strongly in books 21 and 22 and in the preface to book 23. One can hardly doubt that this despondency was intensified by the author's failure to crown his career by succeeding Patriarch Amalrich in the Holy City. William looked with jaded eye on the disputes that occupied the reign of Baldwin the Leper. His sympathies lay with Raymond III of Tripoli and his baronial supporters. For Guy de Lusignan he had no regard. To William, the zenith of the Latin kingdom was reached in the reigns of Baldwin III and Amalric I, for, in the main, William did not share the view of some modern historians that the enigmatic Amalric himself contributed largely to the decline and fall of his realm.[11]

THE PREFACES

The *Historia* is provided with two major prefaces. The first precedes the whole work and is termed the prologue; the second is prefixed to the fragment of book 23. The two are totally different in tone and intent: their interrelation is worthy of analysis.

The history of preface-writing has, in recent years, been subjected to close study. Worthy of special mention are the work of G. Simon on the prefaces of medieval histories and that of T. Janson on those found in Roman prose works.[12] These writers have laid stress on the 'conventional elements' that are to be found in prefaces; these may be designated *loci communes* or, following E. R. Curtius, topoi.[13] Themes and attitudes are repeated time and again in the prefaces of antiquity and the middle ages, not least in the historiographers. It is obvious that an author normally composes his preface after the completion of his book. In it, he presents a more or less tendentious view of his work, which the reader, by contrast, is intended to consider *before* studying the narrative itself. In this way, a preface may be said to have as one of its intentions that of predisposing certain reactions and sympathies in the mind of the 'public' to whom a work is addressed. The 'topics' of preface-making may, in my view, be satisfactorily summarised under four general headings:

[11] Cf., e.g. the discussion of M. W. Baldwin, 'The Latin States under Baldwin III and Amalric I', in Setton/Baldwin, *A History of the Crusades,* I (Philadelphia, 1958), pp. 548 ff.

[12] G. Simon, 'Untersuchungen zur Topik der Widmungsbriefe mittelalterlicher Geschichtschreiber bis zum Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts', *Archiv für Diplomatik* 4 (1958), 52-118, 5/6 (1959/60), 73-153; T. Janson, *Latin Prose Prefaces: Studies in Literary Conventions,* Stud. Lat. Stockh. 13 (Stockholm, 1964); see also Z. Pavlovskis, 'From Statius to Ennodius: a brief history of prose prefaces to poems', *Rendiconti dell' istituto Lombardo* 101 (1967), 535-67 and Vessey in *Classical Bulletin* 46 (1970), at pp. 49 ff.

[13] E. R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages,* trans. W. R. Trask (London, 1953), pp. 79 ff.

(1) *Apologetic*: the author defends his work against real or potential criticism. He excuses its imperfections.

(2) *Assertive*: the author establishes his qualifications. He states the reasons why his work is needed and why his theme is worthy of attention.

(3) *Genetic*: the author sets out the provenance of his work.

(4) *Dedicatory*: the author commends his work to a patron or patrons, or to a less-well defined group of people, his readers, his countrymen or *posteritas*.

Not all prefaces contain each of these basic themes. They may concentrate on one or two to the exclusion of others. In William's prologue all four may be traced. Topoi continue to exist and to be utilised because they provide a framework of ideas appropriate to a given recurring situation. The topoi, having to some extent a life of their own and definable features, can be used in a deterministic fashion. Their truth-value is limited and too great a willingness to accept what appears on their rhetorical surface is indeed hazardous or naive. On the other hand, it may be equally culpable to fall into the error of dismissing anything that can be labelled as conventional as valueless or untrue. By way of illustration, we may begin by examining one theme in William of Tyre's prologue which falls into my third category, the genetic topic.

WILLIAM OF TYRE AND KING AMALRIC

E. R. Curtius has noted the frequency with which authors since antiquity have claimed that they write "only because a friend or a patron or a superior has expressed a request or wish or command." He adds that "innumerable medieval authors assert that they write by command. Histories of literature accept this as gospel truth. Yet it is usually a mere topos."[14] This command, or *jussio*, is certainly a familiar idea in prefaces of all kinds. William of Tyre uses it in the information he provides regarding the genesis of the *Historia*.

In the prologue, William writes that King Amalric 'commanded' him to compose his history: *accessit praeterea domini Amalrici regis ... jussio non facile negligenda et instantia multiplex quae ad id ipsum nos maxime impulit.* (PL 212) These words are apparently confirmed at the end of book 20, where William finishes his obituary of Amalric with the words: *vir prudens et discretus et ad regni gubernacula prorsus idoneus; cujus precibus et instantia, gesta tam praedecessorum quam sua, scripto mandare praeposuimus*

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[14] Curtius, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

praesenti. (20.33: PL 201.814) Babcock/Krey have also drawn attention to William's words in 19.2 that Amalric was *historiarum prae ceteris lectionibus ... avidus auditor*, (PL 201.749) asserting that "the implications of this statement are too often overlooked. It is the clearest evidence that William himself read history to Amaury [Amalric] and that William wrote originally to read his history to him."[15] The Archbishop also informs us in the prologue (and elsewhere) that it was in accordance with the King's command (*rogatus*) that he composed his *Historia orientalium principum* based on and following the work of Seid ibn-Batriq.[16]

A great deal has been built on these assertions. Krey and others have argued that the origin of the *Historia* is to be found in a *Gesta Amalrici* which was supposedly expanded into the *Gesta Regum* (= *Historia*) at Amalric's behest.[17] The direct evidence for this is in fact sparse. In 20.17 William mentions the fact that in or about 1167 he had already decided to chronicle the achievements of Amalric's reign and was collecting material for this purpose: *haec omnia scripto mandare conceperamus*. (PL 201.796) There is no direct reference here to encouragement by the King; William merely says that his decision to write history arose after his return from Rome (where, we may suppose, the climate would be such as to encourage literary aspirations). Krey, citing this passage, argued in *Speculum* 1941 that William's promotion to the office of Archdeacon of Tyre "at the King's request" may have "marked the binding of a contract whereby William undertook to write 'a History of the Deeds of King Amalric'"(p. 152). To speak of a contract and indeed to assert as strongly as Krey has done Amalric's personal involvement in the commissioning of such a history seems to go beyond the available evidence. It is altogether more probable that William himself was attracted to the idea of writing a chronicle when he returned from the culturally stimulating atmosphere of the Papal court. As he went to Rome to mitigate in some way the *indignationem immeritam* (PL 201.796) of his Archbishop (concerning the details of which he provides no clue), it is likely that he also saw in his literary project a means of ingratiating himself with the King and circumventing the enmity of his ecclesiastical superior. In the latter aim, he was apparently not unsuccessful, for shortly afterwards Amalric entrusted to William the education of his son Baldwin, as the historian says *sub obtentu gratiae suae*. (21.1: PL 201.8 14) Amalric may well have been gratified by the suggestion that his ambitious military projects should be chronicled. He would certainly not have discouraged William from the prosecution of such a task. Even

[15] B/K, II. p. 296, n. 3.
[16] Cf. B/K, I. pp. 15-16, 26-27.
[17] Krey, *Speculum* 16. pp. 152 ff.; B/K, 1. pp. 15 ff.

more pleasing to him would be the notion that the work should become
a full-scale *Gesta Regum*, in which, basically, William would show that
the Latin Kingdom reached its highest point in the victorious reign of
Amalric I. William's literary interests also made him an obvious can-
didate for the tuition of Prince Baldwin. For the Archdeacon, the
rigours of the task would be compensated by suitable rewards.

The reference to Amalric's *jussio* is basically a topos and it is a mistake
to build too much upon it. It may imply little more than some general
encouragement. We may add that the assertion of Amalric's devotion to
"historiae" is also not to be overstressed. William took a pride and con-
siderable care in creating his character-sketches. The three best exam-
ples are those devoted to Baldwin III (16.1-2: PL 201.639-642), Amalric I
(19.2-3: PL 201.748-51) and Raymond III of Tripoli (21.5: PL 201.818-9).
William did not fall into the error of making such descriptions mere
eulogies, for he carefully incorporates both good and bad traits. But
such characterisations are virtually a genre in their own right, with
their own conventions and topoi. William's portraits fall into a pattern
that is largely artificial. He deals in each case with his subject's physical,
mental and spiritual traits. A major influence on this technique was un-
doubtedly that of Einhard in his *Vita Karoli Magni*, in which occurs a
well-known portrayal of Charlemagne.[18] Einhard himself had taken as
his model the methods of Suetonius in the *Vitae Caesarum*.[19] It was
customary that a monarch should be shown to possess both *fortitudo* and
sapientia.[20] Einhard, who used the pattern inherited from Suetonius in a
deterministic manner,[21] laid great stress, obviously exaggerated, on
Charlemagne's cultural interests, including his liking for readings on
historical subjects.[22] William equally mentions in each case the cultural
pursuits of his subjects. On this basis, it may well be doubted whether
in reality the two Kings and Count Raymond were as devoted to lear-
ning as William represents them to have been. It would be truer to say
that the rules of the genre made such assertions inevitable. Frank and
accurate portraits of monarchs were not produced until a much later
period. In William's day a strong element of convention preordained
the essential pattern of character-portrayal and an avowal of literary
enthusiasm (indicating *sapientia*) was one of the features of that pattern.

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[18] William quotes from Einhard at 1.3: cf. B/K, 1. p. 64 with note.

[19] Cf. H. W. Garrod and R. B. Mowat, *Einhard's life of Charlemagne* (Oxford, 1915), pp. xvi ff.

[20] See Curtius, *op. cit.*, pp. 173-4, 178.

[21] Cf. the cautions remarks of Garrod/Mowat, *op. cit.*, pp. xxix-xxx; and Lewis Thorpe, *Einhard and Notker, Two Lives of Charlemagne* (Harmondsworth, 1969), pp. 19-20.

[22] Einhard c. 24 (p. 26 in Garrod/Mowat): "legebantur ei historiae et antiquorum res gestae". Cf. also c. 25 (pp. 27-28) for a fanciful laudation of Charlemagne's cultural and literary *studia*, based on Suetonius, *Augustus*, c. 84-86 and *Tiberius*, c. 70-71. Charlemagne as the 'new Augustus' who had re-established the Western Empire was naturally envisaged as a replica of his predecessor.

As it turned out, the King's *gratia* proved of brief duration. Amalric died unexpectedly in 1174. After his death the situation both for the Kingdom and for William changed radically. It is not possible to state with any certainty how much of the *Historia* was written by 1174 or how much what had been written was subsequently revised. Of one thing we can be reasonably sure: William had no reason to play down his intimacy with King Amalric in a time of discord, uncertainty and growing alarm. It was not without value to point out that William wrote in accordance with the late King's *jussio* and that he had enjoyed his *gratia*. Amalric had not lived long enough to further William's career as far as the Archdeacon may have hoped. But his close relationship with Baldwin the Leper was valuable and William looked around for new patrons who would continue Amalric's policies and perhaps support the dead King's historian in his advancement.

Had Amalric not died, we may be confident that the completed *Historia* would have been dedicated to him as its technical progenitor. As this was impossible, when William wrote his prologue, he added a further facet to the genetic theme. An important reason for the composition of his work, he maintains, is love for his country: *urgentissimus instat amor patriae: pro qua vir bene dispositus, etiam si id necessitatis articulus exigat, vitam tenetur impendere. instat, inquam, et auctoritate quo praeminet imperiose praecipit, ut quae apud se centum paene annorum gesta sunt curriculis, silentio sepulta, non patiamur sentire posse oblivionis incommodum.* (PL 201.211-2) The idea of saving great deeds from oblivion by writing of them is of course a topos.[23] William's words call to mind the reasons given by Einhard in his preface for writing a biography of Charlemagne.[24] It is William's duty to ensure that memorable deeds are not forgotten and that a record of them is preserved for posterity. He adds: *paruimus igitur, et manus dedimus ei cui nostram non satis honeste negare poteramus operam, non multum attendentes quid de nobis censura sit posteritas, et quid in tam excellente materia exsanguis nostra mereatur oratio. paruimus sane, utinam tam efficaciter quam libenter, utinam tam commendabiliter quam devote.* (PL 201.212) Extreme expressions of modesty, as we know, are more or less de rigueur in prefaces.[25] The last words of this citation are familiar and recognisable. Their origin is to be found in the opening sentence of Orosius' *Historia contra paganos* (which work William, like most medieval historians, had read carefully): *praeceptis tuis parui, beatissime pater*

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[23] Cf. Simon, *loc. cit.*, 4. pp. 70 ff.

[24] Einhard, preface, section 2, p. 3 in Garrod/Mowat, p. 1 in Waitz's edition (*SRG*, Hanover, 1922). Cf. e.g., Eadmer, *Historia novorum in Anglia*, ed. M. Rule, Rolls Series 81 (London, 1884), *praefatio*, p. 2. On the topoi in Einhard's preface, cf. H. Beumann, *Ideengeschichtliche Studien zu Einhard* (Darmstadt, 1962), pp. 1-14.

[25] Cf. Curtius, *op. cit.*, pp. 83 ff.; Simon, *loc. cit.*, 4. pp. 109 ff.; Janson, *op. cit.*, pp. 124 ff., 145 ff.

Augustine, atque utinam tam efficaciter quam libenter. Variants of this remark are exceedingly common in prefaces of the middle ages and Miss Simon quotes a number of passages similar to it from a wide variety of historians.[26] William is here again utilising a rhetorical topos; its value as a guide to his real intentions is extremely limited.

Babcock/Krey, however, found the reference to *amor patriae* as an incentive for historiography unusual. They remark: "Such an expression of devotion to the abstract ideal of a 'nation' is very unusual in the twelfth century ... This passage, therefore, marks one of the earliest and clearest instances of the expression of nationalism."[27] This view requires modification. There is no need to invoke the spectre of nationalism to explain such a reference to the *patria* in a preface by an author who had read quite widely in Latin literature. Miss Simon cites similar instances from other historians (e.g. William of Malmesbury), stating that the motif did not become usual until the eleventh century.[28] Furthermore, the Holy Land was a "patria" of a special kind. It was the true homeland of all Christian men, which demanded love and loyalty from all those to whom the life, death and resurrection of Jesus were the central facts of history. This is not to deny that William, who was born in Palestine,[29] felt a special bond of fidelity towards the Crusading Kingdom. He, in common with many of the native-born leaders, was antipathetic to more recently arrived immigrants and pilgrims, whose influence on affairs was often considered deleterious and resented bitterly.[30] Instances of this prejudice will emerge later in this paper.

IMPARTIALITY AS A PREFATORY TOPOS

Our brief analysis of William's remarks on the genesis of the *Historia* has sufficiently indicated their conventional background and the historian's familiarity with prefatory topoi. This is not surprising. A prologue was, above all, a place where rhetoric and commonplace were inevitable and expected. It is now necessary to examine the manner in which the Archbishop commenced his prologue. In the first section, William sets out what is apparently a commendable view of historiography and a fine definition of a historian's duty. Such a theme was an ancient one. Historians since Herodotus and Thucydides had frequently made at the outset of their work an emphatic claim to

[26] Simon, *loc. cit.*, 4. p. 68 n. 78.
[27] B/K, I. p. 55 n. 6.
[28] Simon, *loc. cit.*, 4. p. 58.
[29] B/K, I. pp. 7-8.
[30] Cf. the remarks of Runciman, *op. cit.*, pp. 185-6.

veracity and lack of prejudice. Janson has written: "It was ... common for the historian to say something as to his own situation and his relationship to his work and his subject. An assurance of impartiality was more or less obligatory ..."[31] All too often, however, such an assertion is conscious or unconscious camouflage. One would not expect a historian to boast of his inaccuracy or to admit to gross partisanship. But to use the topos is no proof of its intrinsic truth. In fact, it might almost be said that the more strongly an author lays claim to lack of prejudice, the more partial his work is liable to be. Total objectivity in a historian is an impossibility;[32] this is especially true in ages when historiography was considered more as an art-form or a mode of moral instruction than as a science. Few people are likely to take too seriously, for instance, Tacitus' assertion that he wrote the *Annals sine ira et studio*; but parallel claims could be adduced from numerous historians, great and small, in later periods when the claim is no less questionable. The topos is found throughout antiquity. It is common in Byzantine historians.[33] Its variants in the Latin middle ages have been discussed by M. Schultz and others;[34] assurances of *Wahrheitsliebe*, by William's day, had become conventional. There is no reason to regard his protestations with especial confidence, when it is all too clear that he is merely elaborating on an 'assertive topic' common in prefaces.

William's outline of a historian's *officium* is nevertheless a skilful piece of writing. He spared no pains in polishing it and in endowing it with the external evidences of learning. He begins by pointing out the profound difficulties that beset one who has decided to write a history such as his: *periculosum esse et grandi plenum alea regum gesta describere, virorum prudentium nemo est qui dubitet; nam ut laborem, juge studium et perennes vigilias, quibus hujus modi solent indigere negotia, penitus omittamus, duplex historiographis certum est imminere praecipitium* ... (PL 201.209). William, in common with almost all medieval historians, sees his task primarily in terms of recording the deeds of great men for posterity — depersonalised history would for them have been incomprehensible.[35] By using the rhetorical trope *occultatio*, William is also able to include in passing the common prefatory topos in which authors emphasise their own industry, usually with a reference to their "nocturnal studies" (here contained in the words *perennes vigilias*).[36] But he is more con-

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[31] Janson, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

[32] This fact has been succinctly and pungently treated by E. H. Dance in *History the Betrayer: a Study in Bias* (London, 1960), especially at pp. 9 ff.

[33] See G. Buckler, *Anna Comnena* (Oxford, 1929), pp. 225 ff.

[34] M. Schultz, "Die Lehre von der historischen Methode bei den Geschichtschreibern des Mittelalters", *Abh. zur Mittleren und Neueren Gesch.* 13 (1909); Simon, *loc. cit.*, 5/6. pp. 89 ff.

[35] Cf. C. S. Lewis, *The Discarded Image* (Cambridge, 1964), p. 182.

[36] Cf. Janson, *op. cit.*, pp. 97-8; 147-8.

cerned with developing the idea of the *duplex praecipitium* which threatens historiographers and which he compares, in a somewhat trite scholastic fashion, to Scylla and Charybdis, both equally well able to cause *naufragia*. Nautical metaphors are an old favourite in prefaces.[37] The two pitfalls are defined by William in a single sentence: *aut enim rerum gestarum veritatem prosequentes, multorum in se conflabunt invidiam; aut, indignationis gratiae leniendae, rerum occultabant seriem, in quo certum est non deesse delictum.* (PL 201.209-10) A historian, if he adheres to *veritas*, may reap *invidia*; on the other hand, it is culpable for him to suppress or distort the *series rerum* so as to avoid any annoyance the truth may incur. The theme is familiar. William appears in large measure to identify accuracy with adherence to the "series rerum". In this, we see an idea that derives ultimately from the ideas of historiography evolved and practised by the late Christian writers of antiquity — e.g., St Jerome, Eusebius, Orosius — who formulated a notion of 'chronography' which was closely followed in the middle ages. The principal duty of a historian in this system — itself an outgrowth from the Roman annalistic technique as used, for instance, by Livy — was to preserve the 'chronographic progression' of events in his work. The late Christian historiographers and their medieval successors held that all human history was a unity and could be organised within a single chronological scheme; all history to them was the perceptible working of Divine providence towards man. God, in his dealings with humanity, adhered to a pattern known in its perfected entirety only to Him but partly discernible to man. To disrupt the *series rerum* was, therefore, a serious matter, for, by doing so, the writer falsified the record of God's actions in the world and subverted the evidence of His guiding hand in human affairs.[38]

William enlarges on this theme, defining more closely the duty (*officium*) of a responsible chronicler as he sees it. We may summarise the main points of his argument. Deliberate suppression of the truth, he writes, is contrary to the duty of a historiographer. Unfortunately, however, to preserve the true sequence of events and not to abandon the canon of accuracy is likely to engender *indignatio*, in accordance with the proverb *obsequium amicos, veritas odium parit*. (PL 201.210)[39] Historians, therefore, have a choice: either they obey the dictates of *obsequium* and fail in the duty of their calling; or, by adhering to accuracy, they earn hatred. These two possibilities are often set in opposition to

[37] Curtius, *op. cit.*, pp. 128 ff.

[38] On the "ratio de omnium annorum serie", cf., e.g., the remarks of Gregory of Tours, *Historia Francorum*, 1, *prologus* 7-8 (*PL* 71. 163); for a brief introduction to these ideas, see R. G. Collingwood, *The Idea of History* (Oxford, 1946), pp. 46 ff.

[39] The origin of this "proverbium" is Terence, *Andria* 1. 41.

each other: *haec nimirum frequentius ita sibi solent adversari et se mutua im-portunitate reddere molesta.* (PL 201.211) William quotes from Cicero's *de Amicitia* on the dangers involved in *veritas* and in *obsequium*, concluding that, of the alternatives suppression of the truth for the sake of "ob-sequium" is beyond doubt the more serious betrayal of duty. As for those who include lies in their chronicles for the sake of flattery, they are unworthy of the name of historian: *nam, eorum qui adulationis studio rerum gestarum articulis involvunt imprudenter mendacia, tam detestabile factum creditur, ut nec scriptorum numero debeant sociari.* (PL 201.211) To act like this is a much more grave sin than to suppress the truth for it will deceive posterity (PL 201.211); in such a fashion, William differentiates between suppression and overt mendacity and we might well dispute his view that the former is less culpable than the latter.

That this whole argument is simply a rhetorical development of a well-established topos is obvious.[40] William in fact posed himself two questions for formal discussion: what is the *officium* of a historian? and, should a historian place *veritas* above *obsequium*? There is nothing new in such academic speculations, though William, even allowing for his rather pedantic approach, deals effectively with the problems.

No less conventional and derivative is the following section, the origins of which have been examined by Miss Simon.[41] In this, William writes of the great difficulty that faces a historian in evolving a style suitable to his theme. Some of his ideas are closely parallel to those ex-pressed by Einhard in his prologue and William even uses the identical quotation from Cicero's *Tusculan Disputations* as the biographer of Charlemagne.[42] In essence, William points out that there is great dif-ficulty for a historian in forming a style suited to the grandeur of his subject: *verba enim rebus, de quibus agitur, decet esse cognata; nec a materiae nobilioris elegantia scriptoris linguam vel pectus oportet degenerare.* (PL 201.211) This is in part a variation on the inevitable modesty-formula of prefaces; it is also, as the word *decet* implies, an exposition of the rhetorical doctrine of "decorum", which held sway from antiquity to the renaissance. It laid down that the style used in a work should be at-tuned to its subject-matter (*materia*); as Quintilian put it, every genre of literature has its own *lex* and *decor* which a responsible writer should

[40] Cf., e.g., Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, ed. H. R. Luard, Rolls series 57 (London, 1880), vol. 5, pp. 469-70: "sed ne veritas pariat inimicos quod frequenter contingit, ista, licet vera et manifesta, sub dissimulatione praetereantur. dura enim est conditio historiographorum; quia, si vera dicantur, homines provocantur; si falsa scripturis commendantur, Deus, qui veridicos ab adulatoribus sequestrat, non acceptat".

[41] Simon, *loc. cit.*, 5/6, pp. 79-80.

[42] Einhard, preface, section 4, p. 4 in Garrod/Mowat (p. 2 Waitz): Simon, *loc. cit.*, 5/6, p. 80.

seek to maintain.[43] Ideally, therefore, to narrate grand events one should use a grand style. But Christian humility had long prevented too bold a claim to stylistic appropriateness, for the fathers, as Erich Auerbach has so percipiently shown, were eager to point out that to them *materia* was more important than *oratio*, a concept really alien to ancient rhetoric.[44]

These two general discussions are then particularised. William informs his readers that, in relation to the first problem, he has adhered to the *series rerum gestarum* and has not hesitated to include facts both pejorative and praiseworthy in his treatment of kings, even at the risk that their descendants may find his candour offensive: *aut invidum aut mendacem reputabunt: quorum utrumque (vivit Dominus) tamquam rem fugimus agere pestilentem.* (PL 201.211) This idea is a familiar topos. Orderic Vital, for example, in the preface to his *Ecclesiastical History* wrote as follows: "In my account of the restoration of the monastery of St Evroult, written by the command of Abbot Roger, I adhered faithfully to the simple truth, choosing to speak frankly on the great men of this perverse age, whether good or bad; and relying solely on my honesty of purpose, without making any pretensions to a polished style or the gifts of eloquence"[45] — a claim which parallels, in brief, several of Williams assertions. As to his style, William, like Orderic, uses the customary "Bescheidenheit-topos", in words strongly reminiscent of Einhard, and expresses his realisation that he has fallen far short of the *dignitas* required by his subject (PL 201.211). All the same, he has at least done what was within his power to record events so great and so memorable for posterity (PL 201.211: *nonnihil est tamen quod egimus*).

These remarks, part assertive, part apologetic, are William's versions of the *loci communes* from which medieval prefaces were constructed. His approach is conventional. It would be wrong to interpret his prologue

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[43] Quintilian, *Inst. Or.*, 10.2.14.; cf. 10.4.3-4. On the Hellenistic background to the idea of decorum, cf. G. Kennedy, *The Art of Persuasion in Greece* (London, 1963), p. 276. Its significance in later literature is well expressed by John Buxton, *Sir Philip Sidney and the English Renaissance* (London, 1964), pp. 26 ff.

[44] Auerbach, 'Sermo humilis', *op. cit.*, pp. 27-66, especially at pp. 33 ff.

[45] Ordericus Vitalis, *Hist. Eccles.* prologue (*PL* 188. 15): "in relatione, quam de restauratione Uticensis coenobii, jubente Rogerio abbate, [n.b. *jussio*-topos] simpliciter prout possum facere institui, libet veraciter tangere nonnulla de bonis seu malis hujus nequam saeculi; non arte litteratoria fultus, nec facundia praeditus, sed bonae voluntatis intentione provocatus, appeto nunc dictare de his quae videmus seu toleramus. decet ubique ut, sicut novae res mundo quotidie accidunt, sic ad laudem Dei assidue scripto tradantur; ut, et, sicut ab anterioribus praeterita gesta usque ad nos transmissa sunt, sic etiam praesentia nunc a praesentibus futurae posteritati litterarum notamine transmittantur ..." The translation in the text is that of T. Forester (Bohn's Library, London, 1853). The final sentence quoted in this note is an example of the topos cited above, n. 23.

as a highly significant statement of his motives and intentions or as a declaration of deeply-felt principle. To adopt a remark of Richard Vaughan's about Matthew Paris, it is obvious that William's "pious statements about his intentions cannot be accepted at their face value."[46] Babcock/Krey, however, have said of William that "the impartiality of his judgments, the breadth of his tolerance ... exceeded those of any of the contemporary chroniclers."[47] Elsewhere they remarked that "as he so eloquently states in his prologue, [literary] quality in his work was as much a matter of his conscious concern as the truth of his statements";[48] they have also maintained that "his full development as an historian ... must be sought in what he composed and wrote after 1180, more distinctly in Books 21 to 23 (inclusive) and in his prologue to the work as a whole."[49] That William was concerned with style is self-evident from the general excellence of his work. But it would be highly dangerous to base a faith in his impartial veracity on the fact that he asserts it in his prologue.

Partiality and Suppression

Books 21 to 23 of the *Historia* were composed after William's failure to gain the office of Patriarch. They may be regarded as an addendum to his original plan. Book 20 closes with the death of King Amalric and its final words contain the reference to Amalric's patronage which we have already quoted. The words would have provided a fitting end to a history dedicated to the memory of Amalric. Furthermore, as Babcock/Krey have pointed out, it would appear that a version of the *Historia* comprising Books 1 to 21 was circulated by 1182, for Ernoul began his continuation at that point.[50] The evidence of the prologue reveals that William was uncertain for some time how much he would be able to write after book 20, but that he continued to add to his work for as long as possible — that is, as he says, for as long as his life continued (*vita comite*: PL 201.213). Although we cannot be quite sure of the date of William's death, it seems likely, as Hans Meyer has shown, that it occurred in the second half of 1186.[51] The composition of book 22 and the fragment of book 23 were, therefore, the product of William's

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[46] R. Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, Cambridge Stud. in Med. Life and Thought 6 (Cambridge, 1958), p. 131.

[47] B/K, I. p. 37.

[48] B/K, I. p. 34.

[49] B/K, I. p. 31.

[50] B/K, I. pp. 38-9.

[51] H. E. Mayer, "Zum Tode Wilhelms von Tyrus", *Archiv für Diplomatik* 5/6 (1959/60), 182-201.

last few years. They, like book 21, deal with a period in which William himself played an influential role and during which he was baulked of the patriarchate. That a man is most likely to be prejudiced about events in which he has been directly involved and which included a major disappointment is only too obvious. It is my view that William, despite his claims in the prologue, written at about the same time, presented a highly partisan view of events following the death of King Amalric and that in books 21-23 he attempted to vindicate the policies of his own party and to blacken those of its opponents. To demonstrate this, a few instances will suffice.

In 21.1, William follows his customary practise of giving a brief character-sketch of the new king, Baldwin IV. (PL 201.814) He is careful to accentuate his own intimate connexion with the young monarch, whose tutor he had been appointed by King Amalric. William makes no secret of the fact that he took his pedagogic duties seriously, writing *dumque apud nos esset et ei vigilem curam, et quantam regio puero convenit, tum in morum disciplina, tum litterarum studio sollicitudinem impenderemus* ... (PL 201.814), and claiming that it was he who first detected that the boy was a leper. William portrays Baldwin, despite his affliction, as more or less a reprint of King Amalric: *patri per omnia, non solum facie, verum toto corpore, incessu quoque et verborum modificatione similis: ingenii velocis, sed verbi impeditioris; historiarum more patris avidus auditor, et salubribus monitis valde obtemperans.* (PL 201.815) We may well feel that the boy was fortunate in this alleged addiction to histories, as William no doubt provided him with ample gratification in that respect. The implication is that Baldwin might be expected to continue Amalric's patronage when of more mature years. As to the 'salutary counsels' to which Baldwin was so submissive, we are left in no doubt that one of their purveyors was William himself. Another, as we shall see, was Raymond of Tripoli. In William's view, there were many others whose advice was far less wholesome, but he hoped to see in Baldwin a sovereign who, in his choice of counsellors, would show wisdom and restraint, following in general the policies of his father.

Minorities are notorious for creating problems and intrigue. It was clearly of vital importance that effective control of the Kingdom should be in the proper hands but, as one would expect, there were varying opinions as to the identity of the best candidates for office. At first, so far as William was concerned, power centred in the hands of the worst possible person, Miles de Plancy. His disapproval of him was made abundantly clear in 20.10 (PL 201.786), where William gave to Miles what is certainly the worst character he could devise: *erat in eodem domini regis* [Amalrici] *exercitu vir quidam secundum carnem nobilis, sed moribus degener, neque Deum timens, neque ad hominem habens reverentiam,*

Milo videlicet de Planci, homo inverecundus, clamosus, detractor, seditiosus. In view of this crushing and scarcely impartial judgment, we are not surprised that William viewed with something less than ecstasy the power attained by Miles at the beginning of Baldwin IV's reign. William writes: *in regno vero nostro, procurante Milone de Planci regni negotia, obortae sunt graves inimicitiae inter eum et quosdam regni principes; invidebant enim et anxie movebantur quod ipsis ignorantibus nec vocatis, ipse solus, nimium de se praesumens, spretis aliis, regi semper assisteret; et ceteris a regia familiaritate seclusis, eis inconsultis, regni negotia procuraret.* (21.3: PL 201.816) The historian makes no pretence of impartiality here. He agrees with those who regarded Miles as a presumptious interloper: William's sympathies are plainly with the *principes regni*, i.e. with the barons who were allegedly excluded from the king by Miles and whose prerogatives were deemed to be flouted — for these *principes* considered that they should form the King's Council. Immediately after this passage, William narrates how Raymond III of Tripoli at this time made his claim for the regency. To this he had a right in accordance with the customs of the realm.[52] Quite apart from his consanguinity with Baldwin, Raymond stressed his past loyalty and devotion to King Amalric.[53] According to William, support for Raymond's claim was well-nigh universal: *favebat autem comiti populus paene omnis; de baronibus vero Henfredus de Torono, regius constabularius, Balduinus Ramatensis, Balianus frater eius, Rainaldus Sidoniensis; episcopi paene omnes.* (21.3: PL 201.816) In short, a powerful group of native-born *principes regni* aligned themselves firmly with the Count of Tripoli and against Miles de Plancy, whose position, which was more or less unofficial, was seen as an infringement of baronial rights.[54] Nonetheless, the decision on the regency was deferred for a time, no doubt through Miles' influence.

But Miles' dominance was not destined to last. Within a short time he was assassinated on the streets of Acre. William prefaces his account of this crime with a highly prejudiced view of its victim. It is apparent that one of the principal reasons for William's intense enmity towards Miles is contained in the first sentence of this passage: *praedictus vero Milo de Planci ... nobilis homo erat de Campania ultramontana ...*(21.4: PL 201.816-7) Miles was one of those noblemen who crossed to the Holy Land from Europe in search of a fief and whose ambitions were bitterly resented by those *principes* whose forebears had done the same thing. Miles had

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[52] Cf. J. L. La Monte, *Feudal monarchy in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem 1100-1291*, Med. Acad. of America Pub. 11 (Cambridge, Mass. 1932), pp. 26 ff.

[53] 21.3, *PL* 201.816. Raymond's loyal deference to King Amalric is termed the "ratio validissima"; he appears to have been willing to accept the suzerainty of Amalric over the Country of Tripoli.

[54] La Monte, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-27.

been on good terms with King Amalric and, as has been mentioned, William represented his influence on that monarch as wholly bad. All the same, through Amalric's favour, he had made a profitable marriage, which brought him, *iure maritali*, the valuable fief of Montreal. His good fortune and his subsequent power were detested by the barons and William sees the matter from the baronial viewpoint, writing, with ingenuous candour, "*regni principes, etiam se majores, despectui habebat*" (PL 201.817) — the scorn which the barons felt for Miles is here attributed on its object. Needless to say, after this revealing sentence, William proceeds to denigrate Miles as completely as he is able: *erat autem homo incircumspectus, superbus quoque et arrogans, verborum inutilium prodigus et de se plus aequo praesumens.* (PL 201.817) If all this is true, one can only wonder why Amalric, whose intelligence William has so highly praised, should have regarded Miles with such esteem. The truth is that the King found in Miles a useful counterbalance to the baronial oligarchy which, as La Monte has written, "considered itself in every respect the equals of the king."[55] The Kings of Jerusalem faced the same problems as their brother monarchs in Europe in controlling the baronage.

William continues by describing how Miles achieved his influential position by a subterfuge, with the result that *dum ... incerte se gerit, dum imprudentius loquitur et omnia regni negotia, invitis aliis, ad suam revocat sollicitudinem, omnia disponit, omnia pro arbitrio dispensat, conflato adversus eum odio pertinaci, subornati sunt quidam, qui vitae eius insidias molirentur ...* (PL 201.817) William is strangely reticent about specifying who precisely were those who felt such a *pertinax odium* for Miles and who did not hesitate to plot against his life. The fact is, of course, that the man who stood to gain most from Miles' death and who was backed by the *principes regni* was none other than Raymond of Tripoli, William's friend and patron. Ernoul informs us that there were those who firmly believed that Raymond was involved in plotting the assassination of his enemy.[56] Nothing is more likely. Raymond was a cunning man, well versed in the political customs of the Middle East. But William gives no hint as to the provenance of the conspiracy against Miles, nor, indeed, if Raymond were implicated in it, would we expect him to do so. William merely records the fact that Miles was killed at Acre and that there were *variae sententiae* about the event. One school of thought, he writes, maintained that Miles had been murdered *pro sua fidelitate quam domino regi devotus exhibebat.* (PL 201.817) In view of the unprepossessing picture William has provided about Miles, it comes as something of a surprise to find that he actually had any supporters. The second reaction to his

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[55] La Monte, *op. cit.,* p. 25.

[56] L. de Mas Latrie, *Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier* (Paris, 1871), pp. 30-1.

death is given more prominence: *aliis contra, quod sibi regnum occulte parabat, missis nuntiis ad amicos et notos suos in Franciam, ut ad eum properarent, quorum suffragiis regnum sibi videbatur posse obtinere.* (PL 201.817) The historian states that he is unable to say which view was true, although he adds a somewhat suspect piece of evidence for the latter.[57] It is, however, the second viewpoint that is emphasised and which William clearly wishes his readers to believe. Obviously, remembering the character given to Miles earlier in the same chapter and elsewhere, the favourable estimate of his intentions is not intended to receive any credence. And yet it is hard to believe that Miles had in reality decided to seize control of the kingdom. It is noteworthy that William particularly stresses that Miles was accused of plotting to bring a number of supporters from France — that is, as far as the barons were concerned, a party of impudent carpetbaggers like himself. Such a possibility would horrify the *principes regni.* It is also notable that, by giving two explanations of the murder, William is able to give a facade of impartiality to his narrative; his readers are not expected to consider other feasible interpretations — for example that Raymond of Tripoli and his faction decided to eliminate an obstacle to their plans.

The truth about the murder of Miles de Plancy, the truth about his character and aims, will never be known. William has skilfully presented the baronial viewpoint and has, as nearly as possible, justified the assassination, without naming any culprit. Immediately afterwards (21.5: PL 201.818-9), the historian describes Raymond of Tripoli, who was now able to assume the Regency without opposition, in glowing terms. Although William says that he is not writing a panegyric of the Count (PL 201.818), his portrait is very close to one. Raymond's genealogical claims to the Regency are treated in full, and his personal characteristics are assessed with undisguised favour. The Count emerges on a pattern that is not at all unfamiliar and we are by no means amazed to discover that he was a man of landable interests: *scripturarum intelligentiam, more domini Amalrici regis, nitebatur apprehendere.* (PL 201.819) The chapter ends, revealingly, with William's own appointment as Chancellor of the Kingdom by Baldwin *de consilio principum suorum.* (PL 201.819) The fact that the *principes* were no longer excluded from the King's counsels was of immediate profit to the historian. William had, therefore, every reason to view the ascendancy of Raymond of Tripoli with enthusiasm, and to oppose all his enemies. William, like the Regent and the other barons, could have felt nothing but elation at the sudden demise of Miles de Plancy. And it can hardly be viewed as flagrantly un-

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[57] I.e., the journey of Balian of Jaffa to Europe (*PL* 817). On the background to these events, see Runciman, *op. cit.*, pp. 406 ff.

just if we suspect that the new Chancellor knew a good deal more about that violent incident than he cared to record for *credula posteritas*. (Prologue: PL 201.211).

This episode has been examined in some detail because it contains a valuable indication of William's prejudices and of his partisan organisation of material in the later books. To confirm our argument, it is worthwhile to analyse two further examples of similar attitudes; in both cases William shows himself to be a loyal spokesman of the baronial faction and a militant opponent of all who antagonised it.

(1) Later in the book, William uses every means at his disposal to discredit the actions and impugn the honesty of Count Philip of Flanders who arrived in the Holy Land in 1177 to fulfil his crusading vow. At the end of chapter 14, he remarks that all were amazed by the Count's *malitiam et sinistrum mentis conceptum*, (PL 201.829) accusing him of a desire to supplant the King. He indicts him for disreputable motives in promoting the sons of the Advocate of Bethune as candidates for marriage with Amalric's daughters. This idea was regarded with dismay by the barons, who succeeded in frustrating Count Philip at every turn. The closing sentence of chapter 15 is highly illuminating: *tandem cognita regis et principum omnium voluntate, licet plurimum indignans et iratus, ab hoc verbo destiti* (PL 201.830) — the Count was consistently faced by united hostility from the *principes*, and its understandable that he should have felt aggrieved and angered by their treatment of him. And yet William, in chapter 17 (PL 832), further blackens his character, even writing *nobis videretur ridiculum toties mutare sententias et nimiae instabilitati videretur merito imputandum, nulli certo haerere proposito* ... Reading carefully what precedes this allegation, the Count's disillusion and annoyance is quite comprehensible. The barons, motivated by suspicion and resentment, had quite simply made it their business to insult and to humiliate him.

(2) In book 22, William's view of Guy de Lusignan is no less antagonistic. In 21.13 (PL 201.826-7), he had recounted how Sibylla, the sister of Baldwin IV, had been married to William of Montferrat. This alliance the historian viewed with favour for it had been confirmed *per manum domini regis et omnium principum* and those who had previously opposed the marriage are dismissed as vacillators.[58] Unfortunately, however, Sibylla's husband died three months after the wedding and the princess was left a highly eligible widow, until the King married her to Guy de Lusignan. William attacks Baldwin with considerable acerbity for this action. There were, he says, many more suitable candidates among the barons of the Kingdom, both native-born and of more

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[58] No doubt there was at first suspicion of William as a newcomer from Europe: but he was exceptionally well-connected: Runciman, *op. cit.*, p. 411.

recent arrival: *nobiliores et prudentiores, ditiores etiam in regno, tum de advenis tum de indigenis potuissent reperiri, penes quos multo commodius, quantum ad regni utilitatem, illa posset locari* ... (22.1: PL 201.847) Baldwin's choice as far as William saw it, was ill-advised, hasty and, worst of all, a personal decision, made without consultation with the *principes*. No doubt Baldwin, like his father before him, had perceived that a counterweight to the baronial faction was useful and necessary. Of Guy, the historian merely inserts a few words: *cuidam adolescenti satis nobili, Guidoni videlicet de Liziniaco, filio Hugonis Bruni, de episcopatu Pictaviensi* ... (PL 201.847) No character-sketch of Guy is provided, as it had been in the case of the short-lived William of Montferrat. Guy is merely *quidam satis nobilis*.

William's hatred for Guy is transparently revealed throughout the rest of book 22. In chapter 9, he deals with the bad blood which briefly arose between King Baldwin and Count Raymond of Tripoli in 1182. William gives the Count's opponents short shrift, describing them as *filii Belial et impietatis alumni, qui spiritum habentes inquietum, turbas in regno moverent et mala intestina molirentur.* (PL 201.856) Raymond himself is termed *vir industrius ... et ad omnia circumspectus* and he is supported by the *principes*, men *qui sensus magis habebant exercitatos* (PL 201.857) — in short by a powerful faction which William overtly supported.[59] Guy de Lusignan was one of the sons of Belial. Later in book 22, William had to deal with Guy's appointment as Regent of the Kingdom; that he disapproved strongly of this goes without saying.

The manner in which he introduces the event is interesting. He writes: *Guidonem de Luziniano sororis suae maritum ... de quo in superioribus saepissimam fecimus mentionem, regni constituit procuratorem.* (21.25: PL 201.88 0) William claims to have made "very frequent mention" of Guy in the preceding chapters; in fact, he is mentioned only once, in the passage (21.1) that we have already cited. It seems probable that at some stage William deleted from his manuscript material about Guy — perhaps of a kind that would have presented him in a better light than William later desired — and that this tell-tale phrase was overlooked in the revision. Whatever the truth, the historian delivers a savage attack on Guy in what follows. He uses the same technique that we have noted in his account of the murder of Miles de Plancy; he gives various alleged reactions to Guy's appointment, but in such a way that the opinions of thos who disapproved are endowed with greater weight and prominence; those who approved of it are designated as mere selfseekers.[60] In William's personal view, Guy was totally unequal to the task he had

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[59] Cf. B/K, II. p. 460 n. 27 on the "unrestrained emotion" in this passage and its probable cause.

[60] The appointment of Guy was engineered by Baldwin's mother, Queen Agnes, and by the new Patriarch of Jerusalem; for William's view of the former, cf. 21.9 and of the latter, 23.1.

assumed; at the close of the chapter he cited Holy Writ to illustrate this inadequacy.[61]

The "principes" were determined to rid themselves of Guy as soon as possible. Their opportunity arose in 1183 when dissension among the leaders of the army prevented an engagement with Saladin in the plain of Jezreel. According to William, this was a fine opportunity lost, but his judgment may well be disputed.[62] It indicates, however, that the barons blamed Guy for causing a dispute which resulted in the loss of an important military victory. In the course of his account, William provides a succinct statement of the baronial opinion on Guy's appointment by the King: *hi ... indigne ferentes quod homini incognito, indiscreto et penitus inutili tantorum negotiorum summam in tantis periculis et tantae necessitatis articulo commisisset.* (22.27: PL 201.884) It is clear from the context that the principal opponents of Guy numbered among them Raymond Count of Tripoli, Baldwin of Ramlah, his brother Balian of Nablus and Reynaud of Sidon — names familiar to us from William's treatment of the opposition to Miles de Plancy in book 21. This caucus of *principes* no doubt saw in Guy a second and more dangerous Miles. Not long afterwards they were able to exploit a disagreement between the king and his brother-in-law as a result of which Guy's tenure of the regency was ended. (22.29: PL 201.886-7) The barons were triumphant. William makes no secret of his support for their policy. Guy was removed from the royal succession and Baldwin IV was persuaded *de communi principum consilio* to crown his five-year-old nephew as joint King *cum jure successionis.* Most prominent among the *principes* who brought this about were Bohemond of Antioch, Raymond of Tripoli, Baldwin of Ramlah, Balian of Nablus and Reynaud of Sidon. Guy was not asked to swear allegiance to the child Baldwin V.

The coronation of the co-monarch, however, was only part of the barons' plan. William records the *varia ... et multiplex virorum prudentium opinio* which followed the event (PL 201.887); needless to say, none of the *prudentes* are represented as siding with the displaced Guy. Their general view was that, to safeguard the realm, a strong and capable Regent was required. Their choice fell on Raymond of Tripoli. The "almost complete unanimity" with which this decision was reached, in William's account, has been noted as an instance of wish-fulfilment.[63] Raymond's opponents were not consulted — the decision was made by the baronial clique. But to William the important fact was that the pernicious influence of Guy de Lusignan had been suppressed and that the

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[61] *Luke* 14.28-30.

[62] Cf. Runciman, *op. cit.*, pp. 438-9.

[63] B/K, II. p. 502 n. 55.

principes were restored to supremacy in the state.[64] His entire narrative is constructed to descredit and defame Guy and to justify the conspiratorial activities of the faction with which he was personally in sympathy.

Enough has been said to show that William's prejudices were strong and deep-rooted. They coloured and gave substance to all he wrote in books 21-23. Some of his opinions, perhaps all of them, were to some extent founded on reason. But William refused to concede any virtue to the opponents of his own party. He is revealed by his narrative as a master of propaganda and of subtle suggestion, masking his partiality under a veil of specious objectivity. To recognise this fact is a useful illustration of the chasm that exists between the conventional assurances given in his prologue and his actual historical technique. To consider the methods by which he succeeded in providing his own interpretation of events with a convincing facade is, as in the case of Tacitus, a path to a deeper awareness of his artistic aims and literary abilities.[65]

THE THEME OF DEGENERACY

Earlier in this paper, mention was made of the preface attached to what little was written of book 23 of the *Historia*. (PL 201.889-90) In this, by contrast to the general tone of the prologue to the whole work, William represents himself as unwilling to continue his work because of the unhappy days into which the Kingdom of Jerusalem had fallen. The historian's remarks in this preface should be considered in conjunction with those in 21.7 (PL. 201. 820-1), in which he analysed the reasons for the resurgence of Muslim power after the death of King Amalric. Both reflect the frustrations and disappointment which William felt as he surveyed the faction-fighting of this period. In book 21, he maintained that the Christian state had become degenerate, its Christian people sinful, corrupt and soft. In such a view, rhetoric and convention play a large part. William of course shared the almost universal opinion that the victory of the First Crusade and the establishment of the Latin Kingdom were the direct result of God's intervention, of a divine plan to liberate the Holy Places from infidel rule.[66] When the future of the realm looked bleaker and the Muslim world gained strength and unity, the only explanation possible to Christian determinism was that God was punishing his children for their sins. It is this notion that William eloquently expresses in the two passages cited.

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[64] Guy was never forgiven by the Ibelin faction: cf., e.g., Ernoul, pp. 129-36.

[65] For a similar approach to Tacitus, see my paper "Observations on Tacitus' Portrayal of Claudius," *American Journal of Philology* 92 (1971), 385-409.

[66] Cf. his remarks in the prologue PL 201.212 and, especially, in 8.22 and 24.

For such a theme there were numerous precedents both pagan and Christian. In book 20, William remarks that, if he were to give a graphic account of the vices of his contemporaries, he would be penning satire, not history. He is, no doubt, thinking of Juvenal, who in high rhetorical vein castigated the supposed corruptions of Rome: William would have taken his satires as a truthful depiction of Juvenal's age rather than as an elaboration of various topoi popular in the declamation schools and mostly embraced in the *"locus de saeculo"*.[67] Indeed, a vein of pessimism and acceptance of a theory of continuous degeneration in human affairs were constant topics in Roman literature, and not least in the historians. In the preface to book 23 William cites the gloomy preface of Livy (itself influenced by the despondent Sallust) as a precedent for narrating both the glories and the disasters of a notion.[68] Such ideas had been developed by the late Christian writers and were given a new form by them in the light of their religion: their arguments have been excellently examined by Santo Mazzarino.[69] To the Christians, as they contemplated the decline of the Roman Empire, it was obvious that God had raised 'external enemies' as a punishment for the 'internal enemies', i.e. the vices and sins, of the Romans. "The idea of decadence", as Mazzarino writers, "now strengthened by a profound sense of guilt, was transformed into the idea of the judgments of God".[70] Such historical views passed into the middle ages and became more or less a stock topic for chroniclers and moralists. William, therefore, presented a recognisable and familiar analysis of the reasons causing the decline of the Kingdom of Jerusalem.

But to him such apocalyptic ideas must have had added significance. The Crusading Kingdom was unique in its divine origin. The Church was the new Israel, the Christians were Jews of a new dispensation, a holy people guided by God. God had miraculously restored his chosen nation to the Promised Land[71] at the time of the First Crusade. But the Jews of old had sinned and the Lord had sent upon them a dire punishment through the army of the Assyrians. William must have seen a parallel in his own day. The new Israel had also sinned, for God has sent a second Shalmaneser against it in the person of Saladin.[72] Pessimists might well have seen in the leprous King a symbol of the leprous society over which he ruled and which the "filii Belial" were

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[67] Cf. J. de Decker, *Juvenalis declamans: étude sur la rhétorique dans les satires de Juvénal* (Gand, 1913), pp. 22 ff.; J. Brisset, *Les idées politiques de Lucain* (Paris, 1964), pp. 41 ff.

[68] On this topos, cf. Simon, *loc. cit.*, 4. pp. 80-1.

[69] S. Mazzarino, *The End of the Ancient World*, trans. G. Holmes, (London, 1966), pp. 32 ff., 44 ff., 58 ff.

[70] Mazzarino, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

[71] *Terra Promissionis*: prologue, PL 201-211 etc.

[72] Cf. in particular the 'apocalyptic attitude' towards Saladin in 21.6.

hastening to destruction. William could view himself as a prophet of Israel, exposing sin and preaching repentance. It is noticeable that in 21.7 he quoted from the book of Job, warning the evil men of his day that their sins will provoke God to anger and remove from them the Divine favour.[73] In the preface to book 23, he similarly cites texts from Jeremiah, Hosea and Isaiah to add salt to his judgment on contemporary affairs.[74] This apocalyptic vision did much to shape his account of events in books 21-23. Men such as Miles de Plancy and Guy de Lusignan were not merely foolish or ambitious; they were the sinners who would stir God to wrath and cause the extirpation of the reborn Israel. In accordance with William's determinism, the appearance of Saladin *presupposed* the guilt and sin of the Christians; God's vengeance falls only on those who merit it. In books 21-23 he demonstrated how and why the anger of the Deity now menaced the people that he had guided to the Land of Promise.

In the preface to book 23, however, William appears to see some faint glimmer of hope, since *non prosperitas continua, nec casus oppositus sine lucidis intervallis.* (PL 201.890) The possibility of a brighter period is not ruled out and, in this slight vein of optimism, we see a reflection of Raymond of Tripoli's triumph over the sons of Belial. The last words, aptly enough, of the *Historia* are these: *unica enim et singularis omnibus salutis via, si praedicto comiti regiorum cura committeretur negotiorum.* (PL 201.892) Raymond of Tripoli was, in the eyes of the Archbishop, the one hope of safety for the Kingdom. William remained faithful to his allies until the end. But the disaster of Hattin and the fall of Jerusalem were not far ahead. In them, William would have been able to recognise God's final judgment on Guy de Lusignan.[75]

CONCLUSION

Much work remains to be undertaken on William of Tyre's *Historia*. It is especially needed in relation to his literary skill and to his historical motives. In the process some *idées reçues* will need revision. The labour will, however, be worthwhile, for it will establish even more firmly his position in the tradition of European historiography, adding a further chapter to the history of history as a mode of art.

Queen Mary College, London.

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[73] *Job* 21.14.

[74] *Jeremiah* 18.18; *Hosea* 4.9; *Isaiah* 1.5-6.

[75] In Guy's favour, it must be remembered that his energy was responsible for the re-capture of Acre; as Sir Steven Runciman has phrased it "it was Guy's gallant folly that turned the tide and began an era of reconquest", *History of the Crusades*, 3 (Cambridge, 1954), p. 22.

LATIN AND ENGLISH IN THE SCALE OF PERFECTION

S. S. Hussey

IT has long been known that Walter Hilton's *Scale of Perfection* was translated into Latin from English, probably as early as 1400, or before, by the Carmelite Thomas Fishlake.[1] The Latin text must therefore be taken into account in the preparation of any edition of the English text. Should it prove impossible to discover which English manuscript Fishlake used, the authority of his Latin version will still be considerable, as he must have had access to an early text of *The Scale*. What has not been demonstrated hitherto is the detailed relationship between Latin and English.The present article is confined to Book II, but it appears probable that the two books were not written especially close together and that their textual histories will prove to have been largely independent. Some limitation of the vast number of variants would be desirable in any case.

The Latin text of *The Scale* is extant in the following manuscripts:

B2   Bodley 584 (Book II only)
B4   Bodley, Lat. th. e. 26
Bn   Bibliothèque Nationale, latin 3610
H2   British Museum, Harley 330 (Book I English, Book II Latin)
H8   British Museum, Harley 6576
He   Heneage 3083, at present at Somerset Record Office,
            Taunton
Jo   St John's College, Oxford, 77 (Book II, chapters 22, 23, 28)
Ma   Bibliothèque Municipale de Marseille, 729
Mo   Magdalen College, Oxford 141 (Book I only)
R2   Bodley, Rawlinson C 397
Up   Uppsala University Library C 159

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[1] H. Gardner, "The Text of *The Scale of Perfection*", *M. A.*, 5 (1936), 11-30; J. Russell-Smith, "Walter Hilton and a Tract in Defence of the Veneration of Images", *Dominican Studies*, 7 (1954), 180-214. Both books of the English text are being edited for the Early English Text Society, Book I by T. P. Dunning and A. J. Bliss, Book II by the present writer. For the English text of Book II see S. S. Hussey, "The text of *The Scale of Perfection*, Book II", *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 65 (1964), 75-92.

Up2   Uppsla University Library C 618 (Book I; Book II,
                    chapters 34-41)
Ut   University Library, Utrecht[2]
Y   York Cathedral Chapter Library XVI K 5

Ma, Bn and Ut have the title *Liber de Nobilitate Anime*. Ma was finished
on 8 October 1498 *in carthusia Vallisbenedictionis secus avinionem*
(Villeneuve-les-Avignon), although later given to the Marseilles Char-
terhouse, and Bn was copied at the same place in 1529. Up was written
by Clement Maydstone (f. 2v), deacon of Syon, d. 1456, and presented by
him to Vadstena, the Brigittine mother house which also owned Up2, a
miscellany by several hands (none English), that of Book II being dated
second quarter of the fifteenth century.[3] B4 belonged to the Char-
terhouse of Sheen (f. 145v) and was copied by John Feriby, a monk of
that house who died in 1444. William Wargrave, monk of Reading Ab-
bey, gave H2 to the Abbey in 1495 when its value was apparently 6s 8d
(f. 131r.).[4] Mo, *confectus ad quandam Anachoritam*, is annotated by John
Dygon, a recluse at Sheen in 1435,[5] who also wrote part of Jo, f. 2r. of
which associates his name with *Johanne Anachorite sancti Botulphi* and
which states that they gave the book to Exeter College, Oxford. Y was
commissioned for John Pole (f. 36r.) who was, like the translator
Fishlake, a Carmelite; Pole, Fishlake and Hilton were perhaps con-
temporaries at Cambridge.[6] He was in the possession of the Heneage
family in the sixteenth century; George Heneage, whose name appears
at the head of f. 151b., was Dean of Lincoln and died in 1549. B2, H8
and R2 contain no obvious clue to their making or provenance, with
the possible exception of the signature *R* on f. 73 of B2 which is now

[2] Lot 21, Sotheby's Catalogue, 16 December, 1970 (the second text is by Ruysbroek). Preliminary
investigations, based on notes kindly sent by Miss J. Russell-Smith, suggest that *The Scale* is related to
Ma Bn, with the same title and colophon (except for the omission of *vsque hodie*). There is no Sum-
mary to Book II which is divided into three, not four parts, with part I probably somewhat ab-
breviated and part 3 containing the usual parts 3 and 4. Two headings near the beginning of part 3
are found in Ma Bn only.

[3] By Dr A. I. Doyle, to whom I am grateful for notification of this Ms, and also for other in-
formation in the early part of this article. One of the treatises in Up2 can be dated post 1417, and
the main hand participates in all sections.

[4] The inscription *ex dono* might mean that he acquired the Ms earlier, but his other known
acquisitions and gifts were in the 1490's. See N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain* (2nd ed.,
London, 1964), p. 296.

[5] For Dygon, see A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to 1500*, I (Oxford,
1957), p. 615. I owe the identification of his hand in Mo to Mr N. R. Ker.

[6] Their dates are Fishlake c. 1375 and 1377, Pole 1377, Hilton c. 1383-4. See A. B. Emden, *A
Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge to 1500,* (Cambridge, 1963). As Fishlake was professed
for over fifty years, he may have survived until well on into the fifteenth century. But the York Ms
may be before 1400 and hence first generation; for its excellent Latin text see below.

bound with an unconnected manuscript.[7] The other contents of the
manuscript similarly give little help in deciding relationship, since the
Scale seems to be the only text common to them all.

   All the Latin manuscripts are ascribed to Hilton with the exception
of Jo whose extracts are ascribed to Rolle. Of greater assistance,
perhaps, are the colophons of the Latin and some of the English
manuscripts. B2, H2, H8, He, Up and Y state that Hilton's death oc-
cured on 24 March, 1395-6, the vigil of the feast of the Annunciation,
and Cambridge University Library Ee iv 30 (E), in English, gives the date
as 23 March ('decimo Kalendas aprilis circa solis occasum').[8] B4 in
Latin, together with Trinity College, Cambridge B 15. 18 (T) and the
Rosenbach copy of the de Worde printed text (W), both in English and
both annotated by the Carthusian James Grenehalgh, have 'Assumption'
for 'Annunciation' which is certainly an error. The text of Up adds that
the death took place near Thurgarton and H8 and W mention this fact
in marginal notes. Ma and Bn in identical colophons speak of Hilton as
parisius in sacra pagina and mention miracles (*vsque hodie*) at his tomb; the
one fact seems to be no more authenticated than the other. There is
also the 'Summary' which follows Book II in B2, B4, Bn, H2, H8, He,
Ma, Up and Y. This summary does not occur in any of extant English
manuscripts, nor, since it refers to Book II alone, in Mo.
The following is the text of Y:

> Ecce declaraui tibi secundum scienciam meam simplicem per processum
> huius libelli qualiter anima humana ad dei similitudinem reformatur. In
> prima parte tetigi qualiter quedam anime sunt solum in fide reformate et
> non in sensacione. Et hoc pertinet ad statum incipiencium. In secunda
> parte declaraui modicum de progressu illorum qui crescere volunt in
> gracia seu proficere et peruenire ad reformacionem animarum suarum in
> sensacione; quales labores et qualia excercicia, quas solicitudines et qualia
> remedia, necesse est eos habere contra viles sensaciones peccati in seipsis,
> contra asperas temptaciones diaboli. Et hoc ad statum pertinet [proficien-
> cium].[9] In tercia parte modicum tetigi quod quando per graciam (f. 95v.)
> spiritus sancti consciencia mundata est a sensacione peccatorum, et in-
> terior oculus anime apertus est, anima reformata est in sensacionem uir-
> tutum, sicut quando anima veraciter sentit humilitatem in corde, per-
> fectam dileccionem et caritatem ad omnis proximos, pacem et pacienciam,
> castitatem et mundiciam, cum solacio et leticia de illis, et gloria in con-
> sciencia. Et hoc pertinet ad statum hominum perfectorum qui per graciam
> dei et magnam continuacionem laboris, et per contencionem nocte et die
> contra peccata vicerunt amaras sensaciones peccatorum, et receperunt per

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[7] *Summary Catalogue,* no. 2356 (vol. II, pt. 1, 326-7).

[8] Only E gives the actual date; see Russell-Smith, p. 199, n. 75.

[9] Perfectorum (Y B2 H2. Other major variants are: magnam continuacionem).c. magni H8 Up
He, contumacionem magni B4; bonorum) beatorum B2 B4 H8 Up He Ma Bn.

graciam dileccionis ihesu cristi dulces sensationes virtutum, et sic in sensacione veraciter reformantur. In quarta parte tetigi de quibusdam animabus que non solum reformantur ad ymaginem dei in sensacione virtutum, set alcius eciam eleuantur, et ita perfecte reformantur dei dileccione que replentur quod senciunt in cordibus suis, et percipiunt secretas inspiraciones ihesu cristi, et spirituales illuminaciones, celestes confortaciones et graciosas cogniciones, mirabiles consideraciones spirituum bonorum, et occultas percepciones celestium gaudiorum. Ad hec gaudia perducat nos saluator noster, dominus noster ihesus cristus. amen.

Y, B2, Bn, H2, Ma and Up continue:

> Prima pars durat usque ad decimum septimum capitulum. Et ibi incipit pars secunda. Tercia pars incipit in principio tricesimi secundi capituli. Et quarta pars incipit in principio capituli quadragesimi primi. Vnde prima pars habet xvi capitula. Secunda pars xv capitula. Tercia pars nouem. Et quarta pars vii. Et sic in toto sunt quadraginta septem capitula.

These later lines look like the work of a literal-minded scribe. Some of the Latin manuscripts note the division into four parts in the margin at the appropriate places in the text; He (consistently) and B4, H8 and Up (occasionally) add rubrics at these points. The total number of chapters in the Latin — 47 against 46 in the English text — is achieved by the division into two of the long chapter 24. (Two English manuscripts, Magdalene College, Cambridge, F 4 17, and Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 268, also divide in this way.) Miss Russell-Smith, citing the first-person forms *declaraui* and *tetigi*, believes the Summary may have been written by Hilton himself.[10] The parallel phrases forming part of a list (*quales labores . . . pacem et pacienciam . . .*) are characteristic of Hilton's style. But neither point is conclusive.

B2, H2, H8, Up, He and Y, therefore, all contain both the 'Summary' and the colophon about Hilton's death. B4 also has both, but with an error in the colophon.

LATIN MSS: TEXTUAL EVIDENCE

There is ample evidence for the relationship of B4, H8, Up, He which, as has been stated, are those manuscripts which divide the text most firmly into four parts. This evidence consists of all the usual kind of variant:

a)   transpositions — examples on almost every page
b)   omission by homoeotopy[11]

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[10] Russell-Smith, p. 207.

[11] Defined by *OED* as "Similarity of words or parts of words as a cause of mistakes in copying." For a text like *The Scale,* where similar phrases recur within a line or two, this is more satisfactory than the usual *homoeoteleuton* which properly refers only to similarity of endings.

c)   omission of words thought to be unnecessary to the sense
        (all English manuscripts retain these phrases).
d)   misplacement of an omitted phrase
e)   the 'substitution of similars'[12]
f)   glosses
g)   a few instances of deliberate change, presumably
        to improve the style.

A feature of the group is the apparent preference for the single word
(usually a verb) over the two-word phrase, e.g.

vellent eam recipere et propriam dimittere *becomes* reciperent et
propriam dimitterent
disponere debes *becomes* dispones
magis specialiter *becomes* specialius
locutus fui *becomes* loquebar

These various manifestations of either the failure to perceive a careless
omission or a deliberate editing of the exemplar argue, for this group, a
not specially good tradition of transmission from the original Latin,
although in at least two cases the group is closer than the other Latin
manuscripts to the English version.

There are some 14 instances where the group divides clearly into B4,
He and H8, Up. In several other cases one of these two sub-groups
stands out against all other manuscripts. The relationship between H8
and Up is especially close in the second half of the text (some 125 clear
examples). There are also some 17 instances of the grouping Up He, but
only two are at all significant.

He is clearly the furthest removed of the four from their common
exemplar. In addition to the features which distinguish the whole
group, He has 16 unique instances of omission by homoeotopy, 13 of
omission of a phrase probably thought to be unnecessary to the sense,
11 of substitution of similars and 5 of glossing. It differs from the rest of
the group on some 329 further occasions of which only 19 are cases
where it joins with Σ[13] against B4 H8 Up. Two readings might seem to
clinch He's comparative unreliability: in one He omits a phrase which
H8 and Up include in the text and B4 inserts at the foot of the page in a
different hand; in the other the apparent explanation of the omission of
a phrase by He is that homoeotopy took place after the transposition of
part of the phrase in B4 H8 Up.

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[12] That the independent substitution of similar words, not only synonyms, was common practice
among scribes, see (with reference to *Piers Plowman*) SP, 44 (1947), 593-604.

[13] I use this symbol to represent the reading of all Mss at any one point with the exception of
any singled out for comment. It will usually, of course, represent the reading of the edited text.

Of the sub-group H8 Up, H8 seems to be closer to its exemplar, first of all by reason of its better fidelity to the text: omission by homoeotopy 2 H8, 4 Up; omission of 'unnecessary' phrase 3 H8, 6 Up; substitution of similars 3 H8, 14 Up; glossing 4 H8, 11 Up. H8 has some 164 unique readings within the group, of which 44 are closer to ∑ than are the other three manuscripts. Up shows 171 unique readings, including only 17 where it joins with ∑ against B4 H8 He. Twice both H8 and Up add extensive glosses, but two other examples seem to show Up editing H8. Once Up conflates the reading of ∑ with that of B4 H8 He, while in two instances where B4 H8 He all omit by homoeotopy, Up includes within the text a (unique) paraphrase of the omitted phrase. These last three instances suggest that Up also consulted a manuscript other than H8.

B4's record is at first sight less good than H8's. Although it shows no conspicuous glosses, there are 8 instances of omission by homoeotopy, 4 of omission of an 'unnecessary' phrase, and 7 of the substitution of similars. It differs from the rest of the group on 138 occasions of which 26 are cases where its reading is that of ∑. On the other hand, there are 4 instances where H8, by reason of omission of roughly a line of text, cannot be the source of the group either.

It would therefore appear that neither He nor Up was the source of the group B4 H8 Up He, and that although neither B4 (by reason of homoeotopy) nor H8 (by reason of a few serious omissions and extensive glosses) can have been the exemplar, B4 is rather closer to that exemplar than is H8.

Ma Bn (Up2 and Jo)

As their dating and common colophons would imply, Bn is a later version of Ma. The number of differences between them (549) is surprisingly large, although it must be admitted that most of these are slight. However, all these variants do not destroy the overwhelming impression of likeness between the two manuscripts, nor the dependence of Bn on Ma. Bn has 6 more omissions by homoeotopy than the 19 it shares with Ma, and omits 4 further phrases which its scribe may have thought were unnecessary to the sense. In 13 instances where Ma corrects either marginally or interlinearly, the correction is adopted into the text of Bn (but there are six cases where Bn does not adopt such corrections). There are only some 8 occasions where Ma cannot have been the sole source of Bn; these are all omissions in Ma but not in Bn and include two examples of homoeotopy. The textual tradition of Ma Bn as here reconstructed suggests that they were some way removed from the Latin exemplar. 218 readings common to Ma Bn and one or more of the group B4 H8 Up He suggest that one of these manuscripts

(or a relation) might have been an intermediate source. The figures are not really significant; all that can be said is that Up is perhaps most likely and H8 least likely to have been the link.

It is also possible that that source could have been Up2. The text of Up2 is now incomplete (chapter 34 to a point in chapter 41 only). Although the scribe ended his first chapter heading (34 English, 35 Latin) with 'et incipit hic Primum capitulum istius secundi partis', someone else, better acquainted with the Latin text, perhaps from comparing Up, added 'hic dificiunt 34 capitula' in the margin opposite. There are 184 unique readings in the eight chapters of Up2: some transpositions, some relatively unimportant omissions, and some simply due to a rather careless scribe. But 65 instances where Up2 joins with some or all of the group B4 H8 Up He, and 140 more where Up2 Ma and Bn are in agreement, not to mention the 35 readings where at least two of B4 H8 Up He are found in association with one or both (usually both) of Ma Bn and Up2, are perhaps, over so small a section of the whole text, significant. There are also eight even more suggestive readings including:[14]

(35)	Σ	(*including* B4 H8 Up He) non loquebar de ista uisione seu cognicione
	Up2	non loquebar de ista visione dei seu cognicione
	Ma Bn	non loquebar de ista cognitione dei seu visione
(36)	Σ	et hec est propria operacio dileccionis
	Up2	et hec est propria oratio (*margin*) dileccio
	Ma Bn	et hec est propria oratio dilectio
(41)	Σ	sentit in principio conuersionis sue
	Up2	in principio conuersionis sue habuit (*last word in margin*)
	Ma Bn	in principio conuersionis sue habuit

An alternative explanation — that Up2 copied Ma or Bn — would be ruled out by the later date of the latter.

Brief mention may be made of Jo. The two extracts from *The Scale* are short, but show 15 readings shared with both Ma and Bn and 2 more with Bn only. This compares with Jo's 32 unique readings and 7 scattered among the other Latin manuscripts.

Y H2 B2 R2

The relationship between Y H2 B2 and R2 is less easy to determine. The group as a whole is hardly ever found, but some 23 examples of Y B2 R2; 5 of Y H2 B2; 22 of Y H2; 3 of Y B2; 27 of H2 B2; 15 of H2 R2;

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[14] Quotation is from my own edited texts of the English and Latin versions, based on Harley 6579 and York Cathedral Chapter Library XVI K5 respectively. Reference is by chapter (with the Latin numbering in brackets where it differs from the English) and also by page to the modernized English text of E. Underhill, *The Scale of Perfection* (London, 1923).

and, most strikingly, 92 of B2 R2 (including some extensive ones) imply some measure of agreement. The true figures are almost certainly well in excess of these, since they do not include cases where the manuscripts in question are members of a larger group. (For instance, there are 88 examples of B2 Ma Bn, including 66 of B2 R2 Ma Bn.) On the other hand, the number of unique readings (very few in Y, but 286 in H2, 489 in B2 and 435 in R2) suggests that the agreement was not very close, even though most of these unique readings are minor transpositions and omissions.

Unquestionably Y is the most reliable manuscript of the four. In some 29 places Y has corrected an original reading marginally or interlinearly, mostly in the same hand as the text. Its remaining errors are usually of a minor and frequently transparent nature. It should form the basis of any edition of the Latin text of Book II. H2 is probably the next most reliable. It shows fewest examples of unique homoeotopy or deliberate editorial interference such as the omission of phrases which a scribe may have considered to be glosses in the original. Another, less scientific, yardstick is agreement between one of these manuscripts and some or all of the group B4 H8 Up He Ma Bn Up2 which has been shown to be some way removed from the original. Here H2 has fewer such agreements than either B2 or R2. R2 is suspect on one other count: midway through the penultimate chapter, and for no obvious reason, it suddenly produces a unique and greatly expanded version of the text and it continues this practice until the end of the book.

Occasionally amongst this welter of groupings the editor seizes upon one which he hopes will show him more of the direction of transmission. What is one to make of 24 agreements between H2 and H8, of roughly the same number between R2 and He, or of 49 between R2 and Ma Bn? Perhaps it may be permitted to cite two instances of agreements which are suggestive in this way:

(a) 14 Y   Aliqui deleccionem suam habent in diuiciis et superhabundancia terrenorum et corda sua sic apponunt circa diuicias congregandis. que nichil aliud querunt nisi qualiter ad illas valeant peruenire. Aliqui delectacionem suam habent ...

If collation is made on a base of Y, the editor records that Hé omits *in ... habent* while R2 omits *deleccionem ... Aliqui,* two apparently separate examples of homoeotopy. But if it is further noted that B2 alone reads *delectacionem* for Y's *deleccionem*, it appears likely, especially in view of the many other correspondences between B2 and R2, that R2, using a manuscript closely related to B2 at this point, in fact omitted by homoeotopy the same phrase as H2.

(b) 39   Of werdly speche it is no doute þat he haþ no sauour in spekynge
ne in herynge of it. ne in werdly tales ne in tiþinges, ne in none
swilke veyn iangelynge þat longiþ not to him. And so it is of
smellynge & sauorynge & touchynge ...

40 Y H2 Ma Bn Up2   In locucione de (in Ma Bn Up2) rebus mundanis
narracionibus. vel rumoribus. nec in talibus vanis garulacionibus.
que ad se non pertinent. et sic est de odoratu gustu et tactu.

B2 R2   In locucione de rebus mundanis non est dubium quin non
habet saporem nec in mundanis narracionibus. vel rumoribus. nec
in talibus vanis garulacionibus. que ad se non pertinent et sic est de
odoratu gustu et tactu.

B4 H8 Up He   In locucionibus de rebus vanis et (om. B4 He) mun-
danis narracionibus. vel rumoribus. nec in talibus vanis
garulacionibus. que ad se non pertinent. nulli dubium quin in
talibus non habet saporem nec (om. B4) in locucione nec in auditu.
et sic est de odoratu gustu et tactu.

At first sight this suggests that the original Latin text read very much as
B2 R2, that Y H2 Ma Bn Up2 omitted *non est dubium quin non habet
saporem nec in mundanis* by homoeotopy, and that this phrase, slightly
changed and expanded, was inserted in the wrong place by the single
exemplar of B4 H8 Up He. The order of B2 R2 is certainly closest to
that of the English text, yet the English *in spekynge ne in herynge* is *in
locucione nec in auditu,* found only in B4 H8 Up He, that is in one earlier
manuscript which is the source of this sub-group, and it occurs earlier
in the English sentence than in the Latin version.

But, if he is honest with himself, the editor knows that he needs many
more swallows before he can rejoice in a textual summer. If space does
not permit the citation of variants from all Latin manuscripts, he might
perhaps economize and edit on a base of Y, which is early and whose
scribe seems to have been concerned about the purity of his text, with
readings from H2 B2 B4 and Ma appearing in the footnotes.

LATIN AND ENGLISH: Ms TRADITION

In comparing the edited Latin text of Book II (based on Y) with the
edited English text (based on Harley 6579, H), it becomes clear that the
Latin translator was both a careful worker and used as his source a
good English manuscript. There are very few examples of the Latin
misreading the English:

23, p. 317   eten & drynken & slepen
comedere et bibere et cum aliis loqui

where *slepen* has probably been read as *speken.*

25,   p. 329   a litil touching of contemplacioun
(26)   degustacio modica contemplacionis

where *touchyng* has become 'tasting'

26,   p. 333   water of errours & heresies, for þe wurdes þat þei schewen
(27)   pluuiose aquas errorum et heresum ... verba enim que semi-
                   nant

No extant English manuscript reads *sewen* which perhaps gave rise to *seminant*, although several have some form of 'rain' extending the metaphor of 'water of errors'.

27,   p. 340   mirknes of knowynge
(28)   cognicionem humilem

where *mirknes* became 'meekness'

28,   p. 348   drede & doutes & perplexitees
(29)   actus dubitaciones et perplexitates

but compare *timores* in B4 H8 Up He, where *drede* and *dede* were not confused.

39,   p. 412   grete mede for þe payne of fastynge
(40)   cibos grossos et rudes propter penam ieiunii seu abstinencie

where the later mention of *fastynge* perhaps resulted in *mede* becoming *mete*.

40,   p. 417   It is in rest fro þe noye of werdly bisynes
(41)   In quiete est tunc per separacionem a gaudio solicitudinis
                   mundialis

where *noye* has been misunderstood as *ioye* (cf. 41, p. 432: fro þe vile noye of wordly bisynes / a vili gaudio solicitudinis mundialis).

40,   p. 423   tastynge of manna
(41)   degustacio anime

This represents a minim error, impossible in English, in most Latin MSS, but not in B4 Up Up2 R2 which read *manna* and He *manne*.

It will have been noticed that most of these 'misreadings' of the English made good sense in the Latin. It is conceivable, therefore, that their true explanation is that the translator was not careless but was consciously 'improving' his original, a well-known practice of medieval scribes and especially of translators. If this is so, the effect would be to make the Latin text a less reliable guide to the English.

There can be no doubt that the translator used an English text containing the alterations and expansions which I have elsewhere called the

y tradition.[15] The many minor transpositions which are a feature of the y manuscripts are not evidence because of the naturally different Latin word order. Nor are variations of the type *diuers / sere* and *ianglyng / carpyng* which would probably result in the same Latin translation. But fortunately there are numerous clear examples of the Latin supporting a y reading:

20, p. 297   x fallyng ageyn
              y fallyng ageyn to deedli synne
                 recidiuandi in peccatam mortale
26, p. 335   x errours ne heresies ne fantasies
              y errours ne heresies ne ypocrisies ne fantasies
                 hereses vel errores ypocrysim vel fantasiam
37, p. 401   x with likynge & gladnes; þe which gladnes it haþ, not for it for-
                 sakiþ þe worschip of þe werld
              y with likynge & goostli gladnes; þe which gladnes it haþ, not
                 for it forsakiþ al þe worschip of þis werld
(38)   cum delectacione et gaudio spirituali. quod gaudium habet
                 non quia reliquit omnem honorem huius mundi
41, p. 429   x fed in felynge of luf in his presence, or is borne vp bi desire to
                 him in his absence.
              y feleabli fed in felynge of luf in his presence or is borne vp bi
                 brennynge desire to him in his absence
(42)   pascitur sensibiliter in sensacione dileccionis in presencia sua.
                 vel que ad ipsum per ardens desiderium in sua absencia ele-
                 uatur.
46, p. 460   x drifen out fanthoms fro þe soule. And þei illuminen
                 þe soule graciously, þei confort þe soule by swete wordes
                 sodenly sowned in a clene hert, & if ony disese falle gostly þei
                 seruen þe soule & ministren to it al þat it nediþ.
              y drifen out fanthoms fro þe soule & ministren to it al þat it
                 nediþ
(47)   expellunt ab anima fantasias et ministrant ei quicquid est
                 necessarium.

On the other hand, there are very few cases of the Latin supporting the English x tradition against y. Where they do occur, these readings are often found in only one x MS, usually T, W, Br or Lw.[16] Where not all y manuscripts have the same version as the Latin, the group P L H6 B3 (E) is most often found in agreement.

As might be expected, certain English manuscripts have been in-fluenced by the Latin text. Four English manuscripts (H, T, W and Lw) contain corrections, but those in H and Lw do not appear to come from the Latin, and their object is most often to correct errors or apparent

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[15] Hussey, p. 85.

[16] Trinity College, Cambridge B. 15. 18, no. 354 (T), Rosenbach copy of Wynkyn de Worde prin-ted text of 1494 (W), Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels, 2544-5 (Br), Luttrell Wynne Ms (Lw).

omissions in the English as originally copied. Medieval manuscripts, like medieval feasts, aimed at as great profusion as possible. Hence the object of correction is not so much rectification as amplification: the fullest text is considered the best. T and W share several corrections and Grenehalgh is known to have worked on both manuscripts. But not all corrections in these two manuscripts are his work, and in any case W, containing twice the number of corrections in T, also gives on the whole a fuller text. The marginal phrases of a summarising nature (added later) and the identification of Biblical quotations — both features of manuscripts other than T and W — may be ignored here. So may such slight corrections, especially common in W, as (original first) *payn/pyne, suche/swilke, ayenst/anente* and *dare/þare*. Some of these are almost certainly meant as dialectal alternatives rather than as corrections, since it is sometimes the later form which is 'corrected' into an earlier or more restricted form. But there are two other kinds of correction in these two manuscripts. The first, common in W but rare in T, consists of Latin glosses written above certain English words, e. g. *flemyd/expulsa, dampneth/detrudunt, glentynges/inmissiones, proferynges/suggestiones, leynynge/occultatio*. The second kind gives in Latin a fuller version of the x text in English, for both T and W are x-type manuscripts. Almost always this corresponds to the y English text, but the addition is often prefaced by the abbreviations *ex. lat.* or *iuxta lat.*, and in two of the three cases where a numbered chapter heading is augmented in this way the correction gives the numbering of the Latin and not of the English text. There are at least three clear cases where W must have been corrected either from the Latin translation or from an English manuscript no longer extant, since the correction does not correspond to the text of any English manuscript yet recorded. Almost all the glosses and most of the corrections in T and W correspond to the reading of the Latin text and therefore support Grenehalgh's note on the inside cover of W that "This boke is diligently corrected oute of Laten," whether or not he also had access to any manuscript in English.

The reverse procedure happens in the Latin manuscript H8 where a hand different from that of the text has occasionally corrected the Latin or added English glosses above Latin words. It is interesting to see that a few of the glosses in H8 parallel those in W: *summa/souereyn, inmissiones/glentynges, suggestiones/pressynges* or *proferynges, calefactus/beiked, non consequantur/haf it not.* Others are *informis/unshaply, corrosa/fretten, indignacio/dedeyn, stolida/blunte* and *rudis/boystous*. The reason for the glossing in H8 may have been not so much difficulty in understanding the Latin, since some of the translations are perhaps not the obvious words to choose, as to compare the English and Latin versions of the text.

Latin and English: Editorial variations

A comparison between the English and Latin of Book II yields some
thirty-two cases (other than the 'Christo-centric' examples below) which
can be regarded as major differences. Twenty-six of these represent
omissions in the Latin, varying in length from half a line to ten lines. Of
these, five are almost certainly the result of homoeotopy on the part of
the translator, e. g.

41, p. 426   for it is reformed in felynge, made able & redy to con-
                templacioun. þese are þe toknes of inspiracioun in openynge
                of þe gostly eiȝe. For whi, when þe eiȝe is opned þe soule is in
                ful felynge of alle þese vertues bifore seid, for þat tyme.
(42)   que reformata est pro illo tempore in sensacione virtutum om-
                nium predictarum.

Nineteen may well have been regarded as unnecessary to the sense
which indeed manages perfectly well without them. One of the longest
omissions occurs where Hilton has been saying, perhaps with the
disciples of Rolle in mind, that the physical favours granted to many
'beginning and profiting' souls do not necessarily presuppose perfect
love and knowledge of God. He continues (ch. 30, p. 358):

> For wite þu wel, fele a soule neuer so mikel feruour, so mikel þat
> him þinkiþ þat þe body may not beren it, or þawȝ he melt al into
> wepynge, as longe as his þenkynge & his beholdynge of God is moste
> or al in ymaginacioun & not in vndirstandynge, he comeþ not ȝit to
> perfit luf ne to contemplacioun.

The Latin translator omits the whole of this sentence. Further examples
are:

12, p. 271   bot as agayn þe shame & þe disconfort þat þu hast of þe
                beholdyng of it, & also agayn vpbraydyng þat þu felist in þi
                hert
                et eciam contra inproperium quod in corde sentis
34, p. 384   Also þe byenge is comune to vs & to alle resonable soules, as
                to Iewes & to Saracens & to fals cristen men.

The Latin omits the final phrase.
The remaining two might be explained either by homoeotopy or as 'un-
necessary' glosses of the kind just mentioned.

There are six cases where the Latin expands the English. None of
these expansions is remarkable. Two such additional phrases, coming
close together almost at the end of the book, may serve as illustration:

46, p. 464   the inspiracioun of Iesu makith soules liȝt as hertes þat stirten
                fro þe erthe.

(47)   inspiracio ihesu cristi facit homines illos qui sunt veraciter
contemplatiui letos quasi ceruos et per beneficium spiritualis
dileccionis et celestis confortaciones facit eos saltare.

In all except four of the above instances, all Latin manuscripts read
substantially the same. But in one example of homoeotopy B2 and R2
contain the omitted phrase and in another H8 and Up. One omitted
'gloss' is found in B4 H8 Up and another in B4 H8 Up He, although in
this latter case these manuscripts (which, since they are closely related,
presumably means the ancestor of the sub-group) have expanded the
phrase from its English version.

Another kind of addition in the Latin text is the sort of 'Christo-
centric' gloss thought by Miss Underhill to be characteristic of the
revision of the English text of Book I.[17] Whatever may be the case with
Book I, the English of Book II of *The Scale* shows few and inconsiderable
additions of this type. Where they do occur there, they are sometimes so
inclusive as to be better explained as instances of the expansion charac-
teristic of the y textual tradition. But in the Latin version of Book II
there are several examples. Frequently they seem to originate in a
development of the mystical teaching behind words like *mirknes* or
soþfastnes to illustrate the benefits to be obtained from devotion to the
humanity of Christ, especially by meditation on the Passion. The first
extensive example comes in chapter 20 of the Latin of Book II. They are
common in the 'Jerusalem' chapters. Perhaps this section of the work,
where it is shown (as the heading to chapter 21 in the text of H has it)
'þat a man þat will come to ierusalem þat is vndirstonde þe cite of pees
þe wich is contemplacioun moste holde hym lowe in meknes & in faith
& suffre disseses boþe bodely & gostly', was as justly admired in its
own day as it has been by critics and anthologists in ours. 'Christo-
centric' glosses continue to occur regularly up to chapter 31 of the
Latin text, but thereafter become much less common, except for a
cluster in chapter 38. Examples are:

25,   p. 328   & vse for to wonen in þis mirknes
(26)   et exerceas te ad manendum in hac obscuritate id est ad
cogitandum stabiliter de ihesu cristo. de eius caritate. pacien-
cia humilitate. et passione.

26,   p. 335   þei schul þurw vertue of þis heuenly sunne bren in perfit luf.
(27)   virtute enim illius celestis solis ihesu cristi qui in cruce pepen-
dit obscurus pro angustia et dolore. ardebunt in perfecta
dileccione.

37,   p. 401   a gostly knowynge of soþfastnes & of wurþines of Iesu

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[17] On the question of Christo-centric additions, see Underhill, xliv-xlv; Gardner, 17-28; E.
Colledge, *The Mediaeval Mystics of England* (London, 1962), pp. 66-67; C. Kirchberger, *The Goad of Love*
(London, 1952), from which quotations are taken.

(38)   spiritualem cognicionem veritatis et dignitatis domini ihesu. id
                       est quia cognoscit mirabilem humilitatem humanitatis cristi et
                       magis mirabilem misericordiam deitatis eius.
40,   p. 418   ful bisy in þe fre gostly wirkynge of lufe
(41)   valde solicita est in libera spirituali operacione dileccionis per
                       assiduam meditacionem de ihesu cristo.

With three exceptions, where they are omitted by some of the Latin
manuscripts (twice by B4 H8 Up He Ma Bn and once by Ma Bn only)
and where the omission may well have occurred by reason of
homoeotopy in the parent of these related manuscripts, these Christo-
centric additions are found in all Latin manuscripts. They were
therefore almost certainly in the archetype of the Latin version. The
majority of them, however, are not woven into the text with any great
care. An *et, per, qui* and sometimes simply *id est* is characteristic. Con-
siderations of subject-matter were evidently much more important than
those of style. An interesting comparison would be with the Christo-
centric glosses in Hilton's translation into English of the *Stimulus Amoris*
by the thirteenth-century Franciscan, James of Milan. Here there is the
same technique of translation and simultaneous Christo-centric ex-
pansion. Not all additions and alterations to the Latin *Stimulus* are
Christo-centric, and, as might be expected, they are more common in
the first nine chapters of the fuller version which contain devotions on
the Passion. But they are characteristic of the whole of the English tran-
slation, and most of them do seem to flow somewhat more naturally
from the original than they do in the Latin version of *The Scale*. Com-
pare with the examples given above two from the *Stimulus Amoris* (the
additions are in continental quotation marks):

> We shall consider «his despiteous taking, and his sore binding», his
> sharp scourging, scorning, spiting, buffetting, and as mickle vile reproof
> «as might be done to any creature of his most foes. His nailing and all his
> pains suffering! and think then who it was that so suffered all this, how it
> was almighty God Jesus that suffered this in his manhood. Imagine we
> than as mickle pain as all men might suffer, il they had been all one man,
> and one man had the might of all men, thus much pain and yet much
> more suffered Jesus in his person, all alone.» (ch. 4, p. 67)

> Whoso weeneth to come to contemplation of Christ and cometh not by
> this door, «nor by this way nor by the bitterness (and compassion) of
> Christ in his manhood», he is but a thief and a micher, «for when he
> weeneth to be within, he is full far without. How may a man come to
> Christ and see him and have him, without Christ? Nay, it may not be, for
> he saith himself, 'I am the way, and soothfastness and life', and therefore
> go after him in way of his manhood that thou may come to life of his
> godhead.» (ch. 23, p. 143)

Minor variations between English and Latin occur on virtually every page of *The Scale* and provide testimony to how carefully the translator worked. Most often the direction of change is towards a more explicit translation in the Latin. 'Do', 'be', 'have' and 'feel' are frequently replaced by more specific verbs. English pronouns are apt to become nouns or noun clauses in Latin, e.g.

14, p. 276	in outragious auere of erþly gode & setten her hertes so fully for to geten it.
	superhabundancia terrenorum et corda sua sic apponunt circa diuicias congregandis.
32, p. 373	he wold neuer trowe þe lesse
(33)	*ille tamen homo qui talem habet visionem* non minus hoc credere vellet.
34, p. 384	& bouȝte hem if þei wilen haue þe profit of it; & also it sufficed for þe byenge of alle, þawȝ it so be þat alle han it not.
(35)	et eas redemit. si habere velint vtilitatem *redempcionis sue*. et similiter *passio sua* sufficiens fuit pro redempcione omnium. licet non omnes *eius vtilitatem* consequantur.
40, p. 422	for it is called hid manna
(41)	quia *visio eius seu dileccio* vocatur manna absconditum.

As in the last of these examples, the Latin translation contains many doublets.[18] The result is frequently not merely an increase in comprehension, but a change in the pattern of the sentence:

| 7, p. 246 | þis askes he for þis gifes he. |
| | istud *querit et petit*. quia istud ex gracia sua *donat et concedit*. |

Where the balance in the Latin and the extra weighting of *ex gracia sua* is achieved at the expense of the brevity of the English.

16, p. 284	þere it is resceyued as þe sone schynyþ ouer al bodily creatures þer it is not letted.
	vbi *recipitur et admittitur*. sicut sol lucet super omnes corporales creatures. si *impedimentum non habeat vel obstaculum*.
34, p. 382	we are his sones chosen to saluacioun.
(35)	filii eius sumus ad saluacionem *predestinati et electi*.
39, p. 412	for þe payne of fastynge & be put þerbi fro softnes in hert
(40)	propter penam *ieiunii seu abstinencie*. et per illos excludi a *sobrietate cordis et quiete*

where, once again, one Latin doublet seems to produce another for reasons of balance.

This predilection for doublets on the part of the Latin translator carries further a feature already well marked in *The Scale*. At a very con-

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[18] Cf. These examples from *Stimulus Amoris (The Goad of Love)*: distracted «and letted» (123), a sick man «or a man in misease» (126), so good and so «gracious» (145), into thraldom «nor into servage» (173), despise «and set at nought» (187). But there are many more examples in *The Scale*.

servative count, there are well over two hundred doublets in the English text of Book II. Nouns predominate, with only half as many verbs, still fewer adjectives, and very few adverbs. I have not included in the total those cases where there is a possible (although unlikely) distinction in meaning, such as *periles* & *meschiefs, sclaindre or disese, expounded* & *declared* (twice) or *reforme* & *restore* (or vice versa, five times). Especially in the second half of the work there occur pairs of doublets:

> so coueitouse of gostly gode & to heuenly riches so ardaunt
> non vpbraydynge of synnes ne scharpe reprofynge of defautes

or triplets:

> stired or trubled in himself & made vnrestful
> sauourly swetly & delitably

The Latin, in translating these more complex groupings, sometimes lacks the elegance of the English:

> hieȝere settynge in stede & wurpines of place
> quantum ad alciorem situacionem in *loco*. et quantum ad dignitatem *loci*.

> not gretly for to desiren ne mikel for to chargen
> non sunt *multum* desideranda. nec de eis *multum* est curandum

There is remarkably little repetition among these doublets: *loue and charite* occurs six times, but otherwise only two occur four times and five three times. An occasional attempt seems to have been made to vary the pattern: *tokne* & *his warant* (which occurs twice within a few lines) is paralleled on the next page by *chartre* & *his token*, or a group of three shows some variation: *gostly mirþe* & *heuenly delite; gostly sauour* & *heuenly delite; heuenly savour* & *gostly delyte*.

Only some thirty-six of the English doublets are not represented in the Latin. No guiding principle would seem to have operated, for sometimes an English doublet will be reproduced on one occasion but not on another. In a few cases it might have been difficult or pointless to think of an alternative: *go in þe mene* & *hald þe in þe middes; þat desire* & *þat longynge* (twice); *þe same* & *þe selfe* (twice); *answere* & *seye*. Where one word of the English is comparatively uncommon, the Latin usually has a single equivalent: *vggen* & *lopen (abhominantur); arettid* & *apropred*, twice within a few lines *(apropriatur* on both occasions); *boilende* & *plawende (ebulliens); hid* & *hiled (absconditus)*. However, the lists which are a freature of Hilton's style are reproduced exactly:

> ouerpassen alle men ouþer in clergie or in craft, in name or in fame, in
> richesse & in reuerence, in soueraynte & maisterschipe, in hiȝe state &
> lordschipe.
> omnis alios transcendere. vel in sciencia. vel artificio. in nomine. vel in
> fama. in diuiciis vel honoribus. in magisterio et superioritate. in domino. et
> statu magno.

it is boþe colde & drye, vndeuoute & vnsauory in itself. Bot þan comiþ þi liȝt of grace, & purȝ touchynge makiþ it sharpe & sotil, redy & able to gostly werk. frigida est et arida indeuota et insipida in seipsa. set tunc venit lumen gracie. et ex tactu suo acutam eam efficit et subtilem paratam et habilem ad opus spirituale.

A few words are almost always translated by two Latin synonyms, e.g. *sleþ* by *destruit et occidit; mirknes* by *nox seu tenebrositas* or *noctem uel obscuritam,* and Hilton's technical terms *formed* & *vnformyd,* as in chapter 34, by *formata seu facta et non formata seu non facta.*

   Sometimes the Latin simply translates the English by a more specific (and usually longer) phrase, e.g.

2,	p. 229	make amendis for þis trespas siþyn þat no man miȝt
		pro *peccato hominis* satisfaceret. ex quo *nullus purus homo potens ad hoc fuerat vel sufficiens.*
19,	p. 295	þe prentises of it þat arn ay ilike ferforþ in leryng eiþer arn dul witted or elles yuel willed.
		apprehenticius qui *non proficit in adiscendo artem istam set semper permanet in eodem statu.* vel obtusum habet ingenium vel *malam seu debilem voluntatem.*

where the idiomatic English of the first italicized phrase is rendered by a much longer clause which in turn is balanced by the extra weight of the doublet at the end.

38,	p. 406	as is bakbitynge or scornynge or spoilynge of swilk as he hasþ; al þis grefiþ not. Bot it goþ sumwhat nerre whan þe flesch is touchid & he feliþ smert; þan is it harder.
(39)		vt si *paciatur* detraccionem. derisionem vel spoliacionem *bonorum suorum.* totum istud non grauat set si propinquius aliqualiter accedit molestia seu vexacio quando caro tangitur et sentit lesionem. tunc enim *difficilius est habere pacienciam.*
42,	p. 442	[Of the various names for God] For al is on & not bot on.
(43)		quia *vnum et idem* significant *omnia ista* et non nisi idem.
46,	p. 462	And þerfore is þe fyr of lufe flawmende of þis [i.e. knowledge achieved by grace] more brennande þan it is of knowynge of ony creature bodily or gostly.
(47)		et ideo ignis dileccionis infammatus *ex ista cognicione* est magis ardens quam est *ignis amoris inflammatus vel perueniens* ex cognicione alicuius creature corporalis vel spiritualis.

where pronouns become nouns and one of the nouns is itself expanded into a phrase containing a doublet.

   If the direction of change had been invariably towards a longer and more explicit Latin translation, the result would have been simply a turgid Latin version. However, the expansions are somewhat offset by several phrases where the Latin is more concise than the English, for example:

4,   p. 237   vpon what syde þu turnes þee þou felis þiself defoulid and
                spotted.
                ex omni parte sentis te ... *maculari.*
10,   p. 257   And if he dey in þat pliȝt he schal not be sauf, his trowþ schal
                not sauyn hym; for his trouþ is a ded trouþ.
                et si *sic* moriatur. fides non saluabit eum. quia fides sua *mortua*
                est.
16,   p. 285   for þer is noþinge þat holdeþ hem fro þe pit of helle þat þei
                ne schuld astite falle þerinne, bot on bare sengle þrede of þis
                bodily lyfe wherebi þei hangen.
                quia nichil eos retinet *a casu in puteum infernalem.* nisi quoddam
                filium fragile tenue huius vite corporalis.
20,   p. 300   bot if a man wirke & trauaile al þat he kan & may, ȝe til him
                þinkiþ he may no more.
                nisi homo *laboret* pro illo prout *protest.*
27,   p. 342   For he þat is in þis mirknes & is hid þurgh grace fro werdly
                vanite, he couetiþ not of werdly gode; he sekiþ it not, he is not
                taried þerwith, he lokiþ not after it, he lufiþ it not.
(28)   Qui enim absconditus est per graciam a mundi vanitate
                bonum terrenum non concupiscit. *nec querit vel diligit.*

These instances, which, for some reason, are much fewer in the final
quarter of the book, should be taken in conjunction with the major
omissions mentioned above as evidence of the careful editing of the
English text by the Latin translator.

Conclusion

The picture that emerges of the Latin translator is of a careful
worker with some feeling for style: enough, for instance, to change the
appearance of the sky which is 'clere or mikel clered' into 'clarum et
valde *serenum*'. The perpetuation of a certain standard of Latinity seems,
in late medieval times, to have been a feature of some of the more
prominent male religious houses, such as Syon or Mount Grace Char-
terhouse. It may well account for the translation of several devotional
works from the vernacular into Latin.[19] Yet it seems an inescapable
conclusion that Fishlake felt comparatively little of the modern editor's
scrupulous regard for the purity of his text. He evidently considered
himself free to expand or contract his original as the demands of
clarity, style, or occasionally perhaps of doctrine, dictated. Apart from
the Christo-centric glosses, there are few expansions of sentence length
but very many changes of detail or addition of synonyms. These ex-
pansions are, to some extent, balanced by rather fewer instances where
the Latin is shorter than the English. The result in both cases is usually

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[19] J. Bazire and E. Colledge, *The Chastising of God's Children* (Oxford, 1957), p. 69.

a more explicit Latin text, with greater balance than the English, yet often lacking the latter's arresting brevity or colloquialism. In fact, the Latin translation carries further the treatment of the x group of English manuscripts by the y adaptor whose text Fishlake clearly used. It is the old paradox that, to the modern textual critic, the intelligent medieval editor is of less use than the unimaginative scribe who simply copied what he saw. Not that the Latin is entirely without value editorially. If, as seems certain, the extant Latin manuscripts descend from a single archetype, their joint authority is strictly only that of the Latin archetype. But since, as has been seen, the Latin translation was made early enough to affect the correction of some English manuscripts, and since there is some slight evidence (in the group B4 H8 Up He) of a possible independent consultation of an English manuscript, one might, in practice, allow the Latin text rather more weight than this. For instance, on at least two of the three occasions where either the English *leue* or *lene* makes good sense — and they are difficult to distinguish in fifteenth-century hands — the Latin *innitor* probably translates the original English. Similarly, at the end of the penultimate chapter, the devil is said to be held mesmerised by 'þe miȝt of the *eiȝest*', i.e. the most dreadful (God). Or should this be 'highest' (Latin *altissimi*) read by several English manuscripts? What about the very few occasions where the Latin makes better sense than the English? In chapter 30 Hilton employs the metaphor of the soul as a mirror in which God can be seen, and advises the contemplative to

> Holden it wel vp fro þe erþ þat þu maiȝt seen it & oure Lorde þerin also.

The second *it* (in all English manuscripts) is odd, even though the mirror is to be first made clean from worldly desires and one does hold a newly polished mirror up to the light.[20] Does the Latin 'vt videre possis in eo *teipsam* et consimiliter deum tuum' represent the original English or Fishlake's conscious improvement on it?

But whatever degree of authority is granted to the Latin text, it remains a fascinating example of the treatment of a late fourteenth-century English work by a contemporary translator. Some of its man-

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[20] The image may be taken from Richard of St Victor: "Let him who desires to see God wipe his mirror and cleanse his heart. The true Joseph [Discretion] ceases not from holding, wiping and inspecting his mirror incessantly. He must hold it up, lest by his affections he tend downwards, falling to the earth; wipe it, lest it become soiled by the dust of foolish desires; inspect it, lest it reflect the vain efforts to which his intention is turned. But when the mirror has been cleansed and examined for a long time carefully, a brightness of the divine light begins to shine through to him and a great beam of illumination not known hitherto, appears before his eyes." tr. C. Kirchberger, *Richard of St Victor: Selected Writings on Contemplation* (London, 1957), p. 110.

nerisms are not without interest in the history of English prose style, for example the growing fashion for doublets, partly explicatory and partly embellishment, in late medieval prose. And it is one more proof, if more were needed, of the popularity and evident usefulness of Hilton's eminently sane, moderate and balanced treatise. For Fishlake is conferring on *The Scale of Perfection* the ultimate medieval accolade: early translation into Latin.

University of Lancaster

THE IDEA OF CHIVALRY IN JOHN BARBOUR'S *BRUCE*

Bernice W. Kliman

IN the early fourteenth century, Scotland was locked with England in a desperate battle for survival. Since the death of their king, Alexander III, in 1286, when the Guardians asked Edward I of England to choose among the Competitors for the crown of Scotland, the Scots had seen a puppet king installed and deposed, a popular leader, the Wallace, rise to challenge the English might only to fall after initial success, and finally the grandson of one of the original Competitors strike out again for Scottish independence. For twenty-two years Robert the Bruce led the struggle against England, pushing the English out of the land, winning a decisive battle at Bannockburn and finally wrenching from the English recognition of Scotland's sovereignty. John Barbour, working from oral and written sources about forty-five years after the death of Robert Bruce, tells the story of these events in a long narrative poem, *The Bruce*, c. 1375, the first important extant work in Scots literature.[1]

To discuss Barbour's moral themes, it is appropriate to focus on the ideal of chivalry because it encompasses the secular values of society in the Middle Ages and because Barbour invites such consideration by his subject and treatment. Clearly, he depends on the audience's expectation that they are to hear or read a chivalric romance, for he calls his work a romance (I. 446) and he states at the beginning that his purpose is to preserve in the people's memory the brave deeds of the noble Scots who "Wan richt gret price off chewalry,/ And war woydyt off cowardy" (I, 25-26).

Of course, when Barbour uses the word *chivalry*, he does not mean the courtly tradition of subservience to a lady, help to the weak, gallant treatment of the enemy, and loyalty to a lord, all intermingled with

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[1] John Barbour, *The Bruce; or The Book of the Most Excellent and Noble Prince, Robert De Broyss, King of Scots*, ed. Walter W. Skeat, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1894; repr. N.Y., 1966). I have normalized *ß* to *s* and *ȝ* to either *g* or *y* (forȝet-forget; ȝow = yow). Skeat's emendations in brackets have been accepted and the brackets eliminated.

Christian idealism. Indeed the word did not come into general use until after the Middle Ages.[2] To Barbour, according to the glossary prepared by Skeat, chivalry means either a body of knights, cavalry: "He gaderit a gret cheuelry,/ And toward Scotland went in hy" (IV,187-88); or it means a feat of bravery: "Schir Amer ... / All forwounderit wass,/ How ony man ... / Micht do sa gret a cheuelry/ As did the king ... alane ..." (VI, 8-12). But he does seem to be approaching a more modern concept of the word when he has the Bruce say that if one has the choice "To dey, or to leyff cowartly,/ Thai suld erar dey chewalrusly" (III, 265-66). Barbour says that "Ingram the Wmfrawill perfay/ ... wes bath wyss and awerty,/ And fulfild of gret chewalry ..." (II, 212-14). In these two quotations, the meanings in the glossary — a body of knights or a feat of bravery — do not apply. Barbour seems rather to be idealizing the brave knight who is wise, prudent and chivalrous and who prefers a glorious death to cowardice. It seems reasonable, therefore, to use the word *chivalry* for his concept of the ideal knight and to compare it to the courtly code in order to determine how it interacts with the themes that govern the work.

Barbour has of course the same problem as other writers in depicting the ideal, with its conflicting values. To some extent he divides the virtues among the characters, suggesting the tension between them, but he cannot do this excessively or the depiction of the Scots as a whole will be fragmented. And he has an even greater obstacle to overcome than inconsistency in its parts, for as Coleman Parsons says, "The task of protecting their homeland against an enemy superior in numbers and in resources was to most Scottish knights a realistic and patriotic duty to which chivalry was not an inevitable adjunct ...."[3] Barbour must cope with historical fact — which romance writers could ignore — for he has promised to "say nocht bot suthfast thing." But his greatest difficulty in presenting the ideal is that the objects of the standard chivalry — personal fame, defeat of unbelievers, achievement of personal salvation, a lady's love — are not appropriate to the nature of the work,

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[2] The earliest mention that the OED makes for chivalry as "the brave, honorable, and courteous character attributed to the ideal knight; disinterested bravery, honour, and courtesy" is 1790. In the MED, on the other hand, the earliest mention of the word used for "the ethical code of chivalry comprising allegiance (honor), valor, generosity, courtly manner, or any one aspect of it" is 1385: Chaucer's *Knight's Tale*, A2106. In neither dictionary is Barbour's work cited for these meanings, although he used it in 1375.

Both Haye and Malory, a century later, use the phrase "the order of knightlood" = chivalry, although Malory also uses the word *chivalry*.

Neither the SND nor the DOST contains the word *chivalry*.

[3] "A Scottish 'Father of Courtesy' and Malory", *Spec.* XX (2945), 51-64. If as Janet Smith says in *The French Background of Middle Scots Literature* (Edinburgh, 1934), pp. 1-12, Barbour took French romances "as his pattern", he modified what he found in them to fit the Scottish situation.

which is about a war of independence. Through the manipulation of an ideal that his audience who had probably read French romances would be familiar with and sympathetic to, he must express his understanding of the Scots struggle and somehow reconcile historical actuality, the abstract ideal as understood by his audience, and the concrete ideal as it operates in his work.

1. WOMEN

The attitude toward women is, of course, one of the primary facets of the courtly code of chivalry. But what part can women play in this story of guerrilla warfare? Love is not one of Barbour's main concerns. About married love, Barbour has two attitudes. On the one hand, he likens the married state to the life of a thrall (I, 267-68); on the other hand, he notes what a comfort women are. When the ladies join Bruce and his men, Barbour says:

> luff is off sa mekill mycht,
> That it all paynys makis lycht ... (II, 520-21).

He implies that knights will go through great travail for the sake of a woman: Love

> mony tyme maiss tendir wychtis
> Off swilk strenthtis, and swilk mychtis,
> That Thai may mekill paynys endur,
> And forsakis nane auentur
> That euyr may fall, with-thi that thai
> Thar-throw succur thair liffys may (II, 522-27).

This accords with the courtly notion of chivalry. But these ladies, although they are "fayr and farand" are not the exalted creatures of the courtly tradition.[4] Douglas, one of Barbour's ideal knights, does work diligently to procure food for them, but Barbour cannot seem to think of any other comfort that Douglas might have provided, so he can em-

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[4] Married ladies, it may be argued, are not put on a pedestal by husdands. But in Chrétien, for example, married love is often courtly love. And in Britain the notion of adulterous love was not popular and was never an integral part of the system. Chaucer's *Franklin's Tale* is a story of married but courtly love. King James I of Scotland in the *Kingis Quair* writes of his courtly love for the lady that he married. Gawain in *Gawain and the Green Knight* successfully resists the adulterous advances of his hostess. Thus even in works that are courtly, adultery plays a negative role, if any. And the whole concept of courtly love was not as popular in Britain as in France in spite of these great examples of it. Haye condemns adultery in very strong terms in his *Buke of Knychthede*, Vol. II of the Scottish Text Society edition of *Gilbert of the Haye's Prose Manuscript (A.D. 1456)* ..., ed. J. H. Stevenson (Edin., 1914), p. 32, and he avoids the courtly-love aspect of chivalry. Nor does Caxton, who translated the French manuscript after Haye, restore it. See also Margaret Adlum Gist, *Love and War in the Middle English Romances* (Phil., 1947), p. 8.

phasize Douglas' gallantry only by amplifying on the types of meat that
Douglas found and the manner in which he procured it (II, 570-589).

As for extramarital love, Barbour does refer obliquely to Bruce's
amorous exploits. Often, a woman warns him of danger; presumably,
these women are his mistresses:

> And mony tyme, as I herd say,
> Throu voman that he vald with play,
> That vald tell all that thai mycht here ... (V, 541-43).

Oten too, a woman is the only one who greets him fairly on his early
travels (IV, 470ff; V, 133-36; VII, 238-64); some of these, too, may be his
mistresses. Barbour, however, has no desire to expand these amorous
activities lest Bruce appear to be given to debauchery.[5] Here, then, he
abbreviates to support his view of what a good knight is. To be "suth-
fast," he must record that Bruce is helped by women with whom "he
vald ... play" but it is just as important to de-emphasize this aspect of
the king's character so as not to obscure the ideal.

One man has an exploit that is reminiscent of the supernatural trials
of the courtly knight. A letter is sent to him by a lady whom "he lufit
per drowry" (VIII, 492) — that is, whom he serves through love —
saying that if he keeps for a year a perilous castle, "Than mycht he weill
ask ane lady/ Hir amouris and hir drowry ... " (VIII, 497-98; see also
456). But the episode is not developed. Sir Thomas Randolph is
described as being amorous (X, 291), but again, Barbour does not
develop this any further. That he is less reticent about Edward Bruce's
paramour (XIII, 484-500) indicates that he intends to make Edward fit
the convention. Other examples of Edward as chivalrous hero in the
traditional style will appear below, where Edward is the exception, the
foil against whom the others are depicted. Barbour grants that women
offer some comfort to men at war, as did the women of Thebes (II, 528-
47), but this is not courtly love, for the knight does not do his valorous
deed for the sake of the lady. Women, then, are not essential to Bar-
bour's idea of chivalry.

Why then does he bother, mainly in his digressions, to accord them
status as inspiration and help to the fighting men? He could as easily
have omitted all references to women. Perhaps he does not because
he wishes to suggest the romantic notion of chivalry to balance more
realistic aspects of his concept. However, concentration on the role of

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[5] G. W. S. Barrow, *Robert Bruce and the Community of the Realm of Scotland* (London, 1965), says that
the woman mentioned by Barbour as being deliriously happy at Bruce's return to Carrik (V, 133-
36) was probably his mistress and mother of two of his illegitimate children (p. 243). Barrow calls
Bruce "a begetter of bastards" (p. 370). Certainly, Barbour assiduously avoids giving this im-
pression.

women as motivators of valor would not have allowed him to attach any transcendent significance to the Scots' chivalry.

2. PROTECTION OF THE WEAK

Closely related to the courtly knight's attitude toward a particular lady to whom he dedicates all his deeds of chivalry is his attitude toward women, or weak creatures, in general. In fact, most of the courtly knight's exploits have to do with the protection of the weak. In *The Bruce*, no such excuse for the knight's activities need be developed because there is already a powerful motivating force: Bruce and his men are fighting for the freedom of all Scots, and this goal transcends, I think, the limited goal of the courtly knight. There are, however, some opportunities for the heroes to protect the weak. Bruce, for example, kindly stops his march for a poor laundress who, being in labor, has been left behind: he says:

> "certis, it war pite
> That scho in that poynt left suld be,
> For certis, I trow, thar is no man
> That he ne will rew vp-on voman" (XVI, 277-80),

and Barbour's comment is:

> This wes a full gret curtasy,
> That sic a kyng and swa mychty
> Gert his men duell on this maner
> Bot for a full pouir laynder (XVI, 289-92).

So he uses this episode to reveal another positive facet of Bruce's character, but in the courtly code it is supposed to be the woman of noble birth that "should enjoy his special care."[6] A pregnant laundress, a camp-follower, one feels, would hardly find a place in any ordinary romance of chivalry.

3. ATTITUDE TO THE ENEMY

The courtly knight's gallantry extends to respect for his enemy, and Barbour's Scots exhibit this trait to a marked degree. The gallantry takes shape in two forms: admiration for the chivalry of the enemy; treatment of the enemy once he is vanquished.

Both the English and the Scots admire the enemy's chivalry. Often, the admiration is expressed by Barbour, who consistently praises Sir

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[6]Raymond Kilgour, *The Decline of Chivalry* (Cambridge, Mass., 1937), xviii. See also *The Works of Sir Thomas Malory*, 1 vol., ed. E. Vinaver (London, 1962), p. 91.

Aymer de Valence (II, 202; VII, 625) and Ingraham the Umpraville: both of these men are "wyss and awerty/ & fulfild of gret chewalry" (II, 213-14). Barbour also praises the warden of Roxburgh, who tries to hold the tower against Douglas and his men (X, 469). And when Barbour describes the English forces at Bannockburn, his tone is admiring (XI, 126-35). Of course, by praising the enemy Barbour makes the Scots' victory all the more significant, and often Barbour praises someone who will eventually become Bruce's man (Philip Mowbray, Ingraham the Umphraville). But more often the praise seems to be a response to honest admiration of a man's fortitude in battle — as when Barbour praises Sir John Breton (XVIII, 464) and refers to John of Lorn, the Bruce's arch-enemy (III, 2; VI, 503; IX, 466) as one of those "gud hertis that ar worthy" (X, 102). But Barbour, unlike Froissart in the chapters that depict the Scots and English at war, does not view all sides with equal admiration and delight. His pride in the Scots heroes far exceeds any admiration for the enemy (X, 703; XI, 429; XIV, 36; XIV, 85), and of a traitor to the Scots he says, he was "A fals lurdane, ane losengeour,/ Osbarn to name ..." (IV, 108-9). Macnab, a traitor to "worthy Crystoll off Seytoun," he calls "a discipill off Iudas ... In hell condampnyt mot he be!" (IV, 16-26). Treachery, untroth, is the most abhorrent act to Barbour and wrenches him from his customary objectivity. Lorn he can sympathize with, for he acts out of loyalty to Comyn; traitors he can only despise. The Scots heroes too admire the enemy's chivalry (XII, 92), but those on the English side are more unstinting in their praise of the patriots — perhaps because their superior chivalry excites greater admiration. For example, one of Lorn's men, Macnauchtan, admires Bruce's "douchti deid." Interestingly enough, he is condemned for this by Lorn, but Macnauchtan answers that it is proper to praise chivalry wherever one finds it — even in the enemy:

> "quhethir sa he be freynd or fa,
> That wynnys pryss off chewalry,
> Men suld spek tharoff lelyly.
> And sekyrly, in all my tyme,
> Ik hard neuir, in sang na ryme,
> Tell off a man that swa smertly
> Eschewyt swa gret chewalry" (III, 174-80).

The incidents in which Bruce fells a number of men elicit praise of the king by the enemy for his ability to do "sa gret a chewelry" (VI, 12; VII, 99; VII, 352). Often the person who commends the Bruce is one who is in turn praised by Barbour: Sir Aymer de Valence or Ingraham the Umphraville. In other words, the best knights on either side are willing to recognize their enemy's chivalry.

The second touchstone of gallantry is treatment of the vanquished. Clearly, the English are mercilessly cruel in their treatment of prisoners.

After Methven, King Edward asks that they "draw and hing/ All the prisoneris ..." (II, 455-56), Sir Aymer de Valence, significantly, does not do this; instead he gives the prisoners an opportunity to serve Edward and he gives them land (II, 457-64). The English, when they are in control of Scotland, mercilessly persecute all those who seem to be friendly to Bruce (IV, 1-12). The manner of disposing of the enemy is significant, too. Barbour implies that it is great villainy to draw, behead, and hang a noble person. King Edward does this to Setoun: he

> gert draw hym, & hede, & hing,
> For-owtyn pete, or mercy.
> It wes gret sorow sekyrly,
> That so worthy persoune as he
> Suld on sic maner hangyt be ... (IV, 30-34).

It also seems shameful that the English cut off what they think is Edward Bruce's head to send to the English king (XVIII, 168). Edward II's pride is so swelled by the trophy that he decides to fight in Scotland again (XVIII, 229). Most of the English villainy is perpetrated by Edward I of England, who, even when dying, shows no mercy to his prisoners. Asked what should be done with them, he says, grinning, "hangis & drawis!" (IV, 322). But Barbour could have stressed Edward's cruelty even more than he does.[7] Instead he chooses to minimize the cruelty of the age, perhaps because a chivalrous encounter depends on at least a modicum of right behavior on both sides. It is impossible for one to practise chivalry if his enemy refuses to adhere to the code altogether.

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[7] Herbert Eustace Maxwell, *Robert the Bruce and the Struggle for Scottish Independence* (N.Y., 1906) p. 141, comments that putting the sentence on the lips of the dying Edward is Barbour's invention. Maxwell does not recognize that this is Barbour's way of dramatizing Edward's cruelty, which is historical fact. According to Barrow, Edward I was hideously and unreasonably vindictive: "it would be charitable to suppose that [the reign of terror that followed the rout of Methven] coincided with a genuinely paranoid attack" (p. 228); "...the peculiarly maniacal quality of King Edward's vengeance has always seemed most startling in his treatment of the women prisoners ... Mary, King Robert's ... sister ... and the Countess of Buchan ... were placed in cages of timber and iron, specially made for the purpose and perched upon or hung from the walls of Roxburgh and Berwick castles respectively. These two courageous ladies remained ... exposed to the mockery of passers-by, treated for all the world as if they were beasts in a menagerie ..." for four years! (pp. 229-230).

See also Agnes Mure MacKenzie, *Scottish Pageant 55BC-AD 1513* (Edin., 1946) pp. 179-81, whose quotations show that the cage story is confirmed by English chronicle and record; Friedrich Brie, *Die nationale Literatur Schottlands von den Anfängen bis zur Renaissance* (Halle, 1937), p. 103. Maxwell, pp. 139-40, is wrong to belittle the hardship of the cages. Craigie's supposition that Barbour's lenient attitude to the English resulted from his debt to the English king for safe-conducts is both unnecessary and untenable. See William A. Craigie, "Barbour and Blind Harry", *Scottish Review*, XXII (1893), 173-190.

The Scots, in sharp contrast to the English, treat their prisoner for the most part gallantly, a fact that is verified by contemporary records.[8] An exception is Douglas who when he wins his own castle held by Clifford lops off the heads of all prisoners (V, 403), and Barbour makes no comment. Miss MacKenzie calls Douglas' act a psychological move, but it is likely that in unchivalrous encounters, some aspects of the code were ignored.[9] Usually, however, prisoners are treated well. Sometimes they become Bruce's men (III, 743; X, 262), but even when they do not, they are seldom treated cruelly (XIII, 516-37; XVI, 228-38). One of the most notable incidents of gallantry occurs when Bruce confronts two Frenchmen, prisoners who had fought with the English. Bruce recognizes that they fought not with "wreth na euill will" but to win "gret worschip and bounte" (XVIII, 527-34), and he makes them welcome as friends, treating them "curtasly." Barbour says that they stayed with Bruce a long time and, when they wanted to return to France, were sent without ransom and with great gifts. But to Sir John Breton, a prisoner who disdained the Bruce, the king says, "war it nocht that he war/ Sic a catiff, he sulde by sair/ His wourdis that war sa angry" (XVIII, 510-22); that is, if Breton were not so valuable for ransom, he would probably have been killed. As it is, Breton meekly asks mercy, is kept under close guard and ransomed for £20,000. Barbour's comment is: "His frendis thusgat curtasly/ He couth ressawe, and hamely,/ And his fais stoutly to-stonay" (XVIII, 545-47). Kilgour points out that the treatment of prisoners was influenced by the fact that they were bought and sold. He speaks of the fifteenth century, but even before that ransom had played a role.[10]

Barbour therefore presents both a chivalric and a realistic-commercial view in the Bruce's behavior to the Frenchmen and to Breton.

There is one incident that embarrasses Barbour. When Soulis' traitorous plot against the Bruce is uncovered, those that are clearly implicated are drawn, hanged, and beheaded. Barbour attempts to draw blame away from Bruce for this ignoble judgment by saying, "As men had demyt thame till do" (XIX, 58) as if Bruce had nothing to do with

[8] The ideal treatment of the enemy found its way out of chivalrous romance and into contemporary mores. See Honoré Bonet, *The Tree of Battles*, trans. G. W. Coopland (Cambridge, Mass., 1949), pp. 134, 152-153. For confirmation of Scots treatment of the enemy see Sir John Froissart, *Chronicles of England* ..., trans. Thomas Johnes (London, 1839), II, 368, 369, 372, and so on.

[9] Agnes Mure MacKenzie, *Robert Bruce* (Edin., 1956), p. 192. See Froissart I 24, 55-57 for some accounts of Scottish mistreatment of prisoners. But see Maurice H. Keen, *The Laws of War in the Middle Ages* (London, 1965), pp. 119-33, who says that "war to the death without quarter" was the rule in historical sieges.

[10] Kilgour, p. 326.

the decision. But when "gud" Sir David the Brechyne who did not participate in the crime but merely knew of it and did not give the traitors away is judged to be hanged and drawn, Barbour is even more dismayed.[11] He is especially mortified at the people, "Lordis," who throng to see the sentence carried out (XIX, 59-72). Sir Ingraham the Umphraville, now on the Scots side, who seems so often to be Barbour's spokesman, protests:

> "Lordis," he said, "quhar-to press ye
> To se at myscheiff sic a knycht,
> That wes so vorthy and so wicht,
> That I haf seyn ma press to se
> Him for his richt souerane bounte
> Than now dois for till se him heir?" (XIX, 76-81)

Once the judgment is carried out he buries Sir David honorably, and then he asks that he be allowed to dispose of his land, for

> "Myne hert giffis me no mor to be
> With yow duelland in this cuntre.
> .....
> For quhar sa richt worthy a knycht,
> And sa cheuelruss and sa wicht,
> And sa renownit of vorschip syne,
> As gud schir Dauid the Brechyne,
> And sa fulfillit of all manheid,
> Wes put to sa felloune a ded,
> My hert forsuth may nocht gif me
> Till duell, for na thing that may be" (XIX, 97-108).

Barbour can only offset the effect of this affair by emphasizing Bruce's courtesy in allowing Sir Ingraham to leave freely, but for the most part, Barbour is truthfully able to represent the Scots as chivalrous to enemies, and his depiction accords with the courtly code.

4. CHRISTIAN IDEALISM

Treatment of the enemy is motivated partly by self-interest — for the enemy may be converted to friend if he is given the opportunity, or he may be a source of ransom — partly by gallantry and, if we take into account Barbour's comments, partly by Christian idealism. He wonders, for example, at King Edward I who, so close to death, is co cruel to his prisoners. How can he ask for mercy of God when he himself is without mercy? (IV, 323-31). Christian idealism is thus, as it is in the courtly ideal, in the background of Barbour's chivalry.

[11] Contrast Haye who says that if a knight knows of the wrong-doing of another but does not bring him to justice before his lord, "he is wer na he that did the dede ..." (p. 30).

Before battle, Bruce and his army hear mass (XI, 376; XII, 213), and before Bannockburn they all kneel in the field to pray (XII, 477). Dates are given according to the Church calendar, and once Barbour tells us that the enemy fail because they fought on a feast day (XV, 248-49) during a time of truce.[12] He believes that God controls all events (I, 586; XI, 26-30), and he calls the escape from harm of the women and children at Berwick a miracle (XVII, 825). In spite of the Bruce's grave sin in killing Comyn at the church altar, Barbour believes that God helps the Scots (VII, 294; V, 649; VII, 485, and so on). Humility, the recognition that all the good one does comes from God, is a Christian virtue that the Bruce often exhibits. Frequently, Barbour gives a feeling of immediacy to his history by asking God to help his heroes, using the present tense — as if the event were about to occur:

> Now, bot god help the nobill king,
> He is neir hand till his ending! (V, 583-84)

The Scots also seek God's help (IV, 627; XII, 324).

Many members of the religious community are for the king and some even engage in battle for him. Bishop William of Lambyrtoun helps Douglas (I, 412). When Comyn is murdered in the church and Douglas declares for Bruce, the Bishop supports Douglas, offers him his horse, Ferrand, blesses Douglas, and gives him money (II, 99-133). Much later, when Bruce is helping his brother Edward in Ireland, William Sinclair, Bishop of Dunkeld, successfully opposes the English who think that they can now attack Scotland with impunity (XVI, 574-674). Douglas uses a friar who wears armor beneath his habit to spy for him; the friar leads the charge against the English at Melrose (XVIII, 300-17). There is no satire at the expense of the clergy.

In spite of the fact that members of the religious community and God seem to be on his side, Bruce himself, at his death, typically feels the weight of all his killing on his soul and is glad to have an opportunity to make good for his fighting life:

> "And I thank god that hass me sent
> Spass in this liff me till repent.
> For throu me and my warraying
> Of blud thar hass beyne gret spilling,
> Quhar mony sakless man wes slayne;
> Tharfor this seknes and this payne
> I tak in thank for my trepass" (XX, 171-77).

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[12] Compare Bonet who says that it is lawful to battle on a Feast day only if it is necessary and that it is always wrong to break truce (p. 155). The H version of *The Bruce* changes *God* to *Christ*, whom Barbour seldom refers to directly.

He declares that had he lived he would have gone on a Crusade (XX, 178-81). But since, "the body may on na viss/ Fulfill that the hert can deuiss" (XX, 183-84), he asks that his heart be sent where he would have fought.[13] This is done. Douglas, Bruce's heart in his keeping, is killed fighting the Saracens (XX, 482-87).

But for all the evidence of Barbour's religious faith, religion is not the moving force of the Scots' struggle, for Religious-Chivalry will not work very well when both sides are the same religion. To grasp the nature of the religious impulse in Barbour, it is essential not only to refer to the remarks he makes that exhibit religious feelings, but also to take note of those he omits and also to compare his practice to that of others of his time.

There is a very little of religious ritual in *The Bruce*; for example, the knighting ceremony could be an elaborate religious ritual,[14] but Barbour does not portray it. The historical Bruce's religious fervor is much more marked than Barbour makes out.[15] There is no mention of the king's excommunication (1306) or its remission (1328). Barbour is silent about the support of the clerics in 1310.[16] The chivalrous acts are not done for the sake of God. Even Douglas' expedition against the Saracens is motivated not by religious fervor, but by his king's request. There is an extremely laconic reference to holiness:

> Men sais syne eftir, this Thomas,
> That on this viss maid martir was,
> Wes sanctit and miraclis did,
> ....
> But quhethir he aly wes nor nane,
> At Pomfret thusgat wes he slane (XVII, 873-78).

And in fact all the religious sentiments are brief and many are conventional.

There are few biblical allusions. An exception is the comparison of the Scots to Maccabees, but the point of the comparison is that, with God's help, the Maccabees strove for freedom against a much stronger

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[13] J. Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages*, trans. F. Hopman (Garden City, N. Y., 1956) pp. 95-96, says that "each king ... felt virtually bound to set out and recapture Jerusalem; King Henry V moments before his death in Paris in 1422 "declared that he had intended to go and conquer Jerusalem ... 'if it had pleased God, his Creator, to let him live to old age.' " That these endeavors often proved abortive is demonstrated by what happens to Douglas.

See also the "Declaration of Arbroath "in *A Source Book of Scottish History*, ed. William Croft Dickinson, Gordon Donaldson, Isabel A. Milne, 2nd rev. ed. (London, 1958), I, 158.

[14] Cp. Haye who describes the religious ritual.

[15] See Barrow, pp. 436-39; also Brie, pp. 76-77.

[16] See their document in Dickinson, pp. 143-46.

oppressor.[17] No saints are mentioned, except St. Margaret in Book X, and there the allusion is not germane to the narrative but is used merely to point out that even valid prophecies can be misleading. He names no relics, except tangentially in the king's narrative of Ferumbras.

The king never admits that his murder of Comyn was wrong (IX, 24-25). At this death, the Bruce does not even recall his slaying of Comyn, which Barbour had told us was sacrilegious. The Bruce's remarks when he is dying are in fact conventional and as Brie points out, there is no inner connection between these thoughts and what has gone before. Except at the end in a conventional request for God's help, not once in Bruce's climactic long speech to his troops is God mentioned (XII, 214-327).[18]

Barbour does not treat his clerics as religious but as fighting men.[19] The Bishop who helps Douglas is not at all deterred ty Robert Bruce's sacrilegious act. There are very few references to anything specifically Christian (only III, 459; XV, 248; XX, 248, 366, 618).

Although Barbour speaks of the destiny that God sends (I, 312; IX, 68; XI, 405), at other times he seems to refer to Fate or Luck (II, 434; IV, 396; V, 428; VI, 17, 377; XV, 376; XIX, 611; XX, 58), and when the battle turns against the Scots at Kildrummy Castle, he says, "Bot werd, that to the end ay driffis/ The varldis thingis ... thame travalit ... " (IV, 148-49).

Wittig explains away some of the glaring omissions by referring to Barbour's desire to create a unified work, and he stresses that the theme, "rycht," has an underlying religious basis, for which he cites in support the words that Robert Bruce, the Competitor, speaks to Edward I:

> 'Schyr,' said he, 'sa god me save,
> The kynryk yharn I nocht to have,
> Bot gyff it fall off rycht to me:
> And gyff god will that it sa be,
> I sall als frely in all thing
> Hald it, as it afferis to king' (I, 157-62).[20]

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[17] The Maccabees are mentioned in the Declaration of Arbroath also, and it is possible that Barbour took his image from that document. See Dickinson, p. 156.

[18] See Brie, pp. 77, 78.

[19] Gist says that fighting clergy are extremely rare in romances, but historical accounts show that they did fight (p. 151) but general teaching was against it.

[20] Kurt Wittig, *The Scottish Tradition in Literature* (Edin., 1958), p. 14. T. H. Kean, "The Religion of Barbour: A Scots Poet of the Fourteenth Century," *Month*, XXII, pp. 212-23, is certainly wrong to take issue with Wittig, asserting that Wittig does not recognize Barbour's religious faith. Kean himself curiously mixes historical fact with evidence from *The Bruce* to support his contention that Barbour is a poet who breathes the spirit of Catholicism.

But much more often, "rycht" is mentioned in association with men's reason (I, 46, 78, 209, 214, 509). The English acts are wrong because there is no reason in them (I, 173, 217, 280, 487-8).

Brie remarks on the expansive and frequent references in other works of the period (Scots writers Fordun and Wyntoun, and English Langtoft) and notes that in comparison to them, Barbour is strangely reticent about religious matters.[21] Yet Brie overstates the case when he says that all of Barbour's religious utterances are merely conventional. Wittig is more near the mark in asserting that the underlying basis of Barbour's moral conviction is religious, but it is clear that Barbour does not highlight the religious element. The fact is that a religious basis for his concept of chivalry is not appropriate to the nature of the struggle, so we must look elsewhere for the spring of Barbour's transcendent ideal.

5. LOYALTY: THE LEADER-MAN RELATIONSHIP

Loyalty, equivalent to Chaucer's "trouthe," is the quality that Barbour idealizes above all others:

> Leavte to luff is gretumly;
> Throuch leavte liffis men rychtwisly:
> With a wertu of leavte
> A man may yeit sufficyand be:
> And but leawte may nane haiff price.
> Quhethir he be wycht or he be wyss;
> For quhar it failyeys, na wertu
> May be off price, na off valu,
> To mak a man sa gud, that he
> May symply gud man callyt be (I, 365-74).

Loyalty is closely associated with right (I, 366),[22] which is both human justice and what may be called 'the universal fitness of things.' Both Barbour (XV, 122-23) and the Bruce (V, 654-56; VII, 484-87) believe that treachery must fail; this idea, however, is not connected to any God-given controlling force, and sometimes treachery does succeed (IV, 19; IV, 109). Barbour's *Bruce* is about a war of independence, a war to establish Scotland's right to self-rule, and loyalty is most necessary to wage such a war, for without it, right could not prevail.

Yet loyalty is a complex ideal, for what is loyalty to one is treason to another. Barbour calls Comyn's betrayal of Bruce "tresoun" (I, 515), but King Edward of England calls it "leawte" (I, 576). Moreover, loyalty

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[21] Pp. 72, 73, 79.
[22] Wittig, p. 14; Brie, p. 62.

may shift. The most astounding incident occurs when James Douglas, in
pursuit of Edward II after Bannockburn, meets one Sir Lawrence Aber-
nethy,

> Com for till help the Yngliss men,
> For he wes Yngliss man yeit then.
> Bot quhen that he herd how it wes,
> He left the Yngliss mennys pess,
> And till the lord Douglas richt thar
> For to be leill and trew he swar;
> And than thai bath followit the chass (XIII, 555-61).

Randolph, captured, is forced to be loyal to Aymer de Valence, and he is
completely so, fighting with the English against the Bruce (II, 457-64).
But once he is recaptured, he becomes loyal to Bruce again (X, 262). Yet
in spite of these shifts, Barbour praises Randolph's loyalty (X, 269-99),
which indicates that although loyalty is to him the highest virtue, he has
little modern idea of what it means.[23] Certainly it does not mean un-
swerving allegiance to one idea, to one ruler. Thus, rather than focus
on the courtly ideal of loyalty, it is more meaningful to examine the
whole complex relationship between leader and man. In Barbour's
Bruce we may distinguish three kinds of relationship: leader and officer;
leader and men; leader and commons. But before we can examine these
relationships it will be necessary to define Bruce's method of waging
war, for the type of war determines the kind of relationship.

Bruce early in the war for independence made a momentous decision
about the way he would wage war. The courtly way, of course, would
be to face the enemy from across an open field and meet him head-on
(IX, 745; XIX, 695-97). Bruce attempts this method in his first encounter
with the English when be challenges Sir Aymer de Valence to do bat-
tle.[24] Sir Ingraham the Umphraville, on the English side, suggests an
alternate plan to Sir Aymer. Do not face the Scots now when they are so

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[23] The earliest mention of loyalty meaning "faithful adherence to the sovereign or lawful
government" according to the OED is 1531 (Elyot Gov III, vi), and it is interesting that Elyot men-
tions it as if it were a new word: "For the subiects or seruant to his souerayne or maister it is
properly named fidelitie; and in a frenche terme loyaltie." Chaucer's word for this concept is
"trouthe." Barbour's form of the word *loyal*, "leill, leaute," is not defined very precisely by the OED
and unfortunately the MED is not yet complete through "L." DOST says that Barbour is
the first to use the word *Laute* meaning loyalty in friendship or love towards one's sovereign, coun-
try, lord, etc.; fidelity. But in sense 2, meaning loyalty to a duty or obligation, Wyntoun is first and
Haye second. Barbour is first in sense 2a, faithful adherence to one's plighted word or to one's
obligation. Kilgour, p. 78, notes that Froissart rarely questions changes in loyalty. See also MacKen-
zie, *Robert Bruce*, p. 60.

[24] Chivalry and strategy are antithetical. Charles Oman, *A History of the Art of War in the Midlle
Ages*, 2nd. rev. ed. (N.Y., 1959), speaks of the "blind courage ..., stupid neglect of the elementary
rules of strategy and tactics" in historical battles (I, 355). He says that Ed. I as prince in 1265 sup-
plies the first example of a strategic campaign (I, 440). He also believes that Robert Bruce learned

well arrayed, he says; rather, say we will fight tomorrow and when they are unarmed we can beat them (II, 256-97). This is done and Bruce is defeated. Bruce's comment, when he realizes that he has been tricked, is:

> "lordingis, now may ye se
> That yone folk all, throw sutelte,
> Schapis thaim to do with slycht
> That at thai drede to do with mycht" (II, 322-25).

Bruce learns something very important from this encounter: one can more than compensate for a lack of might[25] by a judicious use of "sutelte". He also learns to ignore the chivalrous code which demanded that defeat be acknowledged by giving in or giving up.[26] Instead the Scots retreat to fight again (II, 438); (III, 43; XIX, 451). Compare Sir Aymer, defeated at Loudoun Hill, who is "So schamfull that he vencust wes/ That till Ynglande in hy he gais/ Richt till the king, and schamfully/ He gaf vp thar his vardanry ..." (VIII, 359-65).

Associated with the idea that retreat is despicable is the belief that God always makes the just side win.[27] In contrast, Barbour's belief is that the Scots must not depend on the "richtwisnes" of their cause but on their own ingenuity and resourcefulness.

After one more forced encounter in the courtly manner (III, 11-60), Bruce decides on "sutelte": ambush, sneak attack, night-time raid, in other words, guerrilla warfare. There is some embarrassment about this decision. For example, Bruce makes an excuse about slaying sleeping foes:

> "And thouch we slepand slew thaim all,
> Repreif vs tharof na man sall.
> For veriour na fors suld ma,
> Quhethir he mycht ourcum his fa
> Throu strynth, or throu sutelte;
> Bot at gud faith ay haldin be" (V, 83-88).

Randolph, when recaptured by Bruce, criticizes Bruce for his uncourtly way of fighting:

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from Edward, and in turn the English learned from Bannockburn.

Kilgour, pp. 21, 325, says that the use of strategy and treacherous ambush were not considered chivalrous.

Cp. Bonet, pp. 154-55. See also Gist, pp. 159, 161, 169. For a vivid account of how the Scots waged war see Froissart, I, 18.

[25] Historians are generally agreed that while Barbour greatly magnifies the numbers of fighting men on both sides, he does not distort the ratios at the major battles. See, for example, Ranald Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots: The Formative Years of a Military Career, 1327-1335* (London. 1965), p. 33n.

[26] See Barrow, p. 102.

[27] Gist, p. 118. See also Haye, p. 31. In romances, death is preferred to retreat (Gist, p. 179). See also Randolph's remarks below.

> "For sen that yhe warrait the king
> Of Yngland In-to playn fichting,
> Yhe suld press till derenye your richt,
> And nocht with woidre na with slicht" (IX, 744-47).

But it is obvious that Bruce could only have succeeded against the superior English forces by these means. Bruce is furious when Randolph accuses him of using stratagems but Randolph himself learns to use them when he besieges Edinburgh. The king continues to employ "slicht" even after Bannockburn. At the siege of Berwick by the English, he creates a diversion by having Douglas and Murray ravage the northern shires of England (XVII, 509), and the last great encounter with the English at Weardale, the turning point at the end of the war, is won wholly through "slicht" (see Douglas' fable, XIX, 648-98). Barbour makes Bruce's choice for unchivalrous warfare all the more exusable by having Ingraham the Umphraville, whom Barbour always praises, suggest the first subtlety. It is obvious however because of the pains Barbour takes to make the way they wage war seem pardonable that he is weighing it with and matching it against an ideal of chivalry that they are not able to realize. In other words, Barbour is fully conscious of the deviation from a chivalric norm. Against the back-drop of guerrilla warfare, we can now examine the leader-man relationship.

a) *Leader and Officer*

With his officers, Douglas, Randolph, and Edward Bruce, Bruce enjoyed a most happy relationship that sheds considerable light on Barbour's idea of chivalry.

The guerrilla warfare demanded independent action on the part of the officers. In effect, this necessity makes Barbour distribute the glory among several Scots instead of focusing on Bruce alone. The Romance method is usually to magnify one hero at the expense of others. Douglas is especially well suited for independent action. He is never afraid: "Thair wes nane auentur that mocht/ Stunay hys hart ..." (I, 298-99). He does everything with wisdom and he is hard-working. His capability for individual action enables him to play the leading role near the end of the war at Weardale, where he breaks the back of English ambitions.

Barbour stresses Douglas' loyalty, who when he hears of Comyn's death, approaches Bruce, honors him, humbles himself "full curtasly", and does homage to Bruce as his rightful king. Bruce receives him very nobly and gives him men and arms. Barbour then summarizes for us the essence of the leader-man relationship: Douglas

> serwyt ay lelely;
> And the tothir full wilfully,
> That was bath worthy, wycht, & wyss,
> Rewardyt him weile his seruice (II, 171-74).

It is a mutual relationship of loyalty and reward. Perhaps this is the reason that Barbour does not criticize shifts in loyalty. Douglas, for example, leaves the English side because King Edward has given the Douglas lands to Clifford. Edward, by withholding the due reward for service, loses Douglas' loyalty. There should be no criticism, then, for changing loyalty for a just cause. But one must officially change — not pretend to be loyal to one and yet treasonous (IV, 19-28).

With Douglas homage to Bruce comes before reward, but with Randolph reward elicits homage. After having fought on the English side, he is captured by Bruce, put into prison, but ultimately, because he is a good man, made Earl of Murray (X, 265) and given other honors. He becomes completely Bruce's man through these rewards. He, like Douglas, is courageous, wise, strong, and "laute he luffit atour all thing ..." (X, 285). He, too, is capable of independent action and the Bruce rewards him for it (X, 780).

Edward shares many of the qualities of Douglas and Randolph, but he has one serious failing that enables Barbour to present him as a foil to his brother Robert Bruce:

> he wes outrageouss hardy,
> And of so hye vndirtaking,
> That he neuir had none abasing
> Of multitude of men ... (IX, 483-86).

But Edward does not combine his hardihood with wisdom. Sometimes his bravery pays, as when he follows the English host in a fog (IX, 572-631), but ultimately it leads to disaster. When Edward leads his men to death, Barbour says:

> On this wiss war thai nobill men
> Throu wilfulness all losit then;
> And that wes syn and gret pite.
> For had thair outrageouss bounte
> Beyne led with wit and with mesure,

they would have won (XVIII, 175-82). Edward's foolhardiness takes shape in his refusal to give in to insurmountable odds and to accept advice (XVIII, 31-70). Furthermore, he takes too much upon himself. For example, he commits Bruce to standing combat on a prearranged day when Bruce had no stomach for that kind of engagement (Bannockburn), and he refuses at his final battle to wait for the reinforcements that are coming. Edward is a hero in the old tradition. As with Achilles, Byrhtnoth and Roland his willingness to die is more remarkable than his prowess or wisdom (I paraphrase C. M. Bowra). Bruce on the other hand is more like an Icelandic hero for whom, as

Garmonsway says, caution and foresight were the cardinal virtues.[28]

In the contrast between Edward and the other Scots, Barbour delineates the conflict between glory and the mutual goal. He criticizes Edward for putting fame first, but when he portrays the same chivalric attitude in de Argentine, he praises him. De Argentine refuses to leave Bannockburn although Edward II, perhaps led away against his will by Sir Aymer, was fleeing. De Argentine says,

> "schir, sen that it is swa
> That ye thusgat your gat will ga,
> Haffis gud day! for agane will I;
> Yheit fled I neuir sekirly,
> And I cheiss heir to byde and de
> Than till lif heir and schamfully fle" (XIII, 303-8).

He enters into the thick of the Scots and is killed almost immediately. Barbour comments, "Of his ded wes rycht gret pite;/ He wes the thrid best knycht, perfay,/ That men wist liffand in his day ..." (XIII, 320-22). So it seems that Barbour only objects to chivalric disdain of death when it can endanger the goal.

Bruce stands out because he always combines bravery with wisdom (VI, 321-72), which is what a leader owes his men. He is willing to retreat when necessary, and he is always willing to accept the counsel of his officers. Indeed, he often asks them for advice (III, 332; V, 63). He gives his officers the opportunity to express their individuality, but when he thinks they are wrong he criticizes them. For example, Bruce says to Edward about the agreement with Philip Mowbray:

> "That wes vnwisly done, perfay,
> I herd neuir quhar so lang varnyng
> Wes gevin to so mychty ane kyng
> As is the kyng of England" (XI, 38-41).

But once they are committed, Bruce fully supports his brother: He says,

> "brothir, sen swa in gane
> At this thing thus is vndirtane,
> Schap we vs tharfor manfully,
> ....
> Swa that gif our fayis assay
> To reskew Strewillyng throu battale,
> That we of purposs ger thame faill" (XI, 59-68).

Thus at a certain point honor takes precedence over practicality, although it may be said even here that Bruce had some strong ex-

[28] Bowra, *From Virgil to Milton* (London, 1945), p. 10; G. N. Garmonsway, "Anglo-Saxon Heroic Attitudes," *Franciplegius: Medieval and Linguistic Studies in Honor of F. P. Magoun, Jr.*, ed. Jess B. Bessinger, Jr., and Robert Creed (N.Y., 1965), p. 145.

pectation of winning. He could choose the terrain, had ample time to plan, and had a much more seasoned force than he had had in the early disastrous encounters.

Although individual action is necessary at times, many occasions require group discipline. Perhaps this is the major difference between Barbour's depiction and those of chivalric romances in which single combat is the rule. Early on, the Bruce points out to Lennox, jokingly but with a serious undertone, that they should stay close together (III, 645-54). Another time, when Sir Colin Campbell lunges forward impetuously the king is so angry that Sir Colin did not await orders that he strikes him and angrily bids his men to pluck Sir Colin from his horse. The other lords dissuade him from so punishing Sir Colin, but the Bruce points out the danger of such rash individual actions (XVI, 119-136). In the same incident, Edward Bruce, the leader in this Irish expedition, had ridden on with his party, taking no heed of the rear guard, and thus had became separated from the king, who had been forced to stop by the threat of an ambush (XVI, 95-98). Edward, when he hears of the spectacular success his brother had had with the ambush, is very angry, but the Bruce says to him that he should blame his own folly, for a leader should always be aware of all his forces (XVI, 251-54).

Edward II at Bannockburn does the same thing as Edward Bruce, above, except that he, in the rear, stops without informing the vanguard, who still advance. The result is de Bohun's unchivalric charge[29] upon the unprepared Robert Bruce, the Latter's dramatic felling of de Bohun with his axe, and the total rout of the vanguard. Significantly, Bruce's men criticize him for confronting de Bohun:

> The lordis of his cumpany
> Blamyt him, as thai durst, gretly,
> That he hym put in auenture
>
> ....
>
> For thai said, "weill it mycht haf beyne
> Causs of thair tynsale euirilkane" (XII, 89-95).

At Bannockburn, the king insists that no one break ranks and Barbour's depiction, although he describes individual actions also, gives the impression of all fighting together rather than in the manner of chivalry in single combat (see also v, 72-74). At Berwick, too, everyone helps, even women and children, in a symphony of cooperation.

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[29] Maxwell calls de Bohun's charge "in the best manner of chivalry" (p. 205), but cp. Charles Mills, *The History of Chivalry*, 2nd ed. (London, 1826), I, 403, who rightly says that de Bohun's charge is not gallant because the Bruce is mounted on a palfrey. See also Gist, p. 128.

Later, Randolph criticizes Douglas for descending on the sleeping English without him, but Douglas points out that for that particular enterprise he had had enough men to accomplish his purpose and there had been no need to endanger them all (XIX, 622-30). Thus Barbour demonstrates that sometimes individuals, sometimes small groups, and sometimes the whole community must act to achieve specific goals.

The officers, then, live up to their part of the relationship if they are loyal, fight bravely and act independently when necessary but without foolhardiness; the leader must, on the other hand, reward his officers, rely upon them sometimes for advice, point out their errors, but be willing to support them once their error is irrevocably made.

The relationship between the leader and his officers does not end with battle; there is a personal bond as well. All the heroes are good companions. Douglas is generous, loving, and kind; Bruce jokes and is happy. He is

> A lord so swet and debonar,
> So curtass and of sa fair effer,
> So blith als and so veill bowrdand ... (VIII, 381-83)

that he is a pleasure to be with. When Bruce and Douglas meet after a long absence they are truly joyful, and Douglas "hym salusit full curtasly" (IV, 509). Bruce has little opportunity for peaceful activities, but when he does have time, he engages in the usual play of a nobleman: "hunting, and gammyne, and gle" (XV, 314; XVII, 908). These pictures fit the courtly tradition; thus, the courtly-chivalric and the realistic are mixed in Barbour's depiction of the leader-officer relationship.

b) *Leader and Men*

The relationship between leader and men is not so well outlined in the courtly tradition because the knight on his quest usually was attended only by a squire — someone of about his rank, but younger. Again, Bruce's relationship with his men is determined by the guerrilla warfare. It is clear that through his actions Bruce molded a disciplined force of men, in spite of the fact that they were not of the upper class (XIX, 165-166; 171-172). And again, there seems to be a mutual expectation of loyalty and reward.[30] The men are rewarded by the spoils that they win, and perhaps even more importantly, by victory. On the other hand, Bruce expects their unswerving loyalty and obedience, which he earns through his attitude toward them, through his deeds, and of course, through his success.

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[30] On Bruce's generosity see P. Hume Brown, *History of Scotland to the Present Time* (Cambridge, 1911), I, 130, 131n, 137. He points out that all were rich after Bannockburn.

Bruce exhorts his men to courage before battle and buoys them up in time of despair. The comforting is mutual, for his foster brother gives him the courage to go on; Sir Crystall of Seton rescues the king when Sir Philip Mowbray seizes his horse's reins at Methven (II, 418-23); and Edward Bruce persuades him to grasp the opportunity at Carrick when the king is perplexed (V, 66-70). Encouragement from an inferior, rescue of the hero by a secondary knight and prodding to overcome hesitation, are kinds of help that would be impossible in the courtly tradition. The Bruce's personality, in fact, has too many facets to fit easily into the rather flat chivalric mold. At the perimeter of greatness, he seizes hold of the center by an intemperate act of murder. From then on, events shape him and he in turn shapes those around him.

Bruce shows his regard for his men not only in words but in deeds. When they must retreat, he personally oversees the manoeuver to make sure that all are safe (III, 45-60). His sincere concern for his men is evident: "The Bryss ... mekill murnyn maiss/ For his men that war slayne and tane" (II, 469-70), and when his foster brother is killed by a traitor, Bruce mourns him (VII, 227). The other officers too show regard for their men (V, 435; XIV, 230; XV, 236).

Often Bruce inspires his men to bravery by his own example. At the Castle Perth, for instance, he is the first to wade into water up to his neck; his courage emboldens the others to follow him (IX, 385ff). Barbour says that always Bruce in Battle was "iŋ the thykkest press" (XVI, 194). This participation is courtly, certainly, but dangerous; yet it seems to be one of the chief attributes that excites Barbour's admiration.[31] All work together, knight and knave (III, 585), and this unity of purpose gives Bruce's men such a feeling of power that often their bravery makes their enemy flee before them in terror (IX, 183; 254ff; XII, 357-66). On the other hand, the English seldom exhibit such unity of purpose (III, 611-32; VII, 620; XVII, 852-72).[32]

The leader is all-important, for without a leader the men are lost (IX, 63ff). All authorities are agreed on this point, but for the Scots, the leader was especially important, for in the absence of the organization to gather an army, Bruce had to depend on his personal magnetism to draw men to him.[33] Douglas, realizing the importance of the leader, of-

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[31] The *Secreta Secretorum* cautions the leader against active participation. Gist, paraphrasing Gower's "In Praise of Peace" says, "if kings suffered as much as common people, they would be careful to avoid conflict" (p. 128), a remark that indicates that most kings did not expose themselves to danger and suffering as the Bruce does. See, for example, Barbour's comment on the king's last illness (XX, 75-79).

[32] See Nicholson, p. 36, for an historical instance of English disunity during the Weardale campaign.

[33] Nicholson, p. 5; MacKenzie, *Scottish Pageant*, pp. 158-59.

ten wins in his encounters because he always attempts to kill the enemy chieftain (XV, 391). With a courageous leader, the men are inspired to bravery. At the battle of Bannockburn, Scots camp followers are so impressed by the fighting Scots that they participate without being asked, frightening the English at this new and unexpected show of strength (XIII, 229-64). Only seldom, and that at the beginning, do Bruce's men fail him. At his first battle when the tide turned against them, "thar small folk begouth to failye,/ And fled all skalyt her and thar" (II, 393-94). "Bot the gude," says Barbour, "at enchaufyt war/ Off ire, abade and held the stour/ To conquyr thaim endles honour" (II, 395-97). As is to be expected, just as bravery frightens the enemy, so cowardice encourages them (II, 398-404). But once Bruce can promise victory, his men stay with him as a disciplined force.

Not only victory, but spoils are the men's reward (VI, 444-50). Furthermore, at Bannockburn he promises that the heirs of any who die will not have to pay death duties, but will receive their rightful inheritance with no delay (XII, 319-22). In return, he demands their obedience. They are not to spoil the field before total victory. But the most important mutual reward is freedom. You are here with me, says Bruce, "for ye yarnit till haf fredome."

c) *Leader and Commons*.

The last reward, freedom, is of course shared not only by the nobility and fighting men, but also by the common people. Ordinarily not even mentioned in the courtly tradition, the commons play a small but significant role in Barbour's *Bruce*. In the courtly tradition, the attitude toward the lower classes often is aloof disdain.[34] Douglas shows this characteristic when he strikes a groom who thinks that Douglas is stealing the Bishop's horse (II, 134-39). But this is justified by the circumstance: he must pretend to take the horse by force so as not to implicate the Bishop. Commons, for their part, exhibit their expected cowardice. After Bruce's initial defeat, the Scots must live as outlaws because the commons desert Bruce "To pass to the Inglis pes agayn" (II, 497-99). Barbour makes a comment about this desertion:

> Sa fayris it ay commounly;
> In commownys may nane affy,
> Bot he that may thar warand be.
> Sa fur thai then with him; for he
> Thaim fra thar fais mycht nocht warand,
> Thai turnyt to the tothir hand.

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[34] Bonet does pity the commoners, but his remarks show that they are disinterested bystanders, not vitally concerned in the outcome of battle (p. 153).

> Bot threldome, that men gert thaim fele,
> Gert thaim ay yarne that he fur wele (II, 500-07).

He does not, in other words, blame them for their desertion. He is realistic. Again, it is a mutual responsibility: the leader must protect, and then the commons would be loyal; since Bruce cannot protect them, they desert him. Even after he has some success, the people do not show him open favor (V, 127), but secretly they wish him well. Still while the commons as a whole cannot be loyal, some individuals do risk their lives to help, and Bruce and his officers receive their aid gladly. The kind of help they receive is necessitated by the kind of warfare they wage. Because they enter the English held castles by "slicht" rather than "mycht," they are often in need of the advice of local townspeople. Douglas is helped by an old servant of his father when he attacks his own castle (V, 279). Commoners help capture Linlithgow, Roxburgh, and Edinburgh (Book X). There are also Gib Harper (XV, 181; XVIII, 95, 165), Sym of Spalding, a burgess (XVII, 23), the common people at Berwick, the Irish commoners during the Irish campaign (XIV, 376), and of course the camp-followers at Bannockburn. On the English side as well, when the Scots ravage Yorkshire, commoners participate in battle (XVIII, 540-42), but this is different from the help that the Scots commoners offer the Scots nobles. The Englishmen are forced to fight because of the indifference of Edward II to their sufferings,[35] but the Scots commoners fight with and for their lords.

Froissart's portrayal of one of the incidents in the Scottish Wars offers a significant contrast to Barbour. It is possible that Froissart and Barbour knew each other and that Froissart had the same sources as Barbour, for Froissart spent some time in Scotland during Barbour's lifetime.[36] Froissart may even have adapted his version from Barbour's work, although the incident Froissart relates occurred after the War of Independence. In Book X, Barbour tells that William Bunnock executes a Trojan horse trick with a hay-wagon to get into Linlithgow. In Book VIII, he tells about Douglas' feat at Douglasdale. Douglas sends about fourteen men with horses loaded with sacks of grain as a lure to draw out a garrison of English. When the English come to requisition the grain, the Scots throw down the sacks and the gowns that had disguised them, jump on the horses and attack the garrison-men. Douglas comes out of ambush and the English flee, but none escapes. Douglas then enters the castle in spite of resistance, sends

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[35] See Nicholson, p. 45.

[36] See Agnes Mure MacKenzie, *An Historical Survey of Scottish Literature to 1714* (London, 1933), p. 52. But Miss MacKenzie also points out that Froissart (II, 310) makes a mistake about the identity of the Archdeacon of Aberdeen.

all inside home to Clifford, and destroys the castle (VIII, 437-520).
Froissart (I, 77) tells that Sir William Douglas captured Edinburgh by
purchasing grain, dressing up ten or twelve men like poor tradesmen
and having then lead "hobelars" loaded with the provisions to the
castle, the rest of the force waiting in ambush. The men dressed as
tradesmen gain entrance to sell their goods, but as soon as the gate is
opened, they, like Bunnock, throw down their goods so that the gate
cannot be closed and the castle is taken.

The significance of the possible conflation of the two events from
Barbour in Froissart's account is that Froissart, considered to be a good
guide to chivalry, assiduously avoids mentioning commoners like Bun-
nock in any kind of daring exploit.

Unlike most courtly knights who would disdain the assistance of the
commoners, the Scots are happy to receive this aid. This is true because
the war for independence is no tournament exercise, but a struggle for
the freedom that is desired by all, high and low.

Barbour's depiction of the commoners' role here puts him firmly in a
realistic tradition. "The chivalrous spirit is above all things a class
spirit," says E. A. Freeman.[37] Yet Barbour obliterates class lines and
allows a lowly "Sym of the Ledowss" (X, 406), for example, to be the
first to climb the ladder. Significantly he is named, contrary to romance
practice with commoners. And again Barbour blurs class distinctions by
referring to the debased version of courtly love of "ane William Fran-
cass," the commoner who helped Randolph, without a hint of irony. In-
stead, this information provides another touch of realism, to explain
how it happens that William knows a way into Edinburgh. Nor does
Barbour hesitate to use for William the very same formula that he uses
for his nobles. He was "Wicht, viss and curtass."

Barbour's treatment of commons is in the Scots democratic tradition.
Sir Gilbert Haye, who translated Lull's (?) *Book of the Order of Chivalry* in
1456, is more democratic than Caxton. According to Haye "the people
in thair richtis" are the proper objects of a knight's care, third only to
Christ and his natural lord.[38] Haye's democratic sensibility is based on
the feudal and Christian idea of a hierarchy of responsibilities (p. 21),
which promotes not equality, but a mutual regard for the common
profit. The Christian idea is, however, capable of generating a more
modern democratic tradition. For example in *Piers Plowman*, Piers
cautions the knight not to abuse his serfs, for

> Thowgh he be thyn vnderlynge here. wel may happe in heuene,
> That he worth worthier sette. and with more blisse,

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[37] In *The Norman Conquest*, quoted by Kilgour, p. 15. See also Gist, p. 73.

[38] Haye, p. 22. Wittig makes much of the democratic spirit of the Scots. See p. 31 for a discussion
of this spirit in Barbour; also, MacKenzie, *Scottish Pageant*, pp. 159-160.

> Than thow, bot thou do bette. and lyeu as thow shulde;
> 　*Amice, ascendé superius.*
> For in charnel atte chirche. cherles ben yuel to knowe,
> Or a knizt fram a knaue there. knowe this in thin herte (B, VI, 47-51).

Such Christian beliefs emphasize the essential equality of individuals under God and can produce, as Trevelyan points out, a desire for personal liberty; for why should one's temporal superior oppress him when they are of equal stature finally?[39]

The Scots democracy that Barbour portrays is not like the modern concept of personal liberty with equal opportunity for all, nor is it like the medieval idea of equality under Christ. It comes closer to Haye's concept of the common profit, but Barbour omits any religious references that could make the human hierarchal situation a figure of the divine chain of being, nor is his idea essentially feudal. As Brie says, "Es sind nicht so sehr die Bande einer Feudalherrschaft ... die bei Barbour Bruce mit den schottischen Grossen und dem gemeinen Manne verbinden, sondern das gemeinsame, ethisch zu bewertende Band des Kampfes für Freiheit une Recht."[40] Barbour's concept of democracy is that it depends on a mutual relationship between classes of responsibilities and loyalties that focuses on the goal of freedom for their nation. His democracy is inseparable, as Haye's and Langland's is not, from freedom and nationalism.

Freedom and Nationalism

Barbour does not mention Gael, Pict, Highlander or Lowlander; his heroes are all Scots with a consciousness of themselves as a nation striving to secure the state.[41] He stresses at the beginning of the work that all are thralls, "Bath pur, and thai off hey parage" (I, 276). The heroes deliver the "sympill folk and worthy .../ Fra Folk that, throw iniquite,/ Held thaim and thairis in thrillage:/ ...And delyueryt thar land all fre ..." (I, 463-75). All lives are touched by such a war and this total involvement is the catalyst that triggers the Scots' nationhood.[42]

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[39] William Langland, *The Vision of William concerning Piers the Plowman, in Three Parallel Texts*, ed. W. W. Skeat (London, 1886), I, 196. George Macaulay Trevelyan, *England in the Age of Wycliffe* (London, 1948), p. 202.

[40] Brie, p. 66. I am indebted to Brie's very full discussion of freedom, democracy and nationalism, pp. 45-72. Of course Barbour, who never uses the word *democracy*, does not envision a representative democracy.

[41] See Agnes Mure MacKenzie's remarks on the signers of the Declaration of Arbroath in the Saltire pamphlet, *On the Declaration of Arbroath* (Galashiels, 1951), p. 14.

[42] Nicholson, pp. 2-3. See also Georg Lukács, *The Historical Novel*, trans. Hannah and Stanley Mitchell (Boston, 1963), pp. 19-30. Lukács' description of the "Social and Historical Conditions for the Rise of the Historical Novel" sounds very much like the conditions under which Barbour wrote. It is no coincidence that the first writer that Lukács deals with is Sir Walter Scott, who was so much indebted to Barbour.

Thralldom makes the people yearn for Robert Bruce's welfare, although they cannot openly help him (II, 506-7). Even before he appears the people have the will to be free, but they need a leader to crystallize and organize their yearning.[43] Barbour, in presenting Comyn's talk with the Bruce, has Comyn say:

> "... lat me ta the state on me,
> And bring this land out off thyrllage.
> For thar is nothir man na page,
> In all this land that thay ne sall be
> Fayn to mak thaim-selwyn fre" (I, 498-502).

It is the tragedy of the struggle that after Comyn's death, his allies "yarnis mair than ony thing" — even freedom — for vengeance on the king (IX, 20-23).

Although the Bruce does not use the word freedom as a rallying cry until Bannockburn and although early in the struggle he exhibits less exalted aims, he has a consciousness of the idea of freedom, for he pities the people suffering in thralldom (I, 479-80) and considers that in taking castles and land he is liberating them (IX, 308-9; 328). Douglas' motive in returning to Scotland is both to win his heritage "And his men out of all thryllage" (I, 352).

The Scots had a tradition that lent itself to the new nationalism. As Grant points out, the Gaels had "highly developed social ideals ... " and " ... the devotion to the greater nobles among the lesser folk ... [is a] distinctive feature in the ... development of Scots social history." She speaks of the "independence and self-respect of the lesser folk," who were "not a down-trodden peasantry" and credits the clan organization for this development (See Barbour, XVII, 318ff). She also asserts that in Scotland there were "strongly democratic elements in the relationship between the feudal superior and his vassal." G. G. Coulton quotes Bartholomew's *De Proprietatibus Rerum* (c. 1250) which says that the Scots "love nyghe as well death as thraldome."[44] Barrow believes that the idea of the "community of the realm," referred to so often in official documents, had come to mean, even before the Bruce's participation in the War, the nation, the people as a whole.[45]

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[43] Barrow, p. 204.

[44] I. F. Grant, *The Economic History of Scotland* (London, 1934), pp. 6, 27. Coulton, p. 9. See also MacKenzie's *Scottish Pageant*, pp. 3-4 (Fordun quotes Isidore to the same effect as Bartholomew), 43-44, 71, 170.

[45] MacKenzie, *Robert Bruce*, p. 62, says that by 1296 the common people had begun to feel themselves to be Scots. Barrow says the concept of the community of the realm was viable by the late 13th century. See also Dickinson, pp. 128, 144-47.

Historians are agreed that Scots nationalism came to birth during the War of Independence.[46] Serfdom virtually disappeared, the first Scots parliament that included representatives of the burghs convened in 1326, and most significantly, the Declaration of Arbroath was written by the Barons to the Pope (1320).[47] It states that Scotland had always been "free from all manner of servitude and subjection, as ancient histories do witness". More importantly, it expresses the basis for Robert Bruce's claim to kingship of an independent Scotland. First, "the Divine Providence", second, "the right of succession by the laws and customs of the kingdom (which we will defend till death)" and third,

> *The due and lawful consent and assent of all the people* [italics mine], made him our king and prince. To him we are obliged and resolved to adhere in all things, both upon account of his right and his own merit as being the person who hath restored the people's safety in defence of their liberties.

Then the Declaration goes on to state most strongly the principles of the Nation:

> But after all, if this prince shall leave these principles he hath so nobly pursued, and consent that we or our kingdom be subjected to the king or people of England, we will immediately endeavor to expell him as our enemy and as the subverter both of his own and our rights, and will make another king, who will defend our liberties: For so long as there shall be one hundred of us remain alive we will never give consent to subject our selves to the dominion of the English. For it is not glory, it is not riches, neither is it honour, but it is liberty alone that we fight and contend for, which no honest man will lose but with his life.

This remarkable document clearly puts the desire of all the people for freedom above even the divine right of kings.

Barbour's achievement is that although he does not mention the 1326 Parliament or the 1320 Declaration, he captures the spirit of the new nationalistic force and makes his concept of chivalry accommodate the role of the common people and subordinate the courtly code to the goal of freedom. Chivalry is an international ideal, but Barbour makes it serve the ideal of nationalism, democracy and freedom, which for him

[46] Brown, I, 123; Sir Reginald Coupland, *Welsh and Scottish Nationalism, a Study* (London, 1954), pp. xvii, p. 72; Wallace Notestein, *The Scot in History: A Study of the Interplay of Character and History* (New Haven, 1947), pp. 68-69.

[47] See Brown I, 136 on the Parliament. Compare the remarkable document presented and discussed in George P. Cuttino's article, "A reconsideration of the *Modus Tenendi Parliamentum*" in *The Forward Movement of the Fourteenth Century*, ed. Francis Lee Utley (Columbus, Ohio, 1961). The document maintains that "all that onght to be ... done by parliament, onght to be conceded by the community of parliament, which exists out of the ... proctors of the clergy, the knights of the shires, citizens and burgesses, who represent the whole community of England, and not out of the magnates, because each of these is at parliament for his own person and for no other" (pp. 54-55). See Dickinson for the Declaration of Arbroath (pp. 151-58).

means the right of the Nation to independence from England. He was
one of the few medieval poets to recognize and take as his poetic
material the patriotic impulse; few poems in two centuries after his,
Blind Harry's *Wallace* excepted, deal with the topics of freedom,
democracy and nationalism.[48] More important, his is the first literary
expression of the concept of national freedom in Western Europe.[49]
There is nothing like Barbour's panegyric on freedom in all the Middle
Ages. "Die Liebe zur Freiheit steht für Barbour so hoch", states Brie,
"das sie gelegentlich fast religiösen Charakter annimmt."[50] I may add
that religion itself must take a secondary role before the passion for
freedom.

Barbour clearly identifies the awakening of the concept of freedom
with the cruelties inflicted by Edward I.[51] After describing in detail, in a
manner reminiscent of *The Peterborough Chronincle's* complaint about
Stephen I (1137), the affronts of Edward and his flunkies against the
Scots people, he says,

> Alas! that folk, that euir wes fre,
> And in fredome wount for to be,
> ...
> War tretyt than sa wykkytly,
> That thar fays thar iugis' war;
> Quhat wrechitnes may man have mar? (I, 219-224)

[48] Notestein, p. 73; John Buchan, ed. *The Northern Muse, An Anthology of Scots Vernacular Poetry* (London, 1924), pp. 481-82; and compare the Otterburn ballad, no. 161 in Francis James Child, *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, 10 vols. (Boston, 1898). David Lindsay, *Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaits*, ed. James Kinsley with Intro. by Agnes Mure MacKenzie (London, 1954), shows great sympathy for the suffering of the Common Man, John the Common-Weill, but he is mainly concerned with abuse of poor John by the Clergy, not with democracy and nationalism. His idea, in fact, is that of the hierarchy of responsibilities. See pp. 124-40. Brie, however, proves that the nationalistic feeling remains alive in the Chronicles.

[49] OED lists Barbour as the first to use the words *free* and *freedom* in a national sense. The MED has a few earlier citations for *free*: Trinity Homilies, a1225; Layamon's *Brut*, a1225 and *Glo. Chron*, c1325, but these works do not make freedom their subject, and for *freedom*, the MED has a1398 as the earliest use. The DOST lists Barbour as first to use *free* and *freedom* in the significant senses.

See Halvdan Koht, "Medieval Liberty Poems," *American History Review*, XLVIII (1943), 281-89, who says that Petrarch is first to express the idea of liberty in *Parma liberata* and that Barbour is next.

John W. Oliver and J. C. Smith, eds. *A Scots Anthology From the 13th to the 20th Century* (Edin., 1949), p. xvi, say that *The Bruce* "contains the first great statement in modern European literature of the right of nations and individuals to freedom." Compare A. J. Carlyle, *Political Liberty: A History of the Conception in the Middle Ages and Modern Times* (N. Y., 1963), who states that the concept of liberty in the Middle Ages was neither individual freedom nor national freedom but the "supremacy of the law ... as expressing the habit and custom of ... the community." It is significant that neither Gilbert Highet, nor Curtius, nor Huizinga discuss freedom or nationalism in the Middle Ages.

[50] P. 61.

[51] See Benedetto Groce, "History as the History of Liberty," *Philosophy. Poetry. History: An Anthology of Essays* (London, 1966), pp. 546-88, who says that "...a man who enslaves another awakes the others's self-awareness and fits him for liberty...," and loss of liberty makes men hunger for liberty — what had been unappreciated is newly appreciated with its loss.

Then follow the noble words on the joys of freedom:

> A! fredome is a noble thing!
> Fredome mayss man to haiff liking;
> Fredome all solace to man giffis:
> He levys at ess that frely levys!
> A noble hart may haiff nane ess,
> Na ellys nocht that may him pless,
> Gyff fredome failyhe; for fre liking
> Is yharnyt our all othir thing (225-32).

Finally, he points out the relationship between Edward's oppression and the consciousness of freedom:

> Na he, that ay hass levyt fre,
> May nocht knaw weill the propyrte,
> The angyr, na the wrechyt dome,
> That is cowplyt to foule thryldome.
> Bot gyff he had assayit it,
> Than all perquer he suld it wyt;
> And suld think fredome mar to pryss
> Than all the gold in warld that is (233-40).

The consciousness of freedom is for Barbour the moving thrust of the narrative.

He develops an ideal of chivalry that is not the narrow ideal of war-chivalry, centered on personal fame. Nor is his the limited ideal of courtly-love-chivalry, which merely shifts the center from self to other. Religious chivalry serves his purpose, but in a subordinate role, for the good that men do is not for God and Barbour does not highlight the religious elements. Yet Barbour maintains the transcendence possible before only in religious-chivalry and in a way that bears the first great imprint of modernism: the nation and the desire for freedom are for him the motivating forces of this new transcendent chivalry. These forces not only affect his code of chivalry but also his representation of history.

History

Barbour promises to "say nocht bot suthfast thing", but chivalry, we have seen, can supersede historical truth. That is, if Barbour must choose between historical fact and presenting the Bruce's character in a chivalrous light, fact takes second place. This is surely why he omits all of the king's earlier turbulent career. We have also seen that he treats factually the elements of guerrilla warfare that run counter to the courtly code, and yet he does not altogether reject that code. Huizinga notes that historically chivalry yields to strategy, but in Barbour strategy is absorbed into chivalry. To determine what role history plays

in the development of the themes of democracy, freedom and nationalism, the motivating forces of Barbour's chivalry, we must examine his concept of history, which, if we are to accept Hanning's view, is different from that of his contemporaries.

History for Bonet, as for most medieval people, is the manifestation of God's providence,[52] but Barbour believes that, although only God can know the future, men can learn from history to shape the future (I, 95-134). The Bruce reveals this same concept of history in his *exemplum* to his men about Scipio (III, 287-98). Clearly, if divine Providence controls history, learning cannot become an issue, and historians cite *exempla* not to teach men how to behave but to illustrate that over and over again, God re-enacts the events of the Bible or that the fate of nations is a figure of personal salvation. Such *exempla* can serve as explanation and justification for history, as for example, historians of the twelfth century, assigning the Normans a role as figural representatives of the Israelites crossing the Red Sea and conquering Canaan, explain and justify the Norman Conquest of England, or as English preachers and chroniclers explain the English defeat at Bannockburn as God's punishment for vanity. Barbour neither explains the Bruce's defeat at Methven by referring to his murder of Comyn, nor does he suggest that the English defeat at Bannockburn was punishment for sin. Tactics, not eschatology, determine victory.

Barbour's attitude to history is associated with his belief in free will, which he stresses in his digression on astrology and prophecy. The consciousness that right must eventually prevail is one with Barbour's faith in a rational and moral universe in which rational and moral men may operate, with God's grace, to achieve the good, which he conceives not in a Christian, but in a nationalistic sense.

The Bruce's concept is that although the Scots do not know what the God-given result will be, they must nevertheless do what they are there to do. Their attitude may be summed up by Edward Bruce's words: "Myne auenture heir tak will I, Quhethir it be eisfull or angry" (V, 69-70). In other words, men are on their own to make their choices. The fact of God's control does not enable men to know how to act when history is a function of a nationalistic desire for freedom and not a Christian figure of personal salvation. No eschatological inference can be drawn from the narrative as Barbour presents it. In fact, he recognizes that the goal of freedom — or of a perfect political situation on earth — is in conflict with the Christian belief that man can experience perfect freedom only in heaven (XX, 612-20).

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[52] The following discussion of history is based in part on Robert W. Hanning, *"The Vision of History in Early Britain: From Gildas to Geoffrey of Monmouth* (N. Y., 1966). Hanning, in spite of the limit suggested by the sub-title, does look to the later Middle Ages.

Barbour is not only opposed to the idea that only God's providence directs history or that human history is figural — either a re-enactment of past history or equivalent to the individual's quest for salvation — but also to the cycle idea, which makes history an unceasing turn from low to high to low controlled by fortune. He minimizes references that could forebode Dupplin Moor and Halidan Hill by making the marriage between David Bruce and Edward III's sister a gay affair (XX, 90-96), ignoring Edward III's insulting absence and refusal of dowry and making illness the excuse for Robert Bruce's absence from the wedding, when actually the king was probably responding to Edward III's affront.[53] He also eliminates all reference to the Wallace struggle, which was the prior cycle.

To Barbour, history is largely moral and in man's control. His limits of the courtly ideal are truly significant, because while the courtly ideal bears the seeds of its own decay in its all too elevated idealism, the ideal that Barbour describes is close enough to possibility to be capable of setting a standard for real behavior. The heroes of Barbour's *Bruce*, the embodiment of a practical chivalry, are models that the Scots could follow. By his skill he is able to transform chivalry, the ideal so beloved by medieval men at least in theory, without blurring its essential outlines. His purpose in writing is to enlighten the leaders of the country so that they, with God's grace, will be able to learn from "thair nobill elderis gret bounte!" (XX, 617). He grasps that to make the lesson of his history meaningful to his audience, he must make use of the accepted standard of behavior embodied in the concept of chivalry.

It is not my purpose here to discuss the historical accuracy of Barbour's work.[54] Barbour obviously does not consider his work a history or he would have called it a chronicle. What is significant is that Barbour is true to history in the most important way — he grasps the idea that freedom and nationalism are at the heart of the struggle.

Sometimes to emphasize this moral aspect, he makes accuracy secondary to this perception of the basis of the Scots struggle. The most dramatic representation of the Scots drive for freedom is the descent of the camp-followers at the battle of Bannockburn. Historians either find the incident superfluous (Oman, Morris) or they explain it as deliberate strategy by the Bruce (MacKenzie, Brown).[55] The fact is that Barbour

[53] Nicholson, pp. 52-53.

[54] Craigie correctly states that accuracy is quite beside the point in judging *The Bruce*, but historians affirm Barbour's accuracy. See for example Skeat's quotation of Joseph Bain's *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland* (III, ix), on p. lxiin.

[55] Morris' comment is significant in what he reveals of his obtuseness about an artist's purpose. Barbour, he says, "has made people think too much of unimportant things ..., the deaths of Bohun and Argentine, the charge of the camp followers, which things the thoughtless love to read, and think to be of more importance than the tactics" (p. 92).

portrays it as neither but as a spontaneous burst on the part of com-
moners, and significantly, he makes it, and not the chivalry of the
nobles and fighting men, the turning point and decisive incident in the
battle. The spirit of these commoners and its effect on the English is
what enables the Bruce's valor to win.

At the time of the descent, the Scots had managed to drive back the
English only "a litell we" (XIII, 217), and Barbour clearly states that the
"Yhemen, swanys, and poverail/ That in the parc to *yheyme vittale* [italics
mine] /War left" decide to join the fight (XII, 229, 40). That they were
not reinforcements called into action by the king is evident because they
had been left to guard the stores. Also, Barbour expressly says that they
choose a captain from among them (XIII, 235) and that they make ban-
ners out of sheets fastened "apon lang treis and on speris". If they had
been reinforcements, the king would have already assigned a leader, a
nobleman, and they would not have improvised banners. They evidently
made them because they too had heard the Bruce's exhortation to the
soldiers stressing that they have banners ready in the morning before
the battle (XII, 216).[56]

When the English see this new fighting force coming at them, they
falter, and Robert Bruce, sensing that "thai war neir discomfyting",
presses on them, making them retreat more and more, until finally all
flee (XIII, 228-340). At this point Barbour states that the "laddis, swanys,
and rangall", who actually had not yet participated in the fight, perhaps
being still in the process of descending, enter into the mopping-up
operation (XIII, 341-45).

Barbour modifies but does not discard both the courtly code of
chivalry, which would have omitted such participation of commoners,
and history, which does not substantiate his account, to express his un-
derstanding of the Scots' drive for freedom. He had promised to "say
nocht bot suthfast thing" and this is what he does, but it is a higher
truth than mere adherence to facts would allow. Because he bows to
practicality he reconciles reality and idealism. As he describes it, the
chivalric ideal is no farfetched one, for he blends perfectly what *is* and
what *should be* so that he presents not only realism but also a vision of
the transcendent qualities that make life meaningful.

Glen Head, N.Y.

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[56] Keen, *The Laws of War*, p. 108, points out that a "banner was a sign of high social status."

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